

Gospel Ferment in India among both Hindus and Christians

Bishop J. Waskom Pickett's Rethinking on 1930s Missions in India

by Art McPhee

Most people know only two things about Methodist missionary and bishop, Jarrell Waskom Pickett: (1) that he had a seminal influence on Donald McGavran, the father of the Church Growth Movement; and (2) that he wrote the classic study, *Christian Mass Movements in India*. Here is a two-minute list of things they don't know:

1. According to the Dr. Charles Perrill, pioneering surgeon and head of Bareilly's Clara Swain Hospital, in the last half of the twentieth century, J. Waskom Pickett furthered Christian medical care in India more than any other individual.
2. Donald Ebright, one-time Director of Famine Relief for the National Christian Council of India, wrote, during the communal riots following Independence and Partition, "Bishop J. W. Pickett . . . did more than any one non-government person to organize voluntary relief in Delhi."
3. Following Independence, in 1947, no expatriate in India surpassed Pickett in political influence. He had unusual access to Prime Minister Nehru, knew all the members of his cabinet well, and was a close friend of B. R. Ambedkar, Nehru's Law Minister and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, his Health Minister.
4. There is good evidence that Pickett, a friend and confidant of H. C. Mookerjee, Vice President of the Constituent Assembly and chair of the session that adopted the religious liberties clause of India's Constitution, was, early on, consulted by Mookerjee on some of the language. Unlike any other constitution, India's specifically gives the right to "propagate" one's faith.
5. In an unofficial, yet sanctioned capacity, Pickett met with two U.S. Presidents in behalf of India: (1) with Truman to plead for a policy change that would allow the sale of American surplus wheat to prevent widespread famine; and (2) with Eisenhower to urge a shift from the disastrous policies of Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles towards India.
6. Pickett was the organizer and first president of the United Mission to Nepal, one of the most inventive models of ecumenical mission ever employed.

All that took place after Indian Methodists appointed Pickett to the episcopacy in 1935, forcing him into a new set of agendas. In our review of Pickett's "rethinking" missions, we'll be looking primarily at the decade before that: 1925-1935. However, let me begin with a disclaimer and explanation.

In the 1930s, two books circulated in India with "rethinking" in the title. One was *Rethinking Missions*, which reported on the Laymen's Inquiry. The other

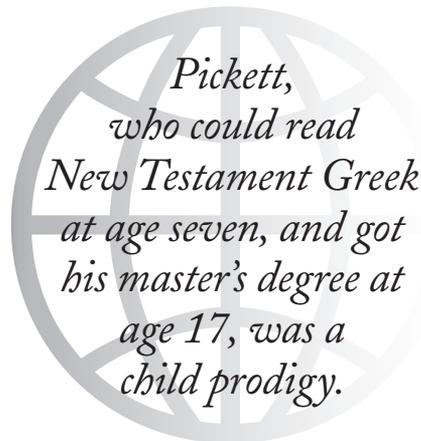
Art McPhee, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Mission and Intercultural Studies at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary.

was *Rethinking Christianity in India*, whose authors and their aims are, in part, the inspiration for this forum. Interestingly, the latter “rethinking” book was partly a response to Kraemer’s *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, which was in turn a response to the former “rethinking” book. My disclaimer is that Bishop J. Waskom Pickett had nothing to do with either book, although he was familiar with both of them and knew their authors. My explanation is that, in the 1930s, Pickett did some rethinking of his own about missions and Christianity in India, although along very different lines. Because of that, I’ve decided it might be a useful term to include in my own title: “Bishop J. Waskom Pickett’s Rethinking on 1930s Missions in India.”

Jarrell Waskom Pickett came to India in 1910 to take up the pastorate of the Lal Bagh English Church in Lucknow, which had just been vacated by E. Stanley Jones, his friend and college roommate. However, although they graduated together, Pickett was six years younger than Jones. This is accounted for by the fact that Pickett, who could read the New Testament in Greek at age seven, and got his master’s degree at age 17, was a child prodigy. At Asbury College, both young men were athletic, loved to debate, and were already recognized as effective public speakers. Although, as adults, they often disagreed on issues, they remained close friends for 70 years.

Like Jones, Pickett quickly developed a deep affection for India and its people. When, after 46 years of missionary service, he retired to teaching at Boston University, he told his friends, “We are leaving home and going to America.” Pickett and Jones had other things in common too: holiness roots, profound social concern, a heart for evangelism (“Every day is a good day for evangelism,” Pickett said), and a deep desire to understand the Hindu mind and worldview. However, there were differences too. While both men were brilliantly innovative evangelists, Jones’ principal focus was on intellectuals, while Pickett’s was on untouchables. Inevitably, then, Jones’

innovations related to caste Hindus, especially Brahmans, while Pickett’s insights related mainly to those we now call Dalits. That is not to say that Pickett did not interact with Brahmans—indeed, he persuaded many Brahmans to give their allegiance to Christ—nor that Jones was not interested in Dalits. It is, rather, to underscore their respective emphases, where they put their main energies, what they gave the most thought to, where their hearts were.



On the eve of World War I, Pickett contracted tuberculosis and was sent home to die. Instead, on an island near St. Augustine, Florida, he recovered fully. In 1916, he and his new bride, Ruth Robinson Pickett, who was born and raised in India, were assigned to Arrah, Bihar, where a small “mass movement” was occurring (today, we would call it a people movement). That is where, as Pickett put it later, his discovery of the real India began. One could say that it was the beginning of the Indianization of Pickett.

Recognizing his limitations as a Westerner, Pickett set about learning all he could about village Hindus and Muslims. Much of what he learned came from his Indian colleagues—the village preachers, whom he would, later, honor as “the main strength of the church in Shahabad,” which was the name of the district to which he was assigned.¹ Of the help he and Ruth got from two of his colleagues and their spouses, he wrote:

Our first home together led Ruth and me into a vast area of discovery.... In our study and search for

understandings that would enable us to adjust to our association with Indian ways and people, two Christian men and their families were especially helpful. These were Emanuel Sukh and Ishwar Dayal and their wives, Dr. Polly Sukh and Priavati Dayal.²

While in Arrah, Pickett recommended Emanuel Sukh for an important government post, which he filled with distinction. Regarding Dayal, who was adept at presenting the gospel to all castes.³ Pickett wrote: he was “the best all-around village evangelist I had come to know anywhere”⁴:

When he began to speak in a village, people from houses all around came close enough to hear him. He talked about favorite gods of Hinduism and always in a way that impressed his hearers and did not offend any of them, despite the fact that he always in a very friendly way introduced a strong Christian thought.⁵

From 1925 to 1929, J. Waskom Pickett was editor of one of the most influential Christian voices in South Asia, a Methodist publication called, *The Indian Witness*. As the guiding force behind the *Indian Witness*, Pickett became known for his interest in evangelism and his emphasis on social concerns—especially relating to the plight of the marginalized and oppressed. Because of its indictability in perpetuating the caste system, Pickett regarded Hinduism—as practiced—as one of the worst culprits. Nevertheless, he urged his readers to be conversant with the Hindu worldview, to acknowledge the positive in it and, in the pursuit of evangelistic effectiveness and a church with an Indian self-identity, to use Hindu forms to convey Christian meaning. So, for example, in 1925, when Vengal Chakkarai was appealing in the *Christian Patriot* for funds to build a Christian temple, Pickett’s response was essentially positive. In the last paragraph of his appeal, Chakkarai had written:

I make a special appeal to non-Christians who would like to see Christianity in India freed from foreign control and costume.... To me and others such a temple for communion with the Lord and for establishing spiritual contacts has

long been the cherished object of their life, and some of them would pass from the world in peace, if they could see this scheme materializing before their eyes.⁶

Pickett's response went, in part, like this:

Mr. Chakkarai is the leading spirit in the Christo Samaj of South India. He represents a small but active group. They have proven themselves to be independent, fearless and animated by a passionate conviction of the soundness and importance of their views.... We welcome this proposal as we welcome every action that may draw anyone to Christ and may reveal him more clearly to anyone.⁷

Pickett was not free of anxiety, however. He was comfortable with the idea and said he hoped that the construction of the temple would proceed, but only if they guarded against the "Hinduizing of some Christians"—that is, "making Christ mean to them merely one among a number of Hindu gods or avatars...."⁸

Pickett's editorials, and the articles he chose to run in the *Indian Witness*, consistently backed putting Christian meaning in indigenous forms. With only the proviso that it did not compromise allegiance to Jesus Christ, Pickett lauded creative Christian thinking in the service of naturalizing Christianity. His favorite verse to quote was, "Love the Lord with all your mind."

For Pickett, the globalization of Christianity also signaled the need for less paternalistic attitudes on the part of Westerners. So, for example, in two editorials, he made a case for getting rid of the "foreign" in missions: "We would like to bury the Board of Foreign Missions and the Women's Foreign Missionary Society," he wrote. "As their successors, and heirs, we would propose a Board of International Missions and the Women's International Missionary Society." He added that the burials should be honorable, with eloquent orations of appreciation, but that the Methodist Church was now American and Indian, and Chinese, German, Swedish, Malaysian, Philippine, Mexican, and Chilean. "The church," he wrote, "is a bond

that links countries together and makes for peace and understanding."⁹

Pickett wanted his readers to be better informed about Indian affairs and culture—and about other countries too. So, he encouraged them to read. By reserving two hours after dinner, four nights a week, he assured them that they could read a book of 300 pages each week.¹⁰ Pickett's own reading in those days ranged from Chinese culture to the poetry of Tilak. The better books, and especially those that were relevant to cross-cultural witness, he reviewed in a regular feature called "The World of Books." Those that were especially thought-provoking—like E. Stanley Jones' *Christ of the Indian Road*, and V. J. Azariah's *Christ in the Indian Villages*—he featured. Of the Jones book, he wrote, "There is not a dull or unprofitable page in it." And, although he frankly confessed that "we disagree personally with a number of Dr. Jones' conclusions," he was quick to add, "we do not on that account find the book less helpful."¹¹ Of the Azariah book, which was of particular interest because it described one of India's best-known mass movement areas, he pointed specially to the last chapter, called "Conclusions." He urged every missionary to read the whole book, but to "study" the final chapter.¹²

Sometimes, as with Katherine Mayo's controversial *Mother India* (1927), Pickett would review a book in a front-page editorial.¹³ "Miss Mayo," as he respectfully called her, had written a muckraking account of the Indian government's apathy toward the horrific conditions in which people were subsisting. Her commentary, first published in New York, was partly true, but it was unbalanced and full of inaccuracies. By the time Pickett reviewed the volume, it had already produced bitter protests in India.¹⁴ Even Gandhi had decried it, although his criticisms were milder than many.¹⁵ Pickett, who thought the book should have been titled, "The Sins of Mother India," wished aloud that he could have spoken with the author beforehand "to give her another side of India." He was afraid the book was not only perpetuating old prejudices but sowing new ones.

As evidence, he disdainfully pointed to one American editor who, echoing the tone of Mayo's book, belittled India as:

corrupt, suffering, blasted, enslaved, ignorant, superstitious, hopeless, pagan, beastly, merciless, [and] putrid, its multitudes writhing in a cesspool of filth, an abode of death, a charnel house, a sepulcher, a shambles for helpless people, its religion a vampire, its intellect a paralytic, its moral judgement cyclopean, its affections bestial, and its streets swarming with sex perverts while its deity poses in the form of a cow.¹⁶

Nevertheless, although Pickett disliked Mayo's unabashed bias and her sludge-shoveling style, he thought her book could possibly do some good and that by causing people to pay more attention to India's emerging voices of reform, it already had done so.

Besides books, Pickett advocated the reading of vernacular newspapers, observing that "the increasing number of Indian people with whom we missionaries can converse in English tends to dull our sense of the need for fluency in reading and speaking the vernaculars of our areas."¹⁷ Pickett had little patience with missionaries who were lazy about language learning. In one article he published, the author, an Indian layman lamented:

I have listened to missionaries preaching and teaching in something which they thought was Hindustani.... It was as different from Hindustani... as chalk is to cheese. It is tragic to hear such people speak. You really do not know whom to pity more: the speaker or those who are penalized with the infliction of the speech.¹⁸

Pickett wrote more than 100 editorials and short articles a year during his tenure with the *Indian Witness*. One of his themes was the need for tolerance: religious and political. For instance, he pleaded with ministers to avoid bitterness toward Arya Samajists who pressured new Christians to recant, and toward zamindars (landowners) who persecuted new Christians. He wrote, "No minister was ever helped by an attitude of hostility and none was ever hurt by an excess of friendliness."¹⁹ Another frequent theme was the need

to make preaching the gospel more natural. For instance, he urged that Christian open-air preachers shun the kind of sermons of which their seminary professors of homiletics would approve. Instead, he advocated three to six-minute sermonettes conveying one vital truth and avoiding platitudes. He also proposed that such open-air preaching start with a friendly greeting and end with a bhajan or gazal.²⁰

Using indigenous music was, to Pickett, one of the most important ways of naturalizing Christianity. So he published numerous articles on the implications of Hinduism's heavy reliance on poetry and song for its propagation.²¹ In 1927, alone, at least five appeared. Other articles with the same contextualizing motif ranged from Cyril Modak's 17,000 word piece on "Hindu Bhakti and Christian Worship"²² to Gertrude V. Tweedie's three-part, "Inter-Penetration of Islam and Hinduism in India" and her four part series, "The Middle Class Moslem Woman of Lucknow."²³

Inevitably, criticism came, but Pickett was not dissuaded. He allowed Modak another 2,000 words to respond to critics. And Pickett, himself, responded, writing the following to one objector:

Hindu Bhakti has been thought of by a great many Christians as being wholly evil. Mr. Modak's article brings to such persons new truth and their first reaction to it is unfavorable. They will require time to adjust their thinking to truth that runs counter to their preconceived ideas and prejudices. . . .²⁴

Then Pickett added this:

In Hindu Bhakti and Christian Worship our esteemed friend, Mr. Modak, has raised issues to which the church must give attention if it is to gain a sympathetic hearing for the Gospel from the more spiritually minded of the Hindus and to help Hindu converts to Christ bring their rich inheritance of spiritual aspiration and discovery into subjection unto him.²⁵

It should be pointed out that Pickett was by no means a lone voice in his advocacy of naturalizing Christianity,

nor in his related desire for devolution of the leadership and control of Westerners in the Indian church, nor in his disappointment that these changes were not happening more rapidly. As he pointed out in one article:

That at this stage of the development of internationalism a healthy Indian Church would have many distinctively Indian features in its organization, forms of worship, methods of teaching and even doctrinal emphases is a view widely held among missionaries, friendly non-Christian Indians and non-Indian friends of the church. Frank disappointment is often expressed that

He argued that Golden Rule standards of evangelism, which bar perjorative, refuse to trivialize others' faiths, and abominate ethnic and racial condescension were the best response

the Indian Church is not more thoroughly Indian in these matters.²⁶

Nevertheless, Pickett did see some positive signs:

It is, we think, a heartening fact that Indian Christians are asking far more questions about the whys and wherefores of everything about the church than they used to ask. Generally speaking Indian Christians are far less inclined than in preceding years to regard as sacrosanct the forms in which truth has been expressed and the organizations which have proclaimed it. There is a growing appreciation of the fact that the fundamental truths of the Christian faith may be expressed in many different ways, all of them effective but some more effective with one group than with others. This is resulting in a desire to find the expressions of the truth that is in Christ Jesus that will most completely satisfy their hearts and minds and will be most effective when presented to their unconverted neighbors and countrymen.²⁷

Pickett, however, did not think that contextualization by itself was enough. Without what he called, "the companion of love," efforts at inculturating the gospel would fail. They would be reduced to sterile, academic exercises. He insisted, therefore, on what he called, "Golden Rule Evangelism,"²⁸ which meant committing oneself to sensitive, non-manipulative ways of commending Christ. He further argued that Golden Rule standards of evangelism, which bar pejoratives, refuse to trivialize others' faiths, and abominate ethnic and racial condescension were the best response to the charges of proselytism.²⁹ To take Golden Rule standards seriously was to take others seriously—including their beliefs—and to keep an open mind. However, one should not go too far, he cautioned: "The mind ought to be always open for selected truth, but there is never a time when it ought to be open for whatever comes along."³⁰

In 1928, Pickett had a visit from John R. Mott, which a few months later, led to Pickett's involvement in something entirely new: namely, conducting a series of social surveys of mass movement Christians. Since more than 80 percent of all those who had come into the Indian church were untouchables, and since controversy concerning the judiciousness of mass movement work had persisted for years, a serious study of them was of no small importance. True, other surveys had recently been done. In fact, the Church Missionary Society had just completed surveys of its mass movement work in the central Punjab, Travancore, Tinnevely, the Telugu area, Western India, and the United Provinces.³¹ But although informative, such surveys were meant as much for financial supporters of the mission as for those directly connected to the work. The recent CMS surveys, for example, typically included historical and descriptive overviews, some statistics, generalizations about issues and trends, and an assessment of needs. But though they purported to be dispassionate and free from "purple patches of eloquence or emotion,"³² in fact, they frequently lapsed into just that, as the following paragraph illustrates:

Would that we could transport you . . . to the plains of Tinnevely.

There you would see the long lines of laborers, men and women, in the fields—their backs bent, their faces to the soil. It is a parable of their life. As they go to their work, the unimaginably lovely lights of early dawn surround them, but their souls are dark. The singing of birds is heard, but their ears are deaf to the songs of liberty. At evening the flags of sunset stream across the sky and the mountains stand in holy stillness, but not for them!³³

Mott and Pickett envisioned a more thoroughgoing, objective survey—one less susceptible to misapprehension and distortion in its production.³⁴ In the United States, the Social Survey Movement was flourishing. A new kind of survey had come into its own, one that employed combinations of direct observation, interviewing, on-site data gathering through questionnaires and schedules, and data-producing experiments.³⁵

Under the auspices of the National Christian Council of India, and with the sponsorship and technical assistance of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, Pickett began his leadership of the survey in November of 1930. In fact, it would be the first of three such surveys. This first survey led, in 1933, to the publication of a book of summaries, conclusions and recommendations. When it appeared, “a chorus of praise”³⁶ greeted it. None of the cheering was more enthusiastic than that of Dr. Donald A. McGavran, who wrote: “There has come a book sent by God, and its name is Christian Mass Movements in India.”³⁷

To exaggerate the impact of Pickett’s *Christian Mass Movements in India* on the Indian church scene would not be easy. It might not be the missiological book of the century, as McGavran described it at the time (although, at the time, only a third of the century had come), but it certainly caused many mission boards and Indian churches to rethink and alter their priorities and methods, with mostly good results.

Incidentally, a review of social surveys up to that time shows it to be the most ambitious survey of its kind ever carried on outside the West. The thousands of interviews conducted by

Pickett and his colleagues resulted in the largest data base ever amassed on Dalit Christian society. But it was its legitimizing of employing the social sciences for research on evangelization that gave it missiological importance. Up to that time, theology alone mattered. Now, however, the social sciences were also seen to have a role in evangelistic thinking, planning and evaluation—and not an incidental one. Research and getting the facts down were now seen as essential tools for laying bare false assumptions and putting the missionary enterprise on a viable foundation. Up to that time, those fundamental ideas had not been widely acknowledged. *Christian Mass Movements in India* had a lot to do with changing that. It served as a wake-up call, alerting churches and missions to mistakes of the past—often very destructive mistakes—and the path to more fruitful evangelization in the future. When, later on, Donald McGavran reflected that Pickett’s book opened his eyes in that respect, he was echoing the testimony of many.

Beyond South Asia and the mission boards represented there, Pickett’s book was not as fully appreciated. But, on the Indian church scene, Pickett’s name became a household word overnight—much as McGavran’s name would become such in the larger missiological world during the final decades of the century. In India, mission after mission asked for Pickett’s services. Using the interview schedules developed by Pickett and Warren Wilson, his technical assistant, some groups, like the American Lutherans at Guntur, conducted their own surveys, then turned their data over to Pickett for evaluation. Had Pickett not been elected bishop in 1935, he would undoubtedly have been kept busy for years following up on invitations he had already received—including one from the Catholics, and another to organize a survey in China. But even with his removal to the episcopacy, the legitimizing effects of his study for mass movement work secured it a prominent place in the National Christian Council’s Forward Movement in evangelism. Similarly, his conclusions and recommenda-

tions led to the commitment of large numbers of India’s churches and missions to re-evaluate their evangelistic strategies, budgets, and personnel deployments. And, then, there was the impact on McGavran and its eventual ramifications.

Some have thought that McGavran was overstating or just being generous to a favorite mentor when he said, “I lit my candle at Pickett’s fire.” But they are mistaken. So are those who, writing about McGavran, routinely give him the recognition for concepts that were fully articulated by Pickett in the 1930s. The number of Pickett accentuations in *Christian Mass Movements in India* and *Christ’s Way to India’s Heart* that would later be absorbed into the corpus of Church Growth literature is substantial. Among them are such Pickett themes as these:

1. the need for research and getting the facts;
2. the importance of focusing less on individuals and more on groups and group (people) movements;
3. the power of group identity (homogeneity);
4. the destructiveness of social dislocation and the value of new Christians remaining in their social networks;
5. the hazards of Western individualism;
6. the need to abandon the mission station approach;
7. the concept of social lift;
8. the expediency of reallocating resources according to receptivity;
9. the critique of the term, “mass movement”;
10. the need to avoid foreignness and to adopt indigenous forms and symbols in the liturgy and worship of the church; and
11. the focus on the masses as more receptive than the classes.

How many of these concepts were original with Pickett is harder to say—perhaps not many. For example, long before Pickett’s day, John Wesley had grasped the principle of allocating resources according to receptivity. And advocating the use of indigenous

forms was certainly no new thing, although, in Pickett's day, he was one of the exceptions in advocating it.³⁸ Developing missionary strategy from the results of social science investigations was a new thing, however; and Pickett was without question among the pioneers. And certainly his application to missions thinking of this particular panoply of principles around a core emphasis on group conversions was unique. The sum of the parts in Pickett's panoply was, as McGavran noted in his review of *Christ's Way to India's Heart*, a radically new philosophy of missions, a fresh paradigm.

Thus, Pickett's advocacy of the kind of research-based strategies that impressed McGavran—exemplified by his own empirical studies, fresh conclusions, and prototypical recommendations and innovations—by itself puts him among the key missiological “re-thinkers” of the last century. **IJFM**

Interaction between Rethinking Forum Participants

Question: With so much missionary advocacy for the indigenization and Indianization of Christianity in India, why was so little changed, why did the church remain, as it is today, still such a Westernized institution?

Art McPhee: That was something that Pickett himself wrestled with himself. He never came up with an answer and I do not have a clear answer on that either. One thing we have to think about is that one of the kinds of changes the Pickett advocated, the Indianization or indigenization or inculturation or contextualization of Christianity in the Indian church is something that really has to happen from within, it is not something that can come from the outside. I think Pickett recognized that. The problem was that many of the early leaders of the Indian church were people who had been socially dislocated; they had been raised up in Western schools even though they were Indian. So that just was not going to happen from them. That certainly was one of the reasons.

Comment by Herbert E. Hoefler: One of the difficulties is that anybody who is within the structure really can't change the structure. My feeling is that truly indigenized Christianity (to use that term) wouldn't have a structure, wouldn't have a church organization, wouldn't have pastors, wouldn't have bishops, wouldn't have elections, wouldn't have church membership. It would be as the Hindu temples are; they are just there and they are accessible as and when people want. I don't know if it is really possible for the church to develop a truly indigenous form of following Christ; because the church itself is a western form. So indigenous “Christianity” will have to be totally separate from the church, and it cannot develop from the church.

The only thing I would add to that is that if indigenous forms develop they will need to be plural forms. There is no one indigenous form, there will be all kinds of expressions.

Endnotes

1. JWP, autobiographical notes. Asbury College Archives 13:16.
2. JWP handwritten draft for *My Twentieth Century Odyssey*. Asbury College Archives 15:9.
3. Ishwar Dayal's own background was the Kayastha caste, a literate and progressive caste whose ancestors once served the Mogul rulers of India.
4. Pickett (1980:47).
5. Pickett (1980:48).
6. Indian Witness 55(29):2.
7. Indian Witness 55(29):2.
8. Indian Witness 55(29):2.
9. “Give Us ‘International Missions’ instead of ‘Foreign Missions.’” Indian Witness 57(43):1.
10. Indian Witness 58(34):1.
11. “The Christ of the Indian Road.” Indian Witness 55(46):2.
12. “Christ in the Indian Villages.” Indian Witness 60(32):5.
13. Indian Witness 57(44):1.
14. Mayo's book, which in the American edition alone went through 12 printings in its first six months, received wide attention in India.
15. Gandhi's response was similar to Pickett's. He wrote: “While I consider the book to be unfit to be placed before Americans and Englishmen (for it can do no good to them), it is a book that every

Indian can read with some degree of profit.” (Heimsath 1964:347)

16. Quoted (apparently—no quotation marks are used) in the Indian Witness 57(44):1.
17. “What Vernacular Paper do you Read?” Indian Witness 58(50):1.
18. “My Ideal for Missionaries.” Indian Witness 56(30):3.
19. Indian Witness 56(8):1. Notes
20. “A Plan for Services in the Open-Air.” Indian Witness 58(45):1,8-9.
21. For example: “Singing the Gospel” by Richard A. Hickling, Indian Witness 55(44):3; “Indian Music and Evangelism” by K. L. Rallia Ram, Indian Witness 57(43):3; “Indian Music in Worship and Evangelism” by N. C. Sircar, Indian Witness 57(43):4; “Indian Musical Instruments” by Mabel S. Thero, Indian Witness 57(43):5; “Indian Music in Evangelism and Worship” by R. W. Mathur, Indian Witness 57(49):3; “Summer Schools for Indian Music” by H. A. Popley, Indian Witness 57(50):27; “Indian Music” by William Dye, Indian Witness 58(40):3; “An Evangelistic Method with a Future” by “Watchman,” Indian Witness 58(49):3.
22. Indian Witness 59(19):3-4, 7-8; 59(20):5-6; 59(21):7-9; 59(21):9-10; 59(22):6-7; 59(23):7-8; 59(24):7-8; 59(27):7-9.
23. Indian Witness 57(31):5; 57(32):7; 57(33):7; 57(7):5-6, 8; 57(8):5-6; 57(9):7-8; 57(10):6-8.
24. Indian Witness 59(25):8
25. Indian Witness 59(25):8
26. Indian Witness 57(6):3.
27. Indian Witness 57(6):3.
28. “Golden Rule Standards in Evangelism.” Indian Witness 58(2):2.
29. “Golden Rule Standards in Evangelism.” Indian Witness 58(2):2.
30. “When the Doors of the Mind Should Be Closed.” Indian Witness 58(2):2.
31. In fact, these “surveys” (1926-1927) were not even the first ones done by the CMS. (Hare 1927:3).
32. In the Bishop of Tinnevely's Foreword to the Tinnevely survey (Bennett and Neill 1926).
33. Bennett and Neill (1926:11).
34. Some would not call surveys of the CMS variety surveys at all but “general investigations” See Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar (1991:31).
35. The combining of methods did not necessarily, or even often, include all four. But most of the time the surveys were the product of several of these. As indicated by Charles Luther Fry, who

was for a time director of the Bureau of Standards of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, the majority of the 2,775 studies listed in Eaton and Harrison's exhaustive *Bibliography of Social Surveys* (1930) employed "a whole series of research tools" (1934:126). This was a step beyond the method employed in earlier community research studies, in which investigators utilized the simplest form of survey method: going to the field, asking questions, tabulating answers, and producing a product that combined straight statistics and description (Bruner 1957:145).

36. "Chorus of praise": The Guardian (Madras), March 15, 1934, p. 3.

37. "Christian Mass Movements in India by J. W. Pickett." Sahayak Patrika, February 21, 1934.

38. The sovereignty of indigenous Christian expression has been guaranteed and observed at least from the time of the Jerusalem Council's decree, which liberated Gentile Christians, not just from the Judaizers' requirement of circumcision, but from the imposition of any other non-Greek cultural requirements (See Acts 15:6-29). Although many cross-cultural missionaries have found it difficult to untangle the gospel from their cultures, there have been, in every generation, cross-cultural evangelists like Pickett who have encouraged indigenous expressions of Christian faith.

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