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An Irish Missionary in India: Thomas Gavan Duffy and *The Catechist of Kil-Arni*

Fiona Bateman

Thomas Gavan Duffy, Irish by parentage, was a missionary in India from 1911 until his death in 1941.¹ Although a member of a French missionary order, he was well known in Ireland, not only because of his family name, but also for his abundant writings on various mission-related topics, productions which include a film, *The Catechist of Kil-Arni*, made in India in 1923. In order to contextualise Duffy's missionary career, it is useful to consider the Irish missionary movement during the period in question.

The Irish Catholic missionary campaign to convert the 'pagan' world (including Africa, China, and, to a lesser extent, India) gathered momentum from about 1916. The high point of the movement in terms of numbers of missionaries, new Irish missionary orders, and public interest in and support for the missions, was the 1920s to the 1940s. Until this resurgence in the foreign missions, the primary usage of the term 'Spiritual Empire' related to the many Irish emigrants to all parts of the world who brought their Catholic faith with them and to whom the Irish hierarchy was quick to supply missionary priests. In the late nineteenth century, the spiritual needs of the Irish diaspora had been a priority for the Irish Catholic Church and preservation of faith took precedence over conversion. Therefore missions to Irish emigrants in Britain, the United States, and Australia had been the main focus of the Irish Church's missionary activity until the 1920s, when those emigrant communities were sufficiently well-established provide their own priests and no longer needed assistance (or interference) from the Irish 'mother' church.² Consequently Ireland had a surplus of missionary vocations and the traditional missionary destinations were no longer available; therefore, alternatives had to be considered. Although, in the main, the spiritual empire referred to those emigrants rather than any putative empire where Irish missionaries exercised control over a native

population, the meaning changed subtly as the overseas missions expanded to include missions to ‘pagans’ in places such as Africa, China, and India.

Ireland’s proud history of missionary activity, featuring saints such as Brendan and Columbanus, was evoked in support of this process of missionary rebirth, which was linked to the political emergence of a new state. The revival of missionary activity in Ireland and the huge public participation in, and enthusiasm for, the missions, which occurred subsequently, was to become not only a religious movement, but also a social and cultural phenomenon lasting for more than three decades. The participation of the wider Catholic community was essential for the success of the missionary project; the financial contributions which supported the missions also engendered a communal sense of involvement and pride in a great cause. By involving schoolchildren in fundraising and other mission-related activities, a steady supply of vocations for the missions was ensured and a missionary consciousness was encouraged in every home. The discourse that grew from Ireland’s missions to the pagans consisted of a variety of books and magazines, often including photographs and other illustrations of exotic people and locations. Unsurprisingly, given the prevalence of clerical filmmakers in the amateur filmmaking milieu, films about the missions soon became a part of the discourse.³

One noteworthy clerical filmmaker and missionary was Thomas Gavan Duffy. The youngest of Charles Gavan Duffy’s twelve children, he was born in the south of France in 1888. Charles was a distinguished Irish nationalist: he had been a Young Ireland activist and editor of the *Nation*, and became Prime Minister of Victoria, Australia, before retiring to France. Thomas’s mother, Louise Hall, who was Charles’s third wife, died shortly after Thomas’s birth. Although of Irish parentage, Thomas’s first visit to Ireland was not until the occasion of his father’s burial in Glasnevin Cemetery in 1903. When as a young adult he announced a missionary vocation, his protective older siblings made efforts to direct him to an alternative and less dangerous vocation with an Irish order.

While the heroic and adventurous aspects of a missionary vocation were often an attraction to young men (and women), it was precisely these elements which alarmed the families of potential missionaries. But Gavan Duffy was persistent, eventually joining a French missionary order, the Paris Foreign Missions Society. He was ordained in September 1911 and appointed to the Pondicherry mission in South India, where he spent most of the remainder of his life.

In India, Thomas Gavan Duffy is principally remembered for initiatives which prefigured the Second Vatican Council of 1968 by over thirty-five years. 'Inculturation', as the process was described, began with the erection of an altar facing the people in 1931, for which he received the approval of Pope Pius XI. The translation of liturgical books into local languages, such as Tamil, was another project. He established the audio-visual unit at Tindivanam, probably the oldest one in Catholic India. The periodical magazine, *Siruvargalin Thozhan*, which he started in 1914 and which contained catechetical texts and model lessons, is still published today as *Thozhan* ('friend' in Tamil).⁴

While Gavan Duffy frequently found himself in conflict with elements of the Church, it does not seem to have hindered his career. A report he made on a missiological conference (published in *Studies* in 1928) reveals his personal attitude to the missionary project (Gavan Duffy, 'A Muster' 397-412). In it he ironically measures the distance between the missiologist (engaged in high intellectual analysis of the missions) and the missionary (the lowly practitioner). The Louvain school had called for 'the de-Europeanisation of the Missioner' and closer identification with the people they wanted to reach. Gavan Duffy is disparaging of this 'platform to theoretical discussion', which he believes 'cannot but emasculate the missiological body and, by confining it in the rarefied atmosphere of speculation, impair its chances of surviving when brought into contact with the realism of life in pagan lands'. He reports on the inconclusive but lively debates on topics such as 'Whether the Negro is a child', and concludes, with some

bitterness: ‘So the Missiologists dispersed to their laborious investigations, and we Missioners to our easy-going missions’.

As his life was largely devoted to the missionary cause in India (and indeed as a member of a French missionary organisation), it might be thought that he would not have been well known in Ireland, but Gavan Duffy was a prolific and widely-published writer with a ‘famous’ family. He produced articles, devotional poems, reports of missionary activity, travel books, and books of short stories for publication, in addition to his private correspondence. He was a frequent contributor to various missionary magazines, a staple reading material of the contemporary Irish Catholic. In 1922, he is described in the magazine *Catholic Missions* as ‘Ireland’s best known missionary in India’ (*Catholic Missions* 139). His books, liberally illustrated with photographs from his travels, were available in school libraries. It is said that in the schools during this period, adventure stories were ‘set aside as having only a secondary appeal’, while missionary magazines, such as the *Missionary Annals of the Holy Ghost Fathers*, ‘then alive with articles hot from the African front line [were] grabbed at frantically during library time’ (McGettrick 188). Books like those written by Gavan Duffy recounting missionary experiences, with titles such as *In Forest and Jungle*, *Mush*, *You Malemites* (by ‘The Glacier Priest’), and *African Adventure*, were available in school libraries, providing alternative subject matter to narratives of empire but in a similar and familiar genre. Gavan Duffy’s *Let’s Go* (1928), using ‘dramatic methods of modern journalism ... and interlaced with adventure’ (Corcoran 679), might indeed be compared to the genre of imperial adventure writing which promoted the imperial cause and created heroes whom the boys of empire might emulate. Missionary life was depicted as incorporating travel, exploration, and adventure – a real *Boys’ Own* world. Stories, which recounted danger and sacrifice for a great cause, echoed tales of different battles and the deaths of other heroes. It was noted in a magazine, with some disappointment, that the missionary hero

had not quite entered the literary canon, that ‘no poet yet has sung of the courage required to face death by torture, surrounded by howling savages’ (*Oceana* 89). In such writings, physical hardship, heroism, and sacrifice are constantly evoked (and almost as frequently played down, out of regard for the parents of potential missionaries). The subject of martyrdom was often highlighted and, referring to the almost inevitable death which the early missionaries faced, it was conceded that ‘a great cause is worth a great sacrifice and there is something magnificently inspiring in the divine hardihood with which these gallant missionaries ... flung away their young lives’ (*New Africa* 5). Gavan Duffy is particularly enthusiastic on the subject of martyrdom and torture; when describing the martyrdom of some priests in Indochina, for example, he observes: ‘the reader will forgive me for not harrowing his feelings further with the screams of tortured children, the swish of flays, the nausea of steaming blood’. He continues:

it is a splendid witness to their spirit and their training that not one is recorded to have weakened whether the whip ploughed his back, or the pincers twisted his flesh, or the red hot tongs made festering wounds.

(*Dawning Day* 165-6)

He confidently asserts that: ‘It was, of course, the ambition of every priest to secure the martyr’s palm’ (*Dawning Day* 167). He describes the Foreign Mission Society’s proposed Hall of Martyrs, ‘where the students could learn, in prayerful contemplation, what was meant by the missionary ideal’, and observes that the bishop had brought exhibits including swords, whips, and pincers, which had been used to torture the martyrs, as well as ‘what was left of their bloodstained clothing’ (*Dawning Day* 191).

A reviewer noted of Gavan Duffy’s *Yonder*, published in 1916, that it provided ‘novel glimpses’ of the mission world, not merely depicting ‘golden glamour’ but ‘flashes of quite ungarnished reality’, bringing the reader ‘wonderfully near to what it feels like to be a missionary’ (EM 650). *Let’s Go* described an incredible journey across the continent of

Africa, Kampala to Kano in nineteen days, probably the first east-west crossing of the continent in a conventional four-wheeled vehicle. Typically, his account includes a great deal of description regarding the difficulties of travel, in addition to a commentary on the various missionary projects encountered on the journey, as well as some anthropological observations. Again, *Let's Go*, was lauded for 'breaking the tradition that 'nobody reads books about the Missions, except the Missioners' (Corcoran 679). His journalistic style was admired for inspiring readers, who hitherto might have been indifferent to the missions, to 'think of and feel about the Missions with fresh interest', investing 'vocation with a strange romance and beauty' (*Dawning Day* review). The same reviewer went so far as to describe him as a possible rival to Kipling, the creator of Mowgli and his jungle world. It seems that Gavan Duffy inherited his father's interest and skill in journalistic matters.

Missionary publications were widely disseminated and read, and the illustrations that accompanied the text added to their appeal. Magic lantern shows, which portrayed missionaries and their work to audiences in parish halls and schools, were also popular. While British public schools were visited by explorers and distinguished old boys, Irish schools were visited by missionaries. These men were feted and inspired emulation, often giving lectures illustrated by lantern slides and, in later years, showing films. James Mellett, a Holy Ghost missionary, mentions lantern slides shown in Ireland in 1925, depicting Nigeria and mission life: 'at that time they were the first pictures of Africa seen in most places and they made a powerful impression' (Mellet 62). Appeals in support of the missionary project were made to both religious and national pride. The Irish missionaries had, in Ireland, the equivalent function to the imperial explorers and travel writers in Britain; they brought the excitement and exoticism of Africa, China, and India to the Irish classroom and to the wider community in other public centres. Although these men spent most of their lives in distant countries their names and faces were well-

known in Ireland. As the biographer of distinguished missionary Bishop Shanahan recounts, ‘The magic inspiration of bearded men home from foreign lands was stirring young hearts in schools and colleges and seminaries’ (Jordan 187).

The magic lantern was being overtaken by the ‘moving picture’, and the clergy in Ireland were some of the earliest enthusiasts for this new technology, recording parish events for posterity. Many missionary orders produced their own films to be shown in schools and public halls; the visual images caught the audience’s imagination and illustrated what could not be captured in writing. Missionary films took the form of both documentary and fiction, and all were essentially propaganda.⁵ The subjects of these films include vocations: for example, the story of the child who finds he has a vocation, and documentary-style footage of young men and women preparing for the missions in convents and seminaries. There is film of missionaries at work on the missions, and historical accounts of particular orders and of the work of individuals.⁶ Usually these films were small-scale productions intended for display in community halls and schools.⁷ Scenes which displayed exotic locations, jungle vegetation, and semi-civilised pagans had a huge impact on audiences as they could see where their contributions were going. The contrast between the newly converted and the pagan is often made, and ‘black babies’ were particularly photogenic.

The Church was concerned about film, specifically because it appreciated the power that the medium possessed and acknowledged that it was a powerful means of education and propaganda in the right hands. Unsurprisingly, Gavan Duffy recognised the value of the missionary film as a way of spreading the missionary message and was not slow to act when an opportunity to make a film arose. Typically, his was not a small-scale, amateur production.

In 1923, Gavan Duffy produced, wrote, and acted in *The Catechist of Kil-Arni*, a fundraising and propaganda venture, proposed (and funded) by his friend Monsignor

McGlinchey of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Boston. Gavan Duffy was a strong advocate of catechists, important figures in the missions. The catechist, invariably male, had a vital role in the Irish Catholic missionary effort. He would teach, prepare candidates for baptism and other sacraments, conduct services, preach, and baptize in case of death. If married, his wife would train brides elect (Caraher 8). Fundraising to train and pay the catechists was a large element of the missionary project. Gavan Duffy believed catechists were indispensable, given the scarcity of missionary priests. He argued that a catechist and his family in every village would serve ‘to exemplify the Christian life, to explain our standpoint when it is discussed, to react discreetly against traditionalism, and in favour of those changes which the Christianisation of a people will necessarily bring’ (*Let’s Go* 506). His insight that ‘the catechist who is truly one of his tribe ... will know by instinct what the Missioner so painfully learns about the people’ demonstrates the advantage of having the assistance of the indigenous people in the form of catechists, given the long period of training before a native clergy would be available. He argues that the catechist will use the deep family feeling of his people, their devotion to their mothers, their politeness; that he will seek blood-brotherhood with the chief and get support for his efforts, getting respect as ‘the representative of Progress, as well as Religion’. The catechist would also be better able than the missionary ‘to see how his people suffer from contamination at European contacts, and how they might be saved from it’. Gavan Duffy evidently saw the catechist as a strategic tool in reaching the native population and constantly promoted the idea of catechist training schools.⁸

The story of the film, which was one element of his campaign to promote the idea of the catechist, concerns the conversion of a rogue named Ram, who, following his imprisonment during a cholera epidemic (for looting), the death of his wife Sita (in the epidemic), and the subsequent removal of his four children to Catholic orphanages, is

converted to Catholicism and becomes a catechist. Or, as the intertitles explain, ‘the story of how the potter Ram, who was a pagan and a thief living in the Indian village of Chetpet, became the Catechist Joseph, still rough, but now thoroughly good’. The narrative, which is basically a fictional tale of conversion and redemption, includes elements of anthropological interest, descriptions of missionary work and procedure, and some moral messages to the non-Indian audiences.

In making *The Catechist of Kil-Arni*, Gavan Duffy was assisted by his friend Bruce Gordon, as well as some film professionals from Madras, including, it was rumoured, the distinguished director Raghupati Surya Prakash.⁹ Gavan Duffy cited Gordon’s experience in ‘handling coolies on the job’ as his major qualification, although he evidently brought a great deal of skill to the making of the film and even took a small acting role as the jail superintendent. In a newsletter he produced periodically for friends and supporters, Gavan Duffy recounted the difficulties involved in making the film, which probably mirrored the struggles he found in dealing with the Indian people in his life as a missionary.¹⁰ In these accounts, which are humorously narrated, he is inclined to resort to stereotypical criticisms of the Indians at times, describing laziness, apathy, childish behaviour, and contrariness.

The film is interesting, using an early, yet clearly established form of filmic language to present the story. Divided into episodes, the film uses intertitles to describe characters, explain images, develop the narrative, record time passing, and report speech. The narrative is structured so that as the story unfolds, details of the activities of the missionaries and the local traditions and culture are supplied.

Gavan Duffy solved the problem of reproducing ‘pagan rites’ and the scandal that might ensue by locating the scenes in an entirely Christian village of pariahs in his district, which had a population that ‘he would be better able to handle than any others’. The reluctance to re-enact pagan rituals, even for film-making purposes, was evidence of

a widely-held belief among missionaries that conversion was a tenuous condition which might easily be reversed through exposure to the temptations of pagan practice. While paganism was dismissed as darkness and ignorance, there is no doubt that it was understood to have its attractions.

A chase scene, when Ram is pursued by the law, enables the use of picturesque and dramatic locations, including an ancient fort. This scene is reminiscent of early films made in Ireland in which the fugitive is pursued through locations including the lakes of Killarney and other scenic landmarks familiar to the audience. The parallel editing employed, cutting between the fleeing Ram and the law in pursuit, builds tension and creates a sense of space and distance. At times Ram crosses the frame and leaves it empty, then, after a pause, the uniformed police run across the scene. He swims in a river, where a glimpse of a crocodile adds to the sense of danger and exoticism; he then climbs a high wall, followed by the uniformed police. As they run up a stone stairs, the camera moves back to display the full scale of this impressive structure. Some hide-and-seek at the top of the fort culminates in Ram's capture and the next scene depicts Ram behind bars.

The film is also of interest as missionary discourse, making the same representations as are found in printed texts, albeit in a different form. Conforming to other missionary discourse, pagan ritual is depicted as silly and ridiculous; undignified rather than threatening. The use of exclamation marks in intertitles suggests surprise or amusement; for example: 'Meanwhile, to propitiate the spirits, a sucking pig is buried alive and some of the pagan villagers come and jump over the emerging head hoping by this superstition to escape disease!' A close-up of the little piglet's head sticking out of the ground underscores the humorous intentions.

Visually the film is artistically composed. Scenes of the buffalo in the rice fields and the women sowing rice, their figures reflected in the water, are carefully set-up, providing

images that are almost biblical. There is also complexity and depth in the images of village life: in the foreground the 'modern' irrigation pump in motion contrasts with a procession of cattle, goats, and pigs being herded in the foreground, while a figure stands against a hut in the background.

It is evident who is in control of the narrative. Ram, who is later baptised Joseph, is depicted as mischievous. Although he is an adult male with responsibilities, his demeanour and actions are those of a child. Even after his conversion, when he has achieved a degree of dignity, he resorts to the missionary priest (Fr Albert played by Gavan Duffy) for help when he is incapable of repaying the debt he has incurred. In general, the Indians in the film are childlike, easily entertained by ritual and festivity. These representations seem to conform to Gavan Duffy's own attitudes towards the community in which he lived. The missionary figure has a paternalistic role; he solves problems. Authority, responsibility, and the imposition of order are represented by the priests, nuns, and colonial officials. Of the Indians, other than Ram/Joseph, only the money-lender is developed as an individual character. Otherwise the Indians, whether adults and children, are shown in groups and are not given individual voices.

The missionaries, or 'ministers of charity', provide 'skilled aid' in attending to the sick and dying. The viewer is given a guided tour of the children's homes they manage as Ram is shown around. The orphanages appear well organised; the children are happy, industrious, and nicely dressed, all receiving an education. Girls learn dancing, sewing, and domestic skills. Boys are taught academic subjects as well as a trade. The distinction missionaries made in the education of boys and girls is a subject which was defended by the missionaries on cultural grounds, but often criticised by native women, who saw that the missionaries were not so sensitive about changing other aspects of their culture, particularly when displacing mothers from their role as primary educator of their children. The benefits to the Church of running orphanages and schools are apparent

when Ram's daughter takes the veil as Sr Martha and his younger son is ordained, presumably because of the influence of the nuns and priests. Access to the sick is shown to provide opportunities to baptise the dying. When Sita is baptised on her deathbed, the plague of cholera is attributed a positive effect: 'She at least has secured Heaven by this ill-wind'. Ram's transformation is documented in Episode V: 'The Catechist. The making and in action. His two years of training, Followed by His conquest of Kil-Arni'. The narrative provides a detailed account of the training of a catechist and the work that he will do. He is shown under instruction, teaching others, and serving Mass. It is noted that the gift of tact is invaluable and Joseph is depicted as peacemaker in a children's squabble (his tact is less evident when he assaults an elephant in a procession in Kil-Arni in an attempt to erase the pagan markings on the animal's head).

Also of interest are the comparisons drawn between Irish and Indian life in visual reference and narrative themes. The village of Kil-Arni was a real place, the name chosen by Gavan Duffy for comic reference, the obvious link being with the more familiar (to western audiences) Killarney in Ireland. The hut in which Ram and his family live is visually very similar to an Irish thatched cottage, even having a cartwheel propped against the wall. The well and village 'tank' serve not only as a water supply and a washing facility but as a meeting place, a focus for village gathering and exchange of gossip. As in an Irish village, there is a social aspect to doing the daily tasks. When the various aspects of agricultural work are carried out, every member of the family is involved.

Another warning to Irish audiences may be read in Ram's resort to alcohol to 'drown his sorrows'. While inebriated he has an argument with the headman which has repercussions, leading to his arrest. More seriously, he arrives home drunk and abuses his wife and children before falling asleep on the floor. Borrowing money to pay for an extravagant wedding is also censured, and it is easy to read another message to Irish

audiences in the speed with which Ram/Joseph's debt spirals and becomes unmanageable. Fr Albert has advised him against a big wedding: 'You are not a rich man'. But Ram/Joseph replies, 'It's the custom'. The foolishness of following custom rather than using common sense is evident. When his daughter's marriage is being arranged, the dowry system is criticised: 'And let me tell you that the Father would not like all this bargaining: A Christian woman is not to be treated as a piece of property'. However the arranged marriage itself is not questioned. Ram/Joseph is reluctant to support the vocations of his son and daughter, being unwilling to forfeit the income their work will bring to the family. However he is assisted financially and strongly advised: 'we must never cross a vocation. Leave all to the providence of God', an implicit reproach to the many Irish parents who supported the missions in principle, but were nevertheless reluctant to sacrifice their own son or daughter to the cause.

Certain expectations of exoticism are met: a village idol is appropriately fierce and 'pagan-looking', appearances by elephants, and a glimpse of a crocodile provide confirmation of the location. (Apparently, camels, tigers, monkeys, and snakes were also provided, but considered a waste of time.) The vegetation is jungle-like, while the ruins of a fort suggest ancient grandeur. Eager little dark-skinned children frolic semi-naked, the black babies of missionary rhetoric. The demurely dressed girls in the convent perform traditional dances, supervised by the nuns. The dancing men who wave sticks enthusiastically hint at some old warlike practice, now ritualised and free of menace. Pagan parades seem lively and colourful, though filmed in black and white. Drums are beaten and banners flourished with energy. The villages are filled with thatched huts, but the missionary buildings are solid, with verandas and shady interiors giving an impression of airiness. The church, which is ornately decorated, is visible in the background of scenes, evidence of money well spent. The interior views of the church would seem reassuringly familiar to viewers, resembling Catholic churches worldwide.

A typical device in missionary discourse is the drawing of contrast between the pagan and the Christian. In the introductory scenes of the film, Ram, the thief, is bare-chested and decorated with 'warpaint', wearing beads. The catechist Joseph, his alter ego, is depicted wearing a turban and white robes, his beard neatly trimmed. He carries a bible, wears a crucifix around his neck, and has rosary beads draped around his wrist. The transformation is not only spiritual but physical also. The children too are clothed respectably after arriving at the orphanages; in the village they wore rags, which scarcely covered their bodies. Pagan and Christian behaviour are contrasted when it is observed that, in contrast to the pagans of Chetpet who abandon their sick and dying when cholera breaks out, the Christians of Kil-Arni tend to the sick. The Christian procession, which celebrates the curing of the village, is described as 'far more religious' than the pagan equivalent, despite the fact that it looks exactly like the pagan procession except that the painted elephant is replaced by a couple of religious statues carried shoulder high.

Given the difficulties associated with the climatic conditions and managing the cast and crew, and the limited resources available, the film was a great achievement and remains a fine example of missionary filmmaking. The first public showing of *The Catechist of Kil-Arni* was at the Boston College High School on 25 October 1923. It was subsequently shown throughout the United States and in Britain and Ireland. Reviews were enthusiastic, and occasionally devastatingly matter-of-fact: 'a movie of missionary life among the Hindus – A plot of gripping interest with Elephants and Native Police assisting'. Financially it was a successful venture and well repaid the cost of its production.

Thomas Gavan Duffy died in 1941. In 1989 a celebration was held in Tamil Nadu to mark the centenary of his birth; he is remembered in Tindivanam as someone who not only had innovative ideas but saw them to fruition.

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² All Hallows College in Dublin existed specifically to ordain priests who would minister to Irish emigrants, particularly in the USA and Australia.

³ For further discussion of filmmaking clergy, see O'Flynn.

⁴ The website for Tamilnadu Biblical Catechetical and Liturgical Center (TNBCLC) is <http://www.tnbclc.org/index-html>

⁵ The Irish film archive is currently establishing a special archive of these films, some of which need to be restored as well as preserved.

⁶ Examples from the archive include: *Adveniat Regnum Tuum* (about the founding and work of the Little Sisters of the Assumption); *Fr Fuhrmann* (the founder of MIVA which supplies land, water and air communications for missionaries in Africa); *Kilimanjaro Mission* (a little boy reads letter from his missionary brother); *Holy Ghost* (the beginning shows a black priest surrounded by children, flashback to little black boy at the mission who has subsequently become the priest).

⁷ In 1948, *Visitation*, a film about the history and work of the Medical Missionaries of Mary, directed by Andrew Buchanan, was a big production, produced for commercial display in cinemas. The story of the making of the film is recounted by Buchanan.

⁸ There was however an element within Catholicism which thought catechists a Protestant idea and disapproved.

⁹ Some sources list Prakash as a director but Gavan Duffy does not mention his involvement.

¹⁰ Gavan Duffy produced a periodical newsletter, *Hope*, for his friends and benefactors for many years. This is the source for all his comments on the making of the film.