

'Merciful hours': Sr Mary Clare Augustine Moore's illuminated works

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Sister Mary Clare Moore is a character – not suited to my taste or my ability to govern – though possessing many very estimable points ... indeed you can have no idea how little she does in a week – as to a day's work, it is laughable to look at it. She will shew me three leaves, saying, I finished these today – 3 rose or lily leaves.¹

o wrote Catherine McAuley, founder of the Sisters of Mercy, in a letter to Sr M. Francis Warde, in 1841. The subject of her complaint is Sr Mary Clare Augustine Moore, the order's chief illuminator and artist, whose finest works of illumination were unfortunately not even begun before McAuley died later that same year. The 'day's work' referred to is the 'Register of the Convent BVM of Mercy Dublin', a manuscript which records the entrance of each postulate to the Order, noting their family, birthplace, name in religion and movement throughout the Order. As can be seen in Plate 1, each page is covered with ornamental detailing, with specific decoration selected for each sister. This particularly ornate sheet is devoted to Catherine McAuley herself. Although the foundress found Clare Augustine 'exasperating at times and considered her unduly wedded to her art and to her own opinions', there is no evidence that Clare Augustine had anything but the highest regard for McAuley. Subsequently, she spent over forty years illuminating the important books of the Mercy Order and a number of Catherine McAuley's own writings. These manuscripts, which take the form of eight books and four

^{1 –} Sr Mary Clare Augustine Moore, 'Register of the Convent BVM of Mercy, Dublin' (First Register), 'Catherine McAuley's Page'

⁽all collection of Mercy International Centre, Dublin; courtesy Mercy International Association)

framed pieces, have gone largely unnoticed beyond the Heritage Room in the International Mercy Centre in Baggot Street, Dublin, where they are now held. From her entrance in 1837 to her death in Baggot Street in 1880, Clare Augustine worked in a Gothic Revival style, and, using the medieval Books of Hours as her inspiration, produced a series of high-quality illuminated manuscripts. Each book is different to its predecessor, and though there is uniformity within the volume itself, each page is quite unique. Eclectic in her taste, Clare Augustine used motifs from thirteenth to sixteenth-century European illumination. Unrivalled by the artwork of other religious orders of Dublin in the nineteenth century, her work displays very little interest in the insular manuscripts. Her artistic formation occurred before the emergence of the Celtic revival, and even when it began she remained true to her original designs.

Very little is known of Clare Augustine's life before she entered the Sisters of Mercy. She was born Mary Clare to Protestant parents, George and Catherine Moore, in 1808 in the parish of St Mary's, Dublin.3 Her father died in 1817, and in 1823 Mrs Moore and her children converted to Catholicism. It is not known where she was educated or how she developed her talent for art, only that she was trained before she entered the Order, as letters of Catherine McAuley refer to her illuminating the register as early as 1839.4 There is no evidence that any other sister was as accomplished and therefore capable of teaching her in such a short time.⁵ Her younger sister Georgiana had joined the Order in 1831 as one of its first members, and took her sister's name, becoming Sr Mary Clare, prompting her to become Sr Mary Clare Augustine upon her own entrance.⁶ She lived in Dublin, apart from a period from 1841 to 1844 when she was asked to accompany her sister to Cork by the Bishop of Cork 'to do some wonderful things for him'. Unfortunately, it is not known what this work entailed; Clare Augustine's own description of it was 'to open a day school for the wealthier classes', perhaps teaching art.8 From 1856 she also taught at the school attached to the Goldenbridge Refuge run by the Dublin Sisters of Mercy, becoming Superior in 1870, but returning to Baggot Street before her death in 1880.

The quality of Clare Augustine's work was recognised during her lifetime. In 1854 she was asked to illuminate an address from the Bishops of Ireland to Pope Pius IX, which commemorated the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. It was translated into Irish by Ulick Bourke before being illuminated by Clare Augustine. Her artistic talent is mentioned by almost every chronicler of the history of the Sisters of Mercy, but no art historical study of her work has hitherto been undertaken.

THE WORK

Clare Augustine's first illuminated work for the Mercy Order was the 'Register of the Convent BVM of Mercy Dublin', also known as the First Register. She illuminated each paper page with flowers, illustrations, and portraits depicting the sister's patron saint or particular devotion. This consists of 136 folios sheets; seventy-three comprise the register and the rest remain blank, awaiting the arrival of new sisters. Of these seventy-three, sixty are completed, or very nearly so, and thirteen are in the various stages of being illuminated. Clare Augustine clearly moved from page to page, illuminating a number at the same time. It is also clear that she took a small area and finished it completely before moving on; for example, folio 66 has no text, no portrait, but a perfectly formed and completely finished stem of flowers in the top right-hand corner. Evidently, she did not use a watercolour wash, nor did she draw many outlines before beginning to paint. The only pencil marks that remain are those lines and dots used to distinguish the basic areas of text and border, and the lines she used to guide her while she wrote.

The text is in black ink, with an illuminated and very colourful initial 'D' (for daughter of) beginning the first line of registration. Each page follows the same format: rectangular borders of flowers or leafy stems enclose an oval at the top of the page, and other figures, flowers or birds on the left, right and bottom of the page. The oval contains the patron saint of the sister, her own depicting St Augustine, and so on. Below this is the sister's name, written in a highly ornate script accompanied by the paragraph outlining her life in the Mercy Order. No border of flowers is repeated, nor is any arrangement of the illuminated initial D, which occurs on all sixty finished pages. The decoration, although it fills much of the page, is light, and apart from the border and text, the page is left untreated. Naturally, the page devoted to Catherine McAuley is the most ornate. Even a little cross that appears as black on every other page is here painted in blue and gold. Angels and birds inhabit the rose border, and a large cross is placed to the left of the page, beside the initial 'D'.

After Catherine McAuley's death in 1841 and Clare Augustine's return to Baggot Street from Cork in 1844, she began the elaborate 'Register of Professed Sisters in St Catherine's Convent of BVM of Mercy Dublin', more commonly known as the Second Register. This is more diverse, containing a variety of designs, initials and miniatures to decorate each page. Larger, more ornate and nearer completion, it includes all of the same information as the First Register, and was obviously designed as its replacement, not merely its successor. Although Clare Augustine did not usually use insular designs, a rare occurrence can be seen in the initial for Anna Maria Doyle, where an anthropomorphic, two-headed 'D' curls to bite its own tail. This manuscript is also worthy of note, as an unidentified Sister of Mercy continued Clare Augustine's work after her death, adding in the dates of the various sisters' demise.



2 – Sr Mary Clare Augustine Moore, 'The Rule and Constitution of the Religious Sisters of Mercy': chapter five

One of the more important documents illuminated by Clare Augustine was 'The Rule and Constitution of the Religious Sisters of Mercy'. The rule was approved in 1841; Catherine McAuley had based it on the rule of the Presentation Order, and Clare Augustine's sister Georgiana assisted her in its preparation. This is a charming manuscript, with large initials, miniatures and a large amount of text. Text is arranged in two columns, the chapter numbers and headings are decorated in the same way, and the illumination throughout is that of a delicate filigree and rinceaux – a lighter 'pattering of fine foliate branches'. 10 The entire book consists of only twenty-three folio sheets, and is one of three manuscripts by Clare Augustine to include illumination on both the recto and verso. The first part consists of a title page followed by eight folio sheets; there is then another subsidiary title page, followed by Part Two, which is made up of six folios. The example here (Plate 2) is from the fifth chapter of Part One, and is a typical page of the text of the manuscript. As with all the chapter headings, 'chapter v' is written in gold capitals, with a black outline and black filigree decoration between the letters. Rinceaux provides a border to the top, left and bottom of the columns of text. Line-fillers are used when sentences end short, and double line-fillers or small rectangular images are used when the chapter comes to an end too close to the end of a column to begin the next. Many pages contain just initial and text, others have extra decoration. In this case, a capital 'A' and a smaller 'S', both in green with white decoration, lie on a gold ground which grows up along the side of the column into a double line of gold, red and green. This line is repeated between the two columns and to the righthand side of the page. Dividing chapters four and five is a Nativity scene where, in place of shepherds, three Sisters of Mercy stand outside the stable beneath a starry, blue night sky.

The 'Book of Flowers', or 'Short Prayers and Ejaculations', is one of Clare Augustine's most celebrated works (Plates 3, 4). It bears an inscription on its first page that reads 'Convent of Our Lady, St Vincent's Goldenbridge', which dates the manuscript to after 1856, when Clare Augustine began to teach at the school. It consists of the inscription, title page and twenty illuminated prayers. The title page is written and decorated entirely in golden letters and golden filigree decoration, which fills every opening. Each page is an illumination of a short prayer or ejaculation 'to which if recited with due contrition and devotion, partial indulgences are annexed'. The prayer itself lies in a gold-framed box in the top left-hand corner of the page. In the case of a one-word prayer, such as 'Mary' (Plate 3), it fills the box with its colourful Lombardic capitals and white or gold decoration. In the case of a longer prayer, the first word, or few words, are so treated, and the rest is written in black-letter (Plate 4). The details of the specific indulgences are written in golden black-letter above the prayer and outside the box, disguised amongst the gold acanthus ornament that adorns the top left corner of each page – for example, 'An

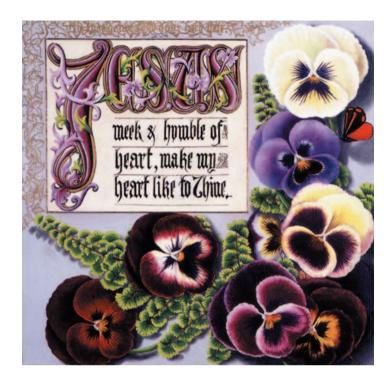


3 – Sr Mary Clare Augustine Moore, 'Short Prayers and Ejaculations' ('Book of Flowers'): 'Mary Prayer'

Indulgence of 25 days every time'. Each page has a thin gold frame and a flat-coloured background of a pastel shade. Resting on this, and taking up the rest of the illumination, are the flowers of the common title. These flowers are completely naturalistic, recognisable as distinct species, and not stylised in any way. It is here that Clare Augustine displays her love of natural forms, never repeating a flower but depicting a different variety for each illumination. Each page is distinct in its treatment of text and choice of image. The flowers are painted as if lying on or just above the background, casting a shadow on the flat colour beneath. Though they all lie within the outline of the box, they never look confined to this area, and give the impression they might fall out of the page at any moment.

The Little Book of Practical Sayings, Advices and Prayers of Our Reverend Foundress, Catherine McAuley was collected by Mary Clare (Georgiana) Moore and published in 1868. The text of Clare Augustine's manuscript is taken from that book but the exact date of its illumination is unknown. The text is made up of a number of chapters of instruction and advice on humility, charity, holy poverty, obedience, prayer, religious modesty, cheerfulness, patience and mortification, and ordinary duties. This is followed by advice to a novice, advice to a superior, and prayers written by Catherine McAuley. The manuscript comprises twenty-one folio sheets of parchment, all of which are illuminated on both recto and verso. Each page

4 – Sr Mary Clare Augustine Moore, 'Short Prayers and Ejaculations' ('Book of Flowers'): 'Jesus Prayer'



is framed in wood and glass, and all twenty-one are encased in a wooden box, with a handle attached to each frame in order to remove and view it.

In contrast, 'Lady Mary's Book' is a short, seventeen-folio manuscript, twelve of the sheets illuminated with prayers, full page miniatures and devotions to Our Lady and various saints. Only the recto of each is decorated, the verso left blank. This title page (Plate 5) depicts Christ, angels and saints in an architectural frame surrounded by exquisite decoration. The title 'Lady Mary's Book' is illuminated in red Lombardic capitals with white detail, and the golden frame is decorated with purple, green, red and brown foliage, animals, acanthus, faces, an archer, a nun at prayer, dragons and deer. The area around the title is especially dense with imagery. Christ sits in a rainbow-coloured mandorla frame, with an angel on either side. The three further miniatures are placed below, in separate arches, depicting three saints standing on a tiled floor - perhaps St Ursula, St Elizabeth and Blanche of Castile, the Queen of France, as pages of the book are dedicated to or mention each woman. Each is dressed in luxurious fabrics, furs and lace, and stands in front of a flat green backdrop within the gold frame. This page is followed by an alphabet of the virtues and good gifts 'in a noble lady's heart & mind'.15 Each letter of the alphabet begins a line describing one particular gift, the alphabetic list spreading over the three pages. These pages are not as full of decoration as the title page, but are just as charming and delicately handled. Full-page illuminations of St Ursula, St Thomas a Becket, St Elizabeth, St Patrick, and other prayers follow, culminating in the end page dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. She is surrounded by gold, seated on a throne, holding the Christ Child on her lap with one hand, and a branch of lilies in the other.

Clare Augustine's other works include her illumination of the Latin text of 'The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary' and 'The Devout Sayings of Our Reverend Foundress', both of which are bound together and form the smallest of the manuscripts. 'The Little Office' uses some of the same decoration and layout that can be seen in 'The Rule', while 'The Devout Sayings' is much closer to 'The Book of Flowers' in decoration. There are also a further four framed pieces that hang in the International Mercy Centre.

SOURCES

Clare Augustine's eclectic manuscripts reveal a variety of influences and sources, as does her practice book, held in the Mercy Congregational Archive. This green leather-bound book provides insight into how she worked, and confirms the sources for certain motifs. It contains approximately twenty pages of different sketches, outlines, and fully illuminated initials, borders, lettering, and even little dragons and monsters to be used as line-fillers. Clare Augustine did not draw directly onto the book, except to note a source, sometimes as simply as '12th century'. Almost every drawing is on a separate piece of paper and stuck into the pages of the book, forming a scrapbook of motifs from various sources.¹⁶

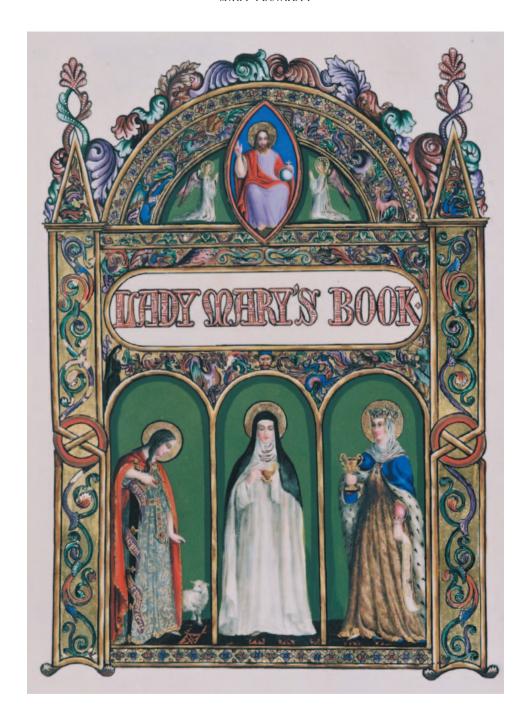
The sketches of the practice book confirm that Clare Augustine looked to the manuals of illumination for inspiration for her motifs of her exquisite manuscripts, and some pages betray direct sources. Three decorated initial letters in her practice book, for example, can also be found on the same page of Henry Shaw's *The Handbook of Medieval Alphabets and Devices* of 1849, and are described as 'from the copy of a work of Josephus and other MSS' and dated to the twelfth century. In the last pages of the notebook are a number of printed pieces. One is the cover-piece to Noel Humphrey's *Art of Illumination and Missal Painting* of 1849; two others are printed plates of border designs from the watercolour series of Vere Foster, namely Plate XIII and Plate XIX of Foster's *Advanced Water Colour Drawing – Illumination*, published in 1873 by Marcus Ward & Co in both London and Belfast.¹⁷ The plates show examples of flowers and border decorations from Books of Hours, Plate XIX being ascribed to an 'illuminated MS of 14th Century in possession of Robert Young [?], Esq.'. Although these pages would not have been her only sources, these designs and motifs were used throughout her work from the

acanthus and rinceaux to the flat-painted ground.18

Fuelled by the new interest in all things Gothic, manuals of instruction became extremely popular throughout the Victorian era. The publication of these books was made possible by the recent advances in chromolithographic printing techniques, and by the 1840s books with colour illustrations were being produced in Britain using the new technique. At this time the Gothic Revival was immensely popular in Europe and America, 'with its idealised and romanticised concepts of medievalism which distance in time had made cosy and respectable'.¹⁹ The illuminated address became the centre of public rituals, and professional illuminators were often employed to decorate these addresses. Illumination was considered a practice fit for young ladies, and many of the manuals assumed a feminine audience. Perhaps Clare Augustine began this lifelong fascination in her earlier education or taught herself using these books, taking advantage of her natural talents in art.

Another page in the practice book shows an alphabet in the process of being illuminated and the layers of drawing, outlining and painting that lie below the delicate decoration. With the exception of the First Register, which she wrote in her own hand, Clare Augustine used a combination of Lombardic Capitals for her titles and initials, and black-letter or Gothic 'church text' for the body of the document. The larger curved letter of the Lombardic were clearly based on uncial forms and used for decorative initials all over Europe. Known as Lombardic 'after the peoples who fled the Danube region and invaded northern Italy in the sixth century',20 the term Uncialesque was also used. There was no fixed alphabet, and the forms varied from manuscript to manuscript. They were usually painted in colour, using a brush, or applied with gold-leaf, or both. The black-letter emerged from the Carolingian style, when, during the eleventh century, book production became a commercial enterprise and competition increased the need to achieve more letters in a line. The rounded and graceful letters of the Carolingian script became compressed, heavier and more vertical. In both scripts a wide nib was used. This style is named blackletter, Gothic or Old English, and was used in illuminated manuscripts from this early date.²¹ Clare Augustine's lettering, though very similar, is not as rigid as the black-letter, but more flamboyant, the ascenders of the letter breaking into two and the right line curling to the right.²²

In the nineteenth century, despite the interest in lettering and the number of books on illumination that were published, the amateur calligrapher did not reproduce the lettering of the Middle Ages using the original methods. The techniques had been lost. Wide nibs had been used by the scribes when writing the Carolingian or black-letter forms, the nib being cut at an angle or straight across and then held at a particular angle to gain the required thick and thin strokes. During the nineteenth century, however, the outline was drawn with a thin-nibbed pen and then filled in with watercolour. This method was far more time-consuming and produced letter-



5 – Sr Mary Clare Augustine Moore, 'Lady Mary's Book': title page

forms that do not flow together in the same way as the originals.²³ It is only in the use of lettering that the amateur quality of Clare Augustine's work is apparent. Words run into the border, the letter forms are often irregular in size and shape, and in some cases there is no great contrast between think and thin strokes. The Lombardic capitals which work best when used as individual decorative initials are also employed by Clare Augustine for entire words and titles. They are uncial in form, and intended to be rotund, but Clare Augustine often condenses them for use in titles and introductory text, squashing the form to fit the space allotted.

Between the late 1830s and her death in 1880, Sr Mary Clare Augustine Moore illuminated eight highly decorative manuscripts. Bound in leather, with gold tooling and marquetry of other coloured leathers, some are more elaborately decorated than others, but none suggest the exquisite pages they enclose. Clare Augustine adapted a variety of motifs to suit her work. In this way, Lombardic letters become condensed; naturalistic flowers are painted on multi-coloured backgrounds as well as the traditional gold; and title pages are used to introduce each manuscript, a custom that was not practised in the Books of Hours of the Middle Ages. She lived and worked through the high point of the Gothic Revival, the great interest in manuscripts beginning in the 1830s as she entered the convent, being replaced by the Celtic revival towards the end of the century when she died. Although Celtic motifs did sometimes enter her work, her manuscripts do not show extensive influence of the Celtic revival. She was not the only member of a religious order to work in illumination. Both the Loreto and Dominican Orders have a selection of illuminated addresses, books, and even an oratory in Dún Laoghaire was decorated using motifs from illuminated manuscripts.²⁴ However, in almost all these cases, their sources were the insular manuscripts and the Irish designs, brought to popularity by the Celtic revival. Some of these were by named artists, others by unknown members of the order. They were to commemorate particular events or the death of an important member of the order, whereas Sr Clare's works were created to illuminate the words themselves. She commemorated each member of the order in the register, she illuminated prayers and immortalised Catherine McAuley's writings. Clare Augustine made use of the manuals of illumination, but adapted their subject matter to suit her own designs, creating unique and highly skilled pieces of graphic art, leaving behind her a fine legacy to the current Sisters of Mercy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article would not have been possible without the support and co-operation of the Sisters of Mercy – in particular, Sr Maureen McGarrigle, who so graciously facilitated my research in the Heritage Room of International Mercy Centre; Marianne Cosgrave for her assistance in the Mercy Congregational Archive; Mary C. Sullivan for her time, interest, and the documents which she very kindly sent me. A special word of thanks to Catherine Yvard, Sr Paula Kiersey and Réiltín Murphy, who went out of their way to help in my research. Thanks also to Christine Casey, Seóirse & Mairéad Plunkett for their support and encouragement in the preparation of the article. Images of Mary Clare Augustine Moore's manuscripts appear courtesy of the Mercy International Association.

ENDNOTES

- M.C. Sullivan (ed.), The Correspondence of Catherine McAuley, 1818-1841 (Dublin 2004).
- ² R.B. Savage SJ, Catherine McAuley, The First Sister of Mercy (Dublin 1955) 356–57.
- Mercy International Centre, Dublin, 'Register of the Convent BVM of Mercy Dublin', *1831-1841*, f.51, Mary Clare Augustine Moore.
- ⁴ C. McAuley, 'Letter to Sr. M. Frances Warde', in Sullivan, *The Correspondence of Catherine McAuley*.
- The only mention of their education is an account by Sr M Bertrand Degnan in which she describes Mrs Moore's decision to educate her daughters 'on a plan not only including the best in the way of a general education at the time but allowing supplementarily for their individual differences. Since Mary Clare liked to sketch and paint, she specialised in art. The younger, with an aptitude for languages, selected Latin as her forte.' M.A. Bolster, *Leaves From the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, *Volume I, Ireland, by a Member of the Order of Mercy* (New York 1888) reprinted in M. Luddy (ed.), *Irish Women's Writing 1839-1888*, 4 (London 1998) 229.
- Georgiana became the Superior of Cork, and later of Bermondsey in London, from where, in 1854, she was asked to go to the Crimea and assist with the sick and wounded soldiers. While there she met and became friends with Florence Nightingale. They corresponded for many years afterwards, and these letters remain in the Mercy Convent in Bermondsey.
- ⁷ Luddy, *Irish Women's Writing*, 22.
- Mary Clare Augustine Moore, Dublin Manuscript, as published in M.C. Sullivan, Catherine McAuley and the Tradition of Mercy (Dublin 1995) 215.
- ⁹ Mercy International Centre, Dublin, 'Register of the Convent BVM of Mercy Dublin', f.51.
- M.P. Brown, Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts, A Guide to the Technical Terms (London 1994) 107.
- Each illumination takes the shape of a square, placed in the centre of a landscape-shaped book, and upon inspection of the edge of the illuminated area it is evident that these illuminations were not painted into this particular book directly, but placed in its pages upon completion. Both the title page and inscription are, however, written into this book and are the work of Clare Augustine, so there is no doubt that it was she who assembled the manuscript.
- ¹² Mercy International Centre, Dublin, 'Short Prayers And Ejaculations', f.2, Mary Clare

Augustine Moore, title page.

- ibid., 'Mary' page.
- Mary Clare (Georgiana) Moore, A Little Book of Practical Sayings, Advices and Prayers of Our Reverend Foundress, Catherine McAuley (London 1868). I am grateful to Mary C. Sullivan for the photocopy she sent me of a copy of the first edition that is held in the Archive of the Institute of the Sisters of Mercy, Bermondsey, London.
- ¹⁵ Mercy International Centre, Dublin, 'Lady Mary's Book', f.3, Mary Clare Augustine Moore.
- ¹⁶ It is hard to decide where this book comes in her career as different elements or variations have been used in more than one manuscript. The practice book does not contain flowers in the naturalistic manner but focuses on the motifs and lettering of the Books of Hours.
- Vere Foster had followed his copybook series with a series of watercolour instruction which excited 'amazed admiration' as the united efforts of Foster and his printer Marcus Ward 'resulted in productions as nearly perfect as was then possible'. M. McNeill, *Vere Foster*, *An Irish Benefactor* (Belfast 1971) 146. The copybooks had been introduced in the 1860s to teach handwriting in schools, providing instruction on penmanship and space on the page for the child to copy the examples provided. They were printed in the machinery department of the Dublin Exhibition, and the entire cost of production was borne by Foster. A series of drawing books followed, printed and published by Marcus Ward & Co of Belfast, which taught drawing techniques from 'elementary' to 'perspective', 'illumination-outline' and illumination 'water colour'.
- Other books that are thought to have belonged to Clare Augustine, or at least consulted by her, are *Exotic Birds* by Mary and Elizabeth Kirby, *Four Seasons at the Lakes*, a printed illuminated poem, and *The Cromlech at Howth*, with illumination from the Book of Kells and an essay by George Petrie. These books are preserved in the Mercy Congregational Archive. The first, *Exotic Birds*, is particularly interesting as it contains a number of chromolithographic plates of unusual birds. The birds and their relevant page numbers are listed at the back of the book in Clare Augustine's hand, which suggests that she may have used them as a source for the exotic birds that appear in *Practical Sayings of Our Reverend Foundress*.
- ¹⁹ D. Jackson, *The Story of Writing* (Monmouth 1981) 149.
- D. M.Anderson, The Art of Written Forms, The Theory and Practise of Calligraphy (New York 1969) 102.
- 21 ibid., 84
- An example of this can be seen is Henry Shaw's *The Hand Book of Medieval Alphabets and Devices* and in *Hand Book of Plain and Ornamental Alphabets in Illuminated Ancient and Modern Alphabets*, where it is displayed alongside the other, more rounded Lombardic lettering, and both are referred to as 'church text'.
- In 1906 Edward Johnston researched early techniques and revived skills in illuminating which had been lost for centuries. He revived the use of the Carolingian style in his book Writing and Illuminating and Lettering, and 'emphasised the direct and spontaneous use of the broad edged pen rather than meticulous imitations with a fine point' (Jackson, *The Story of Writing*, 156), returning to medieval methods as well as models. This, however, was over fifty years too late to have informed Clare Augustine Moore's first manuscripts.
- N. Griffin, 'The Celtic Art of Sr Concepta Lynch in the Sacred Heart Oratory, Dún Laoghaire: a Socio-historical Account', unpublished BA thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1997.