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Beyond Roman Catholicism: Other aspects of Christianity in Carrick-on-Suir since the Reformation

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Introduction

At the commencement of the twenty-first century, many will find it difficult to believe that seven aspects of Christianity, other than Roman Catholicism, had sufficient members or adherents at Carrick-on-Suir to warrant the supply of preaching, and the building or renting of a place of worship in the town at various times in the last four hundred years. The purpose of this article is to highlight the presence of these religious groups in the area, lest they be forgotten, for with one exception, they are no longer present in the town and district. In this age of tolerance and ecumenism, it is most appropriate that their history and contribution to the area be recorded, so that all who wish can learn more about the intricate relationship between local history and other aspects of Christianity. This article will deal with the constituent Christian denominations in order of their first appearance in Carrick-on-Suir.

Church of Ireland

The Reformation was proclaimed in Ireland in 1536 by an Act of the Irish Parliament, which installed King Henry VIII as head of the Church of Ireland. While this was its formal commencement, the Reformation did not make any progress until the last decade of the sixteenth century (1590s), when for the first time, a serious attempt was made to lay the basis for a Protestant ministry at a parochial level in Ireland. This was the case in Irish country towns, such as Carrick-on-Suir, and the sixty-year delay had far-reaching consequences, leading ultimately to the failure of the English government to convert the local population to Protestantism. After the initial years of enthusiasm, when monasteries were suppressed and statues removed from parish churches, little else changed. Most of the rectors and vicars of Ireland (as all parish priests were then called), while no longer Roman Catholic, remained Catholic in their teaching and church services. This was certainly the case with Cornelius O'Hegan, the first recorded post-Reformation vicar of Carrick-on-Suir.

Miler Magrath was appointed Archbishop of Cashel and Emly by Queen Elizabeth I in 1571, a post he retained until his death in 1622, at the age of 100 years. He was a former Franciscan Friar, sent as Papal appointee to the see of Down and Connor, but soon conformed to the Established Church of Ireland. In addition to holding the archbishopric of Cashel and Emly for half-a-century, he was also bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1589 to 1589 and again from 1592 to 1607. In this role, he held jurisdiction over Carrick-on-Suir. Magrath openly appointed Roman Catholic friends to ecclesiastical posts, and also promoted his own sons in this way, despite the fact his own wife and children were recusant, that is, they refused to accompany

him to service in the Church of Ireland. Magrath also kept many parishes vacant, so that he could enjoy their income himself. It was only in the first three decades of the seventeenth century, when local support had already been irretrievably alienated, that the Church of Ireland was put on a sound footing in terms of finance and clergy. The many ruined medieval parish churches in the hinterland of the towns and villages of Ireland bear testimony to the paucity of Protestants to attend service in these times.



St. Nicholas Church of Ireland. Built by William Tinsley in the 1830s, this structure is remarkably similar to others in South Tipperary which he built.

St. Nicholas Church, as the parish church of the important walled urban centre of Carrick-on-Suir, was never allowed become ruinous in fabric, though it came close on a number of occasions. It enjoyed a virtually constant succession of Anglican clergy from at least 1588 until 1947, with the exception of the period 1650-62, associated with the Cromwellian Protectorate. During this decade, the Church of Ireland lost whatever ground it had recovered in the previous thirty years. Many churches damaged or destroyed during the war of 1641-49 were never subsequently rebuilt. Its ministers were dismissed and the Puritans placed one or more preachers of their denomination in the towns and better-populated rural districts. The surviving churches in use were now designated "Public Meeting House".¹

Little ecclesiastical information survives from the pre-nineteenth century period, partly due to the incineration of the Public Records in 1922, but there is sufficient surviving information to estimate the New English (Protestant) population at various intervals prior to this. At the time of the restoration of the English Monarchy in 1660, a *Poll Tax* was taken, which although quite

inaccurate in terms of total population, is an accurate enumerator of the immigrant population, which was then, and subsequently, heavily concentrated in urban areas. As heads of households only are returned, it is necessary to use a multiplier of 3.0 to get the total population. No return seems to have survived for the town itself, but in the surrounding rural parish, seven English households, containing some twenty-one individuals resided, comprising twenty percent of the population of one hundred and eight persons. These are approximate figures, but suggest a healthy English presence in the town itself. If one includes the surrounding hinterland parishes of Newtownlennon and Kilmurry, there were some thirty English families, comprising ninety individuals, or six percent of the population of the district.² Far more accurate estimates can be obtained from the *Hearth Money Rolls* of 1665-6-7, which listed all householders without distinction between English and Irish, giving full name and the number of hearths in each dwelling. On analysis of the surnames given, Carrick (Mór) had thirty-nine Protestant households, some one hundred and seventeen individuals, or thirty percent of the town population of three hundred and ninety persons. A further dozen English families lived close to the walled town, allowing for a total Church of Ireland population of approximately one hundred and fifty persons. Of these fifty English households, fifteen had two or more hearths, indicating considerable wealth.³

The two great families associated with St. Nicholas Parish Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the Butlers, as earls and dukes of Ormonde, and the Poers as earls of Tyrone. Both contributed significantly to the sustentation of the parish and the surrounding parish churches on their Waterford and Kilkenny estates. Their most enduring gifts to the parish church at Carrick were in the form of church plate, which survives to this day. The Chalice and Paten are inscribed *The Gift of the Duke of Ormonds Troop to Ye Parish of Carrick, Anno Domini 1673*, while the Flagon was *The Gift of the Honourable Anne, Countess of Tyrone to the Church of Carrick, Anno. Domini 1715*.⁴ From this time until the turn of the nineteenth century, however, details on the Church of Ireland community at Carrick-on-Suir are exceedingly sparse, as is the case for most Irish parishes in this period, save those few with records surviving from the eighteenth century. It is most unfortunate that the Rector of Carrick-on-Suir defaulted on making a return of his parishioners and the townspeople for the Religious Census of 1766. In the absence of such records, birth, marriage and burial registers are important, but these were only begun at Carrick in 1803, while the Vestry Minutes, though an interesting local history source, date from 1813. The congregation was obviously quite numerous throughout the eighteenth century, with the services of a resident curate constantly required from the 1720s, until shortly after the Church of Ireland was disestablished in 1871.

Due to the enterprising nature of the officer commanding the Carrick-on-Suir garrison, a census of the town was conducted in 1799, a unique event in any Irish town at this time. It gives the total population, name, age and address of all inhabitants, and also their religious persuasion. Of almost eleven thousand persons then living in Carrick-on-Suir, just one-fortieth were Protestant, and all but one of those recorded were members of the Church of Ireland.⁵ While this is the closest recorded ratio of Catholics to Protestants at Carrick, it is certain the ratios were far closer in the late seventeenth century, when the weaving industries were at their peak, involving several hundred immigrants as will be demonstrated in the following section. However, despite declining numbers, the parish church was extensively altered in 1804, re-roofed, repaired, and the old steeple or belfry pulled down. A small purpose-built glebehouse or rectory was built during 1816, at the moderate cost of £618 9s 3d.⁶ The previous residence of the clergyman, the one-time home of Dorothea Herbert⁷, had been a large villa on the north-western outskirts of the town, off St. John's Road, and was later demolished.

In 1834, the Government had a series of statistical surveys compiled, which were closely related to the state of the established church in Ireland, and the ecclesiastical condition of Ireland in general. In that year, the Church of Ireland population at Carrick-on-Suir, comprised three percent of the total population. While this community had declined some thirty persons in as many years, their decline was far smaller than for the settlement as a whole, which had lost exactly one-third of the population recorded in 1799. As this group lost only twelve percent of their community, their overall percentage of the town population actually increased slightly, when compared with that recorded one hundred and fifty years previously.⁸

In 1834, all the Protestants of Carrick-on-Suir seem to have been members of the Church of Ireland – certainly there were no Presbyterians or Quakers living in town and district as they were returned separately, but it is likely there was a handful of Methodists, who were then still officially returned as members of the established church. With regard to St. Nicholas Parish Church, the government surveyors noted it was so old that its builders and costs were unknown, but that it was extensively altered and repaired about thirty years previously. It had quite a large seating capacity for a Church of Ireland church, capable of accommodating three hundred persons between nave and gallery. The average weekly attendance was one hundred and fifty persons, or sixty-four percent of the Protestants in the parish. This number was recorded as increasing over the previous five years, and this was clearly a community increasing in confidence, after decades of stagnation caused by emigration and industrial decline. While overcrowding at the church was not an issue, the cost of keeping the medieval building was prohibitive. In line with countless other contemporary Church of Ireland parishes, the Select Vestry resolved to completely rebuild the church, using much of the original stonework. This was carried out during 1839 at a cost of £936 9s 5d, services being held in the interim in the largest room of Ormonde Castle. The diocesan architect, James Pain Jr. was responsible for the works at Carrick Church, and here, as with many other Munster churches, he used a simplified style of gothic architecture. These churches differed only in size and building materials, and never possessed a chancel unless added later, as at Carrick and nearby Killaloan in the later nineteenth century. The new St. Nicholas Church had a larger seating capacity, at four hundred persons, than did the older one. It bears a striking resemblance to the churches built at Killenaule (1839), Mullinahone (1843) and Clogheen (1846), which were designed by the Pain Brothers and built by Clonmel builder, William Tinsley.

The instigators of these church renovations in the 1830s and 1840s could not have foreseen the human tragedy that was the Great Famine (1846-51), and the mass emigration and stagnation of this and subsequent periods. The Protestant population in general was not exempt from this turmoil. In the Church of Ireland, the effect can best be judged from an examination of the Government Census Returns. The number recorded for Carrick-on-Suir in 1834 had fallen thirty percent to one hundred and sixty-two persons by 1861, and this drop was largely accounted for through civilian emigration. From this time onwards, the trend was a downward one, rising and falling in accordance with the number of Protestant soldiers in the garrison. Changing circumstances were recognised by the Church Authorities in Dublin also, and in 1871, when the curate, Rev. Thomas Bell was instituted as Rector, the provision of a curate assistant was discontinued. This was despite the fact the parish population had temporarily climbed back above two hundred persons, due to the religious composition of the garrison at that time. It was a wise judgement, as by 1891 the Church of Ireland population, including the garrison, was just eighty persons, and it hovered between eighty and one hundred persons up to the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922. Of interest is the Parochial School Report of 1873, which noted that of the forty pupils attending, only eighteen were of the

Church of Ireland, the remainder being Roman Catholic. The teacher was Miss Lizzie Peare, and the school was conducted in a room in the Town Hall, which was still the case in 1890.⁹ Thus, the youth base of the congregation was obviously very small.

The withdrawal of the British Forces in 1922 in itself reduced the congregation at St. Nicholas Church, and the situation was similar for churches of all denominations in the twenty-six counties. Many soldiers were Roman Catholic, and all contributed to the local economies by spending their allowances locally. Their removal was comparable to the loss of a major industry, and in addition, many employed in the civil service were transferred to other parts of the Empire or choose to return to Britain, having but shallow roots in Ireland. A period of economic stagnation followed, worsened by the Civil War (1922-23), the Economic War with Britain (1932-38) and the Second World War (1939-45), continuing into the early 1960s. In the Church of Ireland community, there was a higher than average rate of emigration, while those remaining in Ireland were affected by a diminishing marriage field, which in combination with the *Ne Temere* decree (1908) led to a lower than average rate of marriage.¹⁰ By 1926, just thirty-four members of the Church of Ireland resided in Carrick-on-Suir Urban District, with a further seven in the Rural District, and even including parishioners from those parts of the parish union within counties Kilkenny and Waterford, the church population was below sixty persons. Overall, some fifty percent of the parish population had been irretrievably lost in the previous fifteen years.

By this time, Carrick Union of Parishes was barely viable numerically, but as its finances were still in a healthy condition, unification was still some way off. The country church associated with Carrick-on-Suir, at Dysert (Churchtown) had already been closed in the first years of the twentieth century. The downgrading of the parish of Carrick eventually occurred in 1942, when the last resident rector, Canon A. H. Cooke, also became rector of Kilmeaden and Killotteran Union, and went to live in Kilmeaden Rectory. Carrick-on-Suir was without a resident Church of Ireland clergyman for the first time since 1662. The union with Kilmeaden and Killotteran was short-lived, and was broken up on the retirement of Canon Cooke in 1947.¹¹ By this time, only ten church members lived in and around Carrick, and the church was placed under the care of the rector of Killaloan Union, of which it formed a constituent part for the following decade. In the early 1950s, services became increasingly occasional; the last baptism and burial were performed in the church in 1955, and the church fell into total disuse and disrepair soon after, assisted by vandalism in its secluded location. In October 1958, the Sparsely Populated Areas Commission (S.P.A.C.) of the Church of Ireland recommended that St. Nicholas Church be closed and deconsecrated, and the building sold to the Irish Red Cross. This was done early in 1959. The pews and pulpit were sent to a new church being built in Northern Ireland and the baptismal font was transferred to Old St. Mary's Church, Clonmel. The mural tablets were left in position, and the Red Cross used the building for a number of years. The structure suffered continued vandalism, became roofless, and suffered much defacement. It was thoroughly renovated and re-roofed from 1988 to 1991 by Carrick-on-Suir Development Association, with the assistance of FAS, and reopened in 1991 in its current role as the Heritage Centre of the town, which is most appropriate given its location amid the tombstones of the town's medieval burial ground.

Huguenots and Walloons

The second oldest Protestant grouping in Carrick-on-Suir were French (Huguenot) and Dutch (Walloon) refugees, who had fled to England from France and Holland in the later

sixteenth century and early seventeenth centuries, from the intolerance of the Roman Catholic Kings of France and Spain. They were master-craftsmen – silversmiths, goldsmiths and weavers, and were much sought after by Protestant countries. The duke of Ormonde, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and landlord of Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir was highly supportive of them for the industrial opportunities they presented to Ireland. In 1662, he introduced into the Irish Parliament *An Act for Encouraging Protestant Strangers and Others to Inhabit Ireland*. The English Government did not approve of such a measure and countered in 1666 with a Bill forbidding the import of Irish cattle and fish into England, and so discourage the industrialisation of Ireland. French and Dutch weavers came to Ireland nevertheless, partly due to overcrowding at their principal English colony of Canterbury, and Ormond established Huguenot and Walloon linen weavers at Chapelizod, near Dublin, and woollen manufacturers at Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir, Callan and Kilkenny on his principal estate. In 1667, a Captain Grant was employed as agent to establish the artisans in Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir, and in 1673-4, five hundred French and Walloon families were invited over from Canterbury.¹² In preparation for their arrival, eight thousand stones of wool were brought to Carrick-on-Suir by the tenantry of the Ormond estate as rent payment, which quantity was worth £3,000 at the rate of 7s 6d per stone.¹³ Little is known about the actual quantity of settlers, but there may have been as many as three hundred individuals employed between Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir in the period 1674-89, including young children, this would have placed the total population at between four and five hundred persons. They were given houses at nominal rents and long leases, and at Carrick, Ormonde put half the dwellings of the walled town at their disposal, and also five hundred acres of land adjacent to the town walls, at a peppercorn rent for three lives or thirty-one years at first, afterwards increased to two-thirds of the old rent.¹⁴

The exact religious facilities of the settlers during their short period of residence at Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir is not known, but Huguenots usually brought a minister with them when emigrating in groups, and a Monsieur de Foutisine came over with the South Tipperary group in 1674. They did not have a specific meeting house at either town as their number was not sufficiently great or their presence sufficiently enduring, and as their liturgy was essentially a French version of the Anglican service, conforming to the rules of the Church of Ireland, they were entitled to use Church of Ireland parish churches, where they conducted their service in the French language. There is little doubt that this must also have been the case at Clonmel and Carrick in this twenty-five year period. The only other French minister thought to have officiated in South Tipperary was Charles de la Roche, who ministered during 1699, prior to his removal to minister at the conformist congregation meeting in the Lady Chapel of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin in 1700.¹⁵ This confirms the conformist nature of the South Tipperary Huguenots, and the coinciding of his removal with the implementation of the Woollen Act in 1700 suggests the removal of his congregation by this period also. The only information on the Huguenot colony survives in a *Minister's Money Account for Clonmel, 1703*, which notes just two French surnames then remaining in the entire town – Bird and St. Clair, the latter with the addition "a Frenchman" in the margin alongside the entry.¹⁶

The case of the Dutch Walloons, who were in the majority at the Carrick colony, is somewhat different. They may have chosen to throw in their lot with the Huguenots, attending service together and thus bolstering the community, or they may have elected a lay preacher from among their number, in true Calvinist style, and met in a room in the town. Indeed, the kindness of the duke of Ormonde may well have extended to his putting one of the rooms of his thirty-hearth Tudor mansion, then the largest house in South Tipperary, at the disposal of both the French and Dutch communities, for services held separately or in combination. In the

nineteenth century, the earl of Ormonde allowed the Church of Ireland and Methodist communities use of the Castle rooms for just this purpose, which may have followed from an earlier precedent set by the weaver colony of the later seventeenth century.

While most industrial settlements in Ireland of this period were largely or exclusively French Huguenot, those in South Tipperary and particularly at Carrick-on-Suir had many Dutch Walloons. The Dutch made an enormous contribution to the economic development of Ireland throughout the seventeenth century, and the woollen industries they directed at Carrick flourished in the 1675-89 period, prior to the disruption occasioned by the war of 1689-91, as a surviving survey of the Ormonde estate illustrates. In 1692, most of Carrick was re-let to Protestant tenants, and plans were afoot to establish a manufactory there, which would suggest the war had caused the majority of the weavers to flee the area. However, while the Dutch-led enterprises were much reduced, they had not been entirely eliminated, and their connection with the woollen manufacture in Carrick persisted in the persons of Vastardus Graenix and John Newport, the last being granted a renewal of his lease in 1697.¹⁷ However, the war of 1689-91 was quickly followed by an even greater evil in the form of the *Woollen Act* (1699), which prohibited the export of Irish woollen products in a finished state. As only yarn could now be exported, and as the home market was extremely limited, with little demand for fine cloth, foreign involvement with the industries at Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir all but ceased on the coming into effect of this law during 1700. However, the Irish workers they had trained remained, and the industry adapted to the production of coarse woollen cloth (rateen) for the home market. There was also some wool combing and spinning of yarn for the English market, and in 1733 a revenue official remarked of Carrick-on-Suir that it was "... *very remarkable for the manufacture of rateens, which is carried on in a very extensive manner*".¹⁸ The craftsmen of this staple garment of the Irish were overwhelmingly Roman Catholics of the locality, and while the Huguenot/Walloon community of Clonmel and Carrick endured but a quarter-century at most, their contribution was most significant in terms of gifting the locals with a craft which enabled industrial growth, particularly in the latter town, throughout the eighteenth century.

Freemasonry

While it is not actually a religion, Freemasonry can certainly be classified as another aspect of Christianity, and was extremely popular with the merchant classes, gentry and aristocracy of all denominations, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, in eighteenth century Ireland. Daniel O'Connell was one-time Grand Master of the Freemasons of Ireland, but from the early nineteenth century, following a papal edict, the membership of Freemason Lodges became increasingly Protestant, predominantly Anglican, and while Roman Catholics continued in membership, they were a small minority.

Carrick-on-Suir had two lodges in the period from the mid-eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, the earlier of which was Lodge No. 268, founded on 5th March 1756. Some forty-five members joined over the period up to 1795, of which thirty were Roman Catholics, but the Lodge went through a period of membership stagnation from about 1800, resulting in its transfer to Clonmel in 1812, where some of its membership had obviously gone to reside. It continued to meet there until disbandment in 1833. The second Carrick meeting, Lodge No. 308, was founded and constituted on 7th December 1758, and seventy-three members are recorded as having joined over the 1758 to 1817 period. Up to the 1790s, the membership was entirely Roman Catholic, and was evenly divided between members of that denomination and

the Anglican community for the remainder of its existence. The last thirty-five enrolments were all members of the Church of Ireland, including Walter, earl of Ormonde and Rev. Nicholas Herbert, Curate. The Lodge warrant was cancelled on 7th July 1825, indicating meetings had lapsed some short time prior to this date.¹⁹

Although the Grand Lodge records indicate only two lodges as ever having existed at Carrick-on-Suir, James Ryan, in a diary entry for the year 1793 records that at the burial of a local Freemason, only two lodges walked in his cortege, the third, No. 308, declining the business for reasons best known to themselves.²⁰ Unfortunately, Ryan does not mention details of the other lodges, and that named is one of those already known to have existed. In any case, Freemasonry was present at Carrick from at least 1756 until 1833. Lodges met monthly, often utilising separate accommodation to help preserve identity. They seldom had purpose-built meeting accommodation in this period, and often utilised a large upstairs room, which doubled for another purpose.

Methodist

Wesleyan Methodism made its first appearance in the Carrick-on-Suir district through the three visits of its founder, the famous preacher and Anglican minister, Rev. John Wesley to the town in 1762, 1775 and 1787. His first visit to Ireland took place in 1752, and he visited the country on twenty-one occasions over the following forty-three years. He was the son of a Church of England rector, and was also ordained as such, having completed studies at Oxford. While an undergraduate there, he was in the habit of meeting with his brother and some friends to observe the rules of the church in regard to feasts and fasts and to study the Bible and other Christian literature. For their methodological approach to these matters, unsympathetic undergraduates nicknamed them "Methodists", which though applied in derision, was adopted with some pride by Wesley and his followers.²¹ It was never the intention of Wesley to establish a separate denomination, and he remained within the Established Church, as a missionary or evangelical element to his deathbed. Many working class English people were completely unchurched, had no decent clothes for attending church in, and felt, not unreasonably, that the church had but little interest in them. Wesley and his followers would go to them instead, preaching in fields, barns, marketplaces, streets and wherever a crowd might be gathered. It was most unconventional, but struck a chord with the working classes. Methodism carried a social ethic in its religious message, which encouraged and commended hard work, sobriety and thrift, so that in the course of time, its members tended to rise into the middle classes. Those nobility and gentry in England and Ireland who supported Methodism tended to be very few in number, for it was primarily a working class movement.

In Ireland, Wesley found a totally different social structure, the country having never experienced an industrial revolution on the scale of that which took place in England. Methodism encountered difficulties in Ireland for a number of reasons. An aristocracy and gentry, some of whom had acquired their estates barely fifty or one hundred years previously, owned the land, and it was their sense of insecurity that necessitated the substantial garrison and imposed the penal laws. As the Anglican establishment was distrustful of religious innovation, Wesley encountered much opposition and hostility, particularly in the archdiocese of Dublin, where he was forbidden use of its pulpits from which to preach. He continued his street preaching throughout rural Ireland, his work complimented and reinforced not only by the movement of Methodist families, but also by the attraction of a good number of the junior

officers of the British regiments posted in Ireland to Methodism. If there was no Methodist society in the town in which they were stationed, the soldiers started one, and there are countless examples of the invaluable source of strength these men and officers were to weak Methodist societies throughout Ireland.

Wesley made eleven visits to Clonmel, and visited Carrick on three of these occasions. It was only through an increasing frequency of preaching visitations by his preaching team, and the presence of a garrison in both towns, that some progress was made. While a preaching house was in use in Clonmel by 1778, it was not until 1794 that one was constructed at Carrick-on-Suir.²² The difference between the two towns was that the preaching house at Carrick was purpose-built from central funds, indicating a society of some strength. That at Clonmel was a converted stone barn, and a purpose built chapel was not constructed until 1804, a full decade later than Carrick. The earliest contemporary mention of the Methodists at Carrick comes from the diary of James Ryan, who early in 1791, noted: "*Mr. Thomas Penny [has] married Miss Lyster, both being of the sect called Swaddlers*". Three years later, when writing of the opening of the Methodist Chapel at New Street, Ryan wrote of "*the Sect called Swaddlers or Methodists, who are grown pretty numerous in Carrick of late. They are a sober, well-behaved people, and fair, honest dealers*".²³

Wesley and his preachers met with limited success in the South Tipperary district. The Methodists preached in English for the most part, and while the Irish people could speak English fluently, Irish was still their vernacular, and it was in this tongue they naturally thought. Ryan records, however, that an Irish sermon was preached in the Main Street of Carrick-on-Suir by a very young "Swaddler" in 1801, in a very energetic and impressive manner. The sermon was repeated in English and the exercise performed on a further two occasions that week.²⁴ This in itself is evidence of the advanced methodology of Methodism when compared with the Church of Ireland, but owing to a shortage of preachers capable of preaching in Irish in either denomination in this period, the potential audience remained limited. This same year, Carrick-on-Suir was connected to the Waterford Preaching Circuit along with Clonmel, Tipperary Town and Cashel, all of which had preaching houses by this date. The circuit system enabled one or more preachers to supply several small and widely scattered congregations with preaching on a regular basis. None of these congregations would usually be able to support a preacher on their own, and this willingness on the part of their followers to attend services on weekdays or nights, or whenever the preacher was available, enabled the Methodists to maintain their stations in many places and in circumstances where others would have failed. In addition, societies availed themselves of visiting preachers, as occurred in Carrick in 1807, when almost all of the Protestant inhabitants of the town attended the opening sermon of the visitation by Rev. Adam Averall, a famous Methodist preacher. By 1810, the Carrick meeting was described as "*...a society of lively and zealous Christians, despite the prevalence of Popery in the town...*".²⁵ The overwhelmingly Roman Catholic nature of Carrick-on-Suir was despairingly commented upon by several denominations subsequently, but this is the earliest reference.

At this time, Methodism was still entirely within the established church of England and Ireland, and its adherents returned themselves as Anglican in all census returns. As the name implies, Methodist preaching-houses were for just that, and Methodists continued to attend their Anglican parish church for the administering of all sacraments. In 1817, a split occurred across the British Isles between those Methodists who wished to maintain this situation, and those who wished their preachers to administer the sacraments, and so attend nowhere but their own meeting place. The former became known as the Primitive Wesleyan Methodists because of their desire to maintain the primitive or original connexion of John Wesley, while

the latter were termed Wesleyan Methodists. In towns such as Clonmel, where there was a sizable Methodist community, the Primitive Wesleyan Methodists built themselves a new chapel in nearby Mary Street, which adjoined the grounds of Old. St. Mary's Church of Ireland, and allowed ease of access to service at that church, while the Wesleyan Methodists remained in the original building. At Clonmel, the split was fairly equal, with both places of worship attracting a regular attendance of about one hundred persons, although actual membership would be lower.

It would appear the split of 1817-18 may have damaged the little community at Carrick-on-Suir to the extent that the few remaining may not have been strong enough to warrant the maintenance of a separate meeting facility, either attending at Clonmel or more likely receiving occasional visits from the Primitive Wesleyan Methodist minister of Clonmel, with services held in the house of a Carrick member. Certainly there was no meeting place at Carrick-on-Suir by 1834, and in 1848, Rev. Edward Sullivan of Clonmel reported:

The Lord had opened up my way into Carrick-on-Suir, one of the most Roman Catholic towns in Tipperary. I preached twice in a room in the old castle, for the use of which a few persons paid five shillings and sixpence each time; but the priest interfered and prevented my getting it again. I then took another room, but of this also the same person deprived me. Now I preach in a private room, which I have hired, and about thirty persons attend each service.²⁶

However, emigration in both Roman Catholic and Protestant communities, in this period and subsequently, made these successes but short-lived. This work in Carrick ceased when the resident Primitive Wesleyan Methodist minister at Clonmel was withdrawn in 1851, due to the fact that membership was drawn from the poor, working-class Protestants and Roman Catholics, who were both decimated by famine and emigration.²⁷ For the second time in its history at Carrick-on-Suir, Methodism disappeared from the records for almost four decades.

A reunification between the two types of Methodism was effected across Ireland during 1878, and locally, the united denomination now called the Methodist Church in Ireland, operated from Clonmel, where there had been a resident Wesleyan minister since 1861. Carrick-on-Suir was within the circuit area of responsibility, and by 1888, a monthly service was being held in Ormonde Castle.²⁸ This venture may have dated from the 1860s placement of a resident minister at Clonmel, for by 1871, nine Methodists resided at Carrick, and additional Protestants (non-Methodists) seem to have attended these services in sufficient number to warrant continuation of this preaching supply for over forty years. In the period from 1881 to 1936, only one or two members of the Methodist Church were ever recorded as resident at Carrick in official census returns, yet a preaching supply was continued into the 1910s. In a note of 1904, the Clonmel minister wrote of Carrick: "*Here we have a few loyal members, and I attend their needs monthly at the Friends Meeting House*".²⁹ The garrison changed annually, and Protestant soldiers of all denominations were known to be attracted to Methodist missionary and evangelical services. The monthly Methodist service probably concluded with their withdrawal in 1922.

Society of Friends (Quaker)

George Fox founded the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, in 1649, in England. It reached Ireland in 1654 and had membership resident in South Tipperary by 1657, though not

in the Carrick-on-Suir area. Quakers, a peaceable people, attracted unwelcome attention to themselves by being different. They were not baptised, did not practice any of the sacraments of the other Christian churches, dressed unconventionally and refused to pay tithes to the established church. In combination, this made them an easy target for ridicule, prejudice and persecution.

It is unknown why Quakers were not attracted to Carrick-on-Suir at an early date, when communities had developed at nearby Cashel, Cahir, Clonmel and Waterford by the early eighteenth century. Quaker records are complete for County Tipperary from the mid-seventeenth century, and no birth, marriage or death is noted at the town before the very end of the eighteenth century. According to Ryan, a Quaker couple, James and Anne West, arrived in Carrick-on-Suir in late October 1788, and he is correct in his assertion that they were then the only and likely the first ever members of the sect to reside in the town. They resided at Lough Street East, where Anne West died in February 1798. James West is recorded as widower and cardmakër in the *Census of Carrick-on-Suir* (1799), by which time he was the only non-conformist or dissenting Protestant in the town, the couple having had no children.³⁰ The Wests were resident little more than a decade, and Carrick was without a Quaker presence for over forty years until the arrival of John Grubb's family of five persons in 1843. Their arrival was occasioned through disownment by the Clonmel meeting for the non-payment of debts, but Clonmel's loss was Carrick's gain, for the family set up business in the town and were the founding family of the Quaker meeting there. Within a decade, all debts had been cleared and their membership fully reinstated, but they remained at Carrick where they carried on business at two locations, also establishing enterprises at Clonmel, under the name John Grubb and Son. In Carrick, there was a Steam Corn Mill, Corn Store and Coal Yard at the Quay and at New Street, and the Clonmel facilities enjoyed a similar quayside location. In addition, the Grubbs had a majority interest in the Suir Navigation Company, which carried goods between Waterford, Carrick and Clonmel, until the 1920s.³¹ John and Rebecca Grubb had a further three children between 1849 and 1863, bringing their family total to eight.³² However, they were seldom all in Carrick-on-Suir, due to educational commitments and business interests.

Another Quaker family at Carrick in this period were the Doyles. Their history is less clear, but it is recorded that Sarah Eliza Doyle, daughter of Thomas and Rachel of Carrick-on-Suir, died there aged eighteen years in December 1859. The family had been here some years prior to this, joining with the Grubbs for house worship meetings. The arrival of additional Quaker families in the town from the late 1850s to join the Grubbs and Doyles changed the community outlook from one of subordinate to Clonmel, to one of independence. Thomas George Howell, an ironmonger and his wife Maria were the first of the inflow. The Howells had two girls between 1858 and 1860, the older child dying as an infant. The family prevailed at Carrick, diversifying into timber sales and sawmilling, and residing latterly at Suir Valley Lodge.³³

In 1864, one of the older daughters of John Grubb was married at Clonmel Meeting House, and this event, combined with the growing number of children at the Carrick Meeting were the reasons for the decision to build a separate Meeting House for Carrick-on-Suir. The meeting then officially constituted some ten persons, though seldom all in residence, as demonstrated by the figure of six Quakers returned for the town in 1861. Nevertheless, the Carrick members were determined to be released from frequent travelling to Clonmel for worship. Permission for the erection of the Carrick Meeting House was granted on 29th March 1866, and a contract with the builder entered into for £300. Subscriptions for the building fund came from all over Ireland and England, so that £450 10s was collected. It was decided to expend the entire sum plus interest upon the new premises, including walls and entrance gates, so that by the date of



Quaker Meeting House. This building was also used by the Methodists and Presbyterians. The building is remarkably like a private building, but according to the owner, not altered from its Meeting House days.

opening for public worship, 14th October 1866, a total of £459 2s 2d had been expended. The lease was made out to John Grubb, his son Joseph Ernest Grubb and Thomas George Howell as the trustees.³⁴

The provision of independent purpose-built meeting facilities proved a wise decision for the little community at Carrick-on-Suir. The town had an opening for the entrepreneurial skills of the Quakers, who were heretofore reluctant to move to a town, where the nearest meetinghouse was ten miles distant. This obstacle removed, several families and young married couples set up home and business in the town and district. By 1871, almost twenty individuals attended weekly meetings for worship, and this figure was maintained into the late 1880s. These families mostly had shallow roots in the area, remaining a decade at most, gaining valuable business experience before succeeding to the family business in their home district, usually the city of Waterford. This was the case with John and Elizabeth Adair of Waterford, who moved to Carrick in 1876 for a few years, and also with Henry and Ellen Noakes, who set up business in Main Street for some years from the early 1880s. It therefore fell to the Grubbs, particularly in the person of the heir, Joseph Ernest, to lead the community at Carrick. He married Hanna Rebecca Strangman in 1872, and they added five to the community over the following decade. While many Irish Quaker meetings were failing in this period, Carrick was expanding, and had proportionately more children than almost any other meeting in Ireland. However, the death of the older members and the progression of their grandchildren to boarding school and eventual marriage took its toll on the small community, especially as no new members arrived after 1883. In addition, just three of the thirteen Quaker children born in the town between 1849 and 1883 were male, which was a bad omen not only for the continuation of the family names, but also for the presence of the Society of Friends in the area.

A high proportion of Quakers remained unmarried, particularly females, and only one wedding was ever held in the Carrick Meeting House – that of Lydia Grubb to Joseph Lloyd Graham of Handsworth, England on 4th September 1878, which ironically, constituted yet another loss to the Carrick community.³⁵

The community at Carrick-on-Suir numbered some ten members in 1891, which had been the membership at the opening of the meetinghouse almost three decades before, and this figure held for another decade, largely due to the large family of Joseph Ernest Grubb. The Quakers continued in local prominence, with J. Ernest being elected to the Urban District Council, and subsequently to the chair of that body. However, there was a limit to the length of time that children could remain at home. In an ecumenical gesture that also saw greater use of their meetinghouse, the community opened it to the use of the Presbyterians, and later also the Methodists, extending the hand of friendship long before it was fashionable to do so. By 1911, only four Quakers remained at Carrick, and the Carrick Meetinghouse was the last remaining in South Tipperary, those at Clonmel and Cahir having closed in 1911 and 1894 respectively. Just twenty-two members resided in the entire county, when less than two decades earlier this number had lived in the Carrick district alone. Members had become upwardly mobile, and from the 1860s, increasingly converted to the Church of Ireland, as it was socially conducive to do so.

Carrick-on-Suir Meetinghouse continued, from 1910 under the jurisdiction of the County Waterford Meeting, until meetings ceased in the early 1920s. By this time, only three members of the Grubb family remained at the town, and the need for occasional Presbyterian and Methodist meetings had all but ceased. Hannah R. Grubb died in 1921, and her husband Joseph Ernest in 1923, and the present owners, the Walsh family, purchased the meetinghouse. The last Quaker resident, their daughter Gertrude Grubb of Seskin, died in 1939. It is a measure of their loyalty to their town that all three chose to be buried in the Public Cemetery of Carrick-on-Suir, rather than the Friends Burial Ground at Clonmel, from which meeting they had long fought for independence.

Presbyterian

It is appropriate to examine the short-lived presence of Presbyterianism in Carrick-on-Suir after that of the Society of Friends, because the two were inextricably linked in the town, and without the fellowship of the Carrick Quakers, Presbyterianism would not have endured for even the few decades it did. The denomination had no heritage in the district, though a church functioned at Portlaw from 1840, while Clonmel, Fethard and Tipperary town all had congregations dating from the later seventeenth century. The first two Presbyterians were recorded at Carrick in 1861, increasing in number to fourteen by 1871, before falling to seven in 1881. These fluctuations obviously had much to do with the annual movement of garrisons, and the number of Presbyterians within each regiment. There were probably organised services held at the barracks during the 1870s and 1880s, as the resident minister at Portlaw was not withdrawn until the 1880s, and he included Carrick-on-Suir within his mission district. In March 1887, a licentiate or trainee minister was appointed to the Portlaw and Carrick-on-Suir Mission District, and it was noted that the attendance at Portlaw Presbyterian Church, and at the Presbyterian Service held in the Friends Meeting House at Carrick-on-Suir was between twenty-five and thirty persons. There were four Presbyterian families or households each in Portlaw, Carrick and Piltown, but none of the congregations were opulent enough to call a

minister of their own. The relationship of the Presbyterians with the Carrick Quakers is recorded in the *Minutes of Presbytery* (1887):

Invited by the Friends, we have met in their Meeting House. By their active help and hospitality, they have given us great encouragement and are willing to work with us, partly because the Episcopal clergy are not willing to work with them. They are few in number here, but most influential.

Constantly critical of the Church of Ireland and forever comparing their own Presbyterian cause with that of their fellow dissenting Protestants, the report continued by commenting on Methodist activities in the district:

The Methodist Minister of Clonmel holds two monthly weekday services in both Portlaw and Carrick, although they have very few adherents in these towns. They preach wherever there is a person to give them free lodgings. We should not retire from this district.³⁶

Carrick and Portlaw continued together as a mission district for the training of young ministers, and in addition, Rev. John Hall of Waterford Presbyterian Church took a fortnightly service on Tuesdays during this period.³⁷ The Carrick area next received the attention of Presbytery in January 1899, when the licentiate was noted as working steadily with considerable success. It was resolved to continue the supply of preaching, and in October 1900, a formal agreement was entered into with the Trustees of the Friends Meeting House at Carrick-on-Suir, to maintain services of a simple evangelical nature there at a rent cost of £1 10s per quarter, three months notice of termination to be given by either side.³⁸ In April 1901, progress was noted as satisfactory, but that there was likely to be a falling off in attendance at Carrick, due to the partial closure of a factory in the town. Mr. John Dunwoody BA replaced the licentiate, a Mr. McLean, in June, by which time eight church members were returned in the census for Carrick-on-Suir, non-inclusive of adherents and casual attendance. The ensuing three years saw the appointment of a new licentiate each January, Mr. Carmichael, Mr. James Andrews and Mr. Kane in succession, the last arriving at the commencement of 1904. He submitted a report on the future prospects of the area, which it would seem led to the cessation of Presbyterian services in the town by the end of that year. This is the last reference to Carrick-on-Suir in the *Minutes of Presbytery*, and the Methodists were using the Friends Meeting House monthly by the end of year 1904, a move unlikely to be tolerated by the Presbyterians, unless they had already dispensed with the Mission Station, as seems to be the case.

On the evidence presented here, it can be seen that as late as the first four years of the twentieth century, the Church of Ireland, Quakers, Presbyterians and Methodists were all meeting and evangelising regularly at Carrick-on-Suir. By about 1920, a few years prior to the foundation of the Irish Free State, all had vanished save the ever declining Church of Ireland congregation and the tiny three person Quaker meeting of the Grubb Family. Carrick-on-Suir was unique in Country Tipperary, if not in Ireland, in that a town of over five thousand persons with a well-populated hinterland so lacked religious diversity. In 1946, eleven Church of Ireland members lived in town and district, and there were just four "Others". Indeed, from 1955 until 1980, no public worship was available to the townspeople aside from the Roman Catholic Church, so that it was like a return to the pre-Reformation period, with almost all inhabitants being of that persuasion. So it remained until the arrival of some members of the Jehovah's Witnesses in the later 1960s.

Jehovah's Witnesses

The Jehovah's Witnesses movement began in 1870 in the United States as a small Bible Study group in the home of Charles Taze Russell. The name Jehovah's Witnesses was officially adopted in 1931, at a worldwide convention of members.³⁹ The Witnesses in Ireland date their origin to the visit of their founder in 1891, which resulted in the starting of a congregation at Dublin, and at Belfast before the commencement of the twentieth century. From Dublin, the movement spread southwards to the cities of Cork and Waterford, and continued to the large provincial towns on the principal that once a congregation was on a firm footing, surplus membership moved with their families to seek employment in towns and districts without a Witness presence. The South Tipperary area was under the jurisdiction of the Waterford Congregation until the early 1960s when a separate congregation was founded at Clonmel. From the late 1960s, there were also members living in the Carrick-on-Suir district, at Three Bridges. By 1977, they were in sufficient number to form themselves into a separate congregation, and they were officially recognised as such in January 1978. One of the families at Three Bridges occupied a large house, and a room was set-aside in it for meetings. The attendance was fifteen or sixteen in the 1977 to 1980 period, including children, and was primarily based upon three households.⁴⁰

About 1980, some members of the Carrick-on-Suir Congregation who were involved in the building trade were successful in obtaining a contract for the conversion of the old Allied Irish Bank, opposite the present bank on Main Street, into apartments. There was a large shed behind this building, which had been in use as a coal shed, but was then disused. The permission of the owner was obtained, and during 1980 it was converted into a meeting room. This remained the meeting hall of the congregation for almost six years, and during this period, the congregation saw growth in regular attendance from about sixteen to about fifty individuals. In the autumn of 1985, it was decided to obtain a more suitable meeting hall, and a site was purchased on Cregg Road. In a demonstration of the work ethic of the Witnesses, six hundred and fifty volunteers, members of the Jehovah's Witnesses from all over the British Isles, came to Carrick-on-Suir and in the course of thirty hours, over a single weekend, erected the present Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses. This was done using special building techniques then recently developed for this purpose. Up to then, due to prejudices, most Irish congregations met in appalling conditions, so that the coal shed at Carrick was by no means an exception. The "quick-build" technique has been used in the building of Kingdom halls all over these islands, and many others were subsequently built during the second half of the 1980s. By 1987, there were eighty-one congregations in Ireland, containing a total of more than two thousand six hundred members.

At the commencement of the twenty-first century, there were ninety-four congregations in the Republic of Ireland, containing almost five thousand members. In County Tipperary, in addition to house meetings there are presently Kingdom Halls at Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir, Tipperary, Thurles and Nenagh, while halls in the hinterland include those at Limerick, Kilkenny, Waterford, Dungarvan, Youghal and Fermoy.⁴¹ Carrick-on-Suir has, allowing for periodic movement of members to other districts and subsequent membership gains, held the 1986 figure of fifty members in regular attendance, based on twelve households. Members attend from all over the Carrick catchment area, and reside in places such as Knocktopher, Mullinahone, Rathgormack, Portlaw, Mooncoin, Kilmeaden, and Mullinavat.⁴² In true evangelical style, the Witnesses carry out door-to-door visitation with complimentary copies of their booklet, *The Watchtower*, which was first printed in 1920, and is distributed worldwide in

hundreds of languages. The Witnesses are thus the most recent successor to the heritage of reformed Christian evangelism in Carrick-on-Suir, and continue to spread the Gospel at the commencement of the third millennium.

FOOTNOTES

1. The name of the first minister(s) posted to Carrick in this period are not now known, but from circa. 1654 until 1657, John Handser was preacher, on a salary of £52 per annum. He was replaced by Paul Emerott who continued there until 1659, on the greatly enhanced salary of £150 per annum. The latter was an Independent (Congregationalist) minister, whose family had fled from France to England as Protestant (Huguenot) refugees a generation earlier. G. L. Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements of Ireland* (London, 1936), 218; *A List of Cromwellian Preachers and Ministers of the Gospel* (P.R.O.N.I., Belfast).
2. S. Pender (ed.), *A Census of Ireland, Circa 1659* (Dublin, 1939), 310.
3. T. Laffan, *Tipperary's Families, being the Hearth Money Records for 1665-6-7* (Dublin, 1911), 70-1; 83.
4. R. Wyse-Jackson, "Old Church Plate of Lismore Diocese", *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland* 85, (1955), 54.
5. *Census of Carrick-on-Suir* (1799) enumerated a total population of 10,913 persons, of whom 268 were Protestant. See also *Journal of James Ryan*, written 1787 – 1809, popularly known as "A Carrickman's Diary". The original manuscript is at the Municipal Library, Waterford, while extracts of it were also published between 1911 and 1914 in the *Journal of the Waterford and South East Ireland Archaeological and Historical Society*, volumes 14 – 17.
6. This is now the home of the Bourke Family. The present building is larger than that of 1816, having been doubled in size during 1837, at a cost of £300. See British Parliamentary Papers: *Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland, Fourth Report* (1837), xxi.
7. Dorothea Herbert, author of *Retrospections*, was daughter of Rev. Nicholas Herbert, Rector of Carrick-on-Suir.
8. See British Parliamentary Papers: *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction of Ireland, 1834: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by order of His Majesty* (London, 1835). In 1834, Carrick-on-Suir contained 7,363 persons, of whom 235 were Protestant.
9. See *Waterford and Lismore Diocesan Education Board Minute Book*, held at the G.P.A. Bolton Library, Cashel; Miss Peare was daughter of William Peare, Watchmaker, Main Street, Carrick-on-Suir. Her mother, Mathilda, was daughter of George H. Irwin, one of the last Primitive Wesleyan Methodist ministers of Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir district. See *Register of Baptisms* for St. Nicholas Church.
10. The *Ne Temere* papal decree of 1908, so called as these were the first two words of the document, prohibited Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland from marrying members of another church without the obtaining of the written consent of the non-Catholic party to raise the children of the union as Roman Catholics.
11. *Yearbook of the United Dioceses of Cashel and Emly, Waterford and Lismore* (Harvey, Waterford): Entries for Carrick-on-Suir Union of Parishes for the years 1942-47.
12. T. Gimlette, *The History of the Huguenot Settlers of Ireland* (Privately Published, 1888).
13. T. P. Power, *Land, Politics and Society in Eighteenth Century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993), 16.
14. *Ibid.* See Prendergast Manuscripts at the Royal Irish Academy.
15. *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, Volume 8* (1934), 114.
16. T. P. Power, "A Minister's Money Account for Clonmel, 1703", *Analecta Hibernica* 34. (1987), 190; Original Manuscript in County Museum, Clonmel
17. *Ibid.* See NLI Ms. 2561, folios 20-25; 34-37; British Library Add. Ms. 28877, folio. 282
18. Power, 1993, *op. cit.*, 16.
19. *Registers of the Membership of the Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland*, held at Archive of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, Molesworth Street, Dublin.
20. *Diary of James Ryan*, January 1793

- 21 D. A. Levistone-Cooney, "John Wesley in Ireland", *Blackrock Society Proceedings* 6 (1998), 26-45; 26.
 22 *Diary of James Ryan*, June 1794
 23 *Ibid.*, February 1791 & June 1794
 24 *Diary of James Ryan*, March 1801.
 25 C. H. Crookshank, *Days of Revival, being the History of Methodism in Ireland, 1747-1859, Volume 4* (Clonmel, 1994), 18; 66.
 26 *Ibid.*, Volume 6, 72.
 27 Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Circuit Minutes for 1851, held at Wesley Historical Room, Aldersgate House, University Road, Belfast.
 28 G. H. Bassett, *County Tipperary One Hundred Years Ago: A Guide and Directory, 1889* (Belfast, 1991), 197.
 29 *The Christian Advocate*, December 14, 1904, held at Wesley Historical Room, Belfast
 30 *Census of Carrick-on-Suir* (1799); *Journal of James Ryan*, October 1788. Anne West was interred at the Friends Burial Ground in Clonmel in 1798, her husband James in about 1801. See Burial Register of the Society of Friends, Tipperary Monthly Meeting, 1661-1859 Index.
 31 Bassett, *op. cit.*, 187.
 32 See Birth and Burial Register of the County Tipperary Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends under the relevant surnames.
 33 Bassett, *op. cit.*, 205.
 34 Subscription List for Carrick-on-Suir Meeting House, Friends Historical Library, Dublin.
 35 *Marriage Register of the Meeting House of the Society of Friends, Carrick-on-Suir*, held in the Protestant Registrar of Marriages for South Tipperary Collection, County Clinic, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
 36 *Minute Book of the Presbytery of Munster, Volume II*, held at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Church House, Belfast, Entry for May 16, 1887.
 37 Bassett, *op. cit.*, 197.
 38 *Minute Book of the Presbytery of Munster, Volume II*, Entry for October 9, 1900.
 39 Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, *Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose* (Pennsylvania, 1959); *Yearbook of Jehovah's Witnesses, Containing the Report for the Service Year of 1987: Focus on Ireland* (Pennsylvania, 1988).
 40 Oral Testimony of Robert Branham, founder member of South Tipperary mission district and also of Malcolm Heathcote, member of Carrick-on-Suir Congregation.
 41 Information obtained at the Irish Branch Office of Jehovah's Witnesses, Newcastle, Co. Wicklow.
 42 Oral Testimony of Malcolm Heathcote, Member of Carrick-on-Suir Congregation.