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Nihon no Shingaku: Takakura Tokutarô

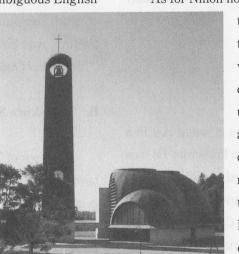
Nelson Jennings

I. Introductory Remarks

When speaking of "Nihon no Shingaku" — which has such varying and ambiguous English

equivalents as "Theology of Japan" and "Japanese Theology" — it is important first of all to clarify what one means by that phrase. Here, two meanings that are *not* intended are "Nihon no shoyû" and "Nihonteki." The former indicates the "possession of Japan." Theology, however, by its very nature must not be restricted to, or encapsulated within, a single national-

cultural entity. "Nihonteki," commonly speaking, refers to something "having (uniquely) Japanese characteristics." Furthermore, historically "Nihonteki" has been used in reference to Christianity and theology for narrow, nationalistic purposes. While Christian theology necessarily takes on certain qualities of any philosophico-linguistic matrix within which it is articulated, it must always retain trans-cultural and trans-national elements. What *is*



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intended here, then, by "Nihon no" theology is "Nihon ni okeru" theology, that is theology that "takes place in Japan" or "exists in Japan."

As for Nihon no "Shingaku," or "Theology,"

this essay will seek to follow the Greek original and use what might be termed a common or simple-minded understanding of "words about God." Moreover, instead of "Theology" in a more restricted or scientific sense, the understanding here is in line with what has been described as "kôgi no shingaku." Such a "broad theology" considers nothing

to be unrelated to God in some way, and thus everything can fall within the realm of theological reflection.

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In the present case, the overall, human thought of Takakura Tokutarô (1885–1934) is the topic under brief consideration. The goal of examining this important Japanese Christian leader is sympathetically to understand a few of the distinguishing marks of Takakura's thinking as it took place within his own particular historical context. In doing so, we must assume a certain posture of "theological relativism" within a perspective of "historical theology," since our present understanding is no less immune from contextual factors than was Takakura's. Even so, we have an assurance of commonality and of unshakeable standards in approaching Takakura's thought due to a common Creator and Redeemer, seen in our shared humanity and faith in Jesus Christ.

II. Takakura Tokutarô

A. Life Context

Takakura was reared as a young boy in a small, mountain town in Kyoto Prefecture. He then attended school during a period of politically-cultivated nationalism. These years were highlighted by the granting of the Meiji Constitution (1889), the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890), and major wars against China (1894–1895) and Russia (1904–1905). In 1906 Takakura began legal studies at the prestigious Imperial University in Tokyo, a major step towards fulfilling his lifelong dream of becoming a high-ranking government official.

However, by the end of the same year Takakura had been baptized into the Christian Church; and, one year later he quit legal studies in order to pursue theological studies at a small, new ministerial training school begun by his pastor, Uemura Masahisa.

This step in such an entirely new direction took him towards a lifelong career as pastor and teacher in the Nihon Kirisuto Kyôkai ["Japan Christian Church," hereafter NKK].

After pastorates in Kyoto and Sapporo, followed by a three-year period of teaching and preaching in Tokyo, Takakura embarked in 1921 for over two years of study in Britain. He spent one academic year at New College, Edinburgh, one academic year at Mansfield College, Oxford, and then one academic term at Westminster College, Cambridge. In January, 1924, Takakura returned to Japan, where he spent the remaining ten years of his life in responsible positions as preacher, teacher, speaker, and author. His best known work, the title of which encapsulates well his overall theological posture, was his 1927 *Fukuinteki Kirisutokyô* ["Evangelical Christianity," hereafter *FK*].4

B. "Takakura Shingaku"

Analyses of Takakura's theology generally have described him as carrying forward the evangelical banner that had been received from Anglo-Saxon missionaries and then firmly hoisted in Japan by Uemura Masahisa. Strong comparisons have been made between Takakura and such Western theologians as P.T. Forsyth and Emil Brunner. One glance at the bibiography of FK will support the accompanying contention that the theology Takakura espoused was little more than a linguistic recasting of what he himself termed "Calvinistic Evangelicalism." This accepted evaluation furthermore sees Takakura's theological development as moving from his early "liberal" position — in which he was sympathetic towards Schleiermacher during and immediately after his

seminary days — through Albrecht Ritschl until he finally reached a more "conservative" evangelicalism during his more mature years.⁵

While such an understanding of Takakura's theological system is not inaccurate, it is incomplete, especially with regards to his thought as a Christian *human being*. Takakura Tokurarô did not start thinking at the time he entered seminary in his early twenties. Nor did his inherited thought patterns somehow evaporate upon his conversion to Christianity. If anything, the linguistic-cultural, religio-philosophical framework within which his thought developed as a young boy in the highlands of Central Kyoto Prefecture played the single most fundamental and enduring role in what and how the man Takakura Tokutarô thought in his later years.

Undoubtedly his Christian conversion instigated some foundational changes in Takakura's perception of the world, of himself, and of course of God. And certainly his theological studies, including those conducted in Britain, were critical elements in the formation of "Takakura Theology." But particularly when viewed from within his latenineteenth century, Central Japanese context that included a family religious heritage of fervent devotion to Jôdo Shinshû ["True Pure Land Buddhism"] stretching back for generations, Takakura's stress on being grasped by the divine, for example, needs a fuller explanation than simply an influence from Brunner. What he read in Brunner and others found an ingrained, confirming echo of what Shinran taught as "shinjin," whereby one is grasped by Amida Butsu. Similarly, Takakura's articulation of the self's annihilation upon encountering God's combined judgment and love in the Cross was connected both to his grandparents'

fervent faith that sinners enter the Pure Land upon awakening to the self's non-being, as well as to a Mahayana affinity for logical contradictions. The intuitive insight of Paul, Athanasius, Anselm, and Reformers appealed to Takakura, in part at least, because of a similar intuitive religious approach which he unconsciously absorbed as a youth.

Pointing out just a few examples of the multifaceted manner in which Takakura's inherited religio-cultural context had a lasting, formative effect on his thinking is in no way to suggest a charge of syncretism. Takakura himself would have incredulously rejected any such accusation. Rather, just as is the case with anyone else, noting the place of his heritage helps to paint a more complete picture of the entire scope of Takakura's thought. The brevity of this essay prevents exploring other important factors, such as the imperial ideology underpinning Takakura's entire formal education: did that system's power, for example, cause him to flee any political responsibility he had sought since childhood and move, instead, into a more explicitly religious world? Even so, the main feature of the picture we can get of Takakura — and in reflection, of ourselves — is that his "Evangelical Christianity" was not an allegedly "objective" set of propositions "out there" which he finally reached and embraced, but instead a conviction resulting from wrestling before God in Jesus Christ until he settled into his understanding of the one, universal Christian gospel. God deals with living human beings within their particular circumstances, over which He Himself has ultimate control. Neither Takakura nor anyone else is an ahistorical, acultural mind; neither the Christian gospel nor its articulations float in a vacuum apart from particular words, desires, and actions.

The thought articulated by such a figure as Takakura Tokutarô exemplifies how God's people are real human beings who are living in a complex world yet to be fully redeemed. As he and others in Japan have uttered "words about God," theology in Japan has added its own unique contributions to the inherently multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multinational ways in which God has been helping us to know Him more fully. His glory is too bright to be expressed within a single mode of speaking. Japanese has been, and always will be, one of the vast multitude of languages needed to give honor and praise to our great God and Redeemer.

1. I am indebted for the articulation of these ideas at least in part to Furuya Yasuo, ed. *Nihon Shingakushi*

- [*History of Japanese Theology*]. Tokyo: Yorudansha, 1992, pp. 12–15, 203–211.
- This is an expression of Inagaki Hisakazu, my colleague at TCU.
- 3. Cf. op. cit., pp. 206–207.
- 4. The standard bibliography of Takakura is Oshio Tsutomu, *Takakura Tokutarô Den [Biography of Takakura Tokutarô]*, first publisihed in 1954 by Shinkyô Shuppansha in twenty-year commemoration of Takakura's death.
- TokutarōJ, first published in 1954 by Shinkyô Shuppansha in twenty-year commemoration of Takakura's death.

 5. Satô Toshio has written more on Takakura and his theology than any other single person. The primary published English analysis remains Charles H. Germany, Protestant Theologies in Modern Japan. Tokyo: International Institute for the Study of Religions Press, 1965, ch. 4, "Takakura Tokutarô and the theology of Biblical Evangelicalism," pp. 87–122.

The Charismatic Movement and Japanese Culture

Introduction

The third wave of the charismatic movement has sent a knee high tsunami crashing ashore in Japan. What similarities does this movement have with native Japanese religion? How does the movement fit the Japanese mentality? This paper is a small attempt to explore this question. I am not an expert in either the charismatic movement or Japanese religion and culture. But I have done a certain amount of research into Benny Hinn and the Toronto "Holy Laughter" movement. This paper is an attempt to start a discussion of the subject and is very preliminary in nature.

First I will discuss the nature of the "third

W. Robert Shade

wave" as it has manifested itself in the Vineyard movement and the Toronto revival. A brief description and critique of John Arnott's (pastor of the Airport Church, Toronto) meetings in Nagoya in early April this year will be given. I have a video of one of those meetings, which helps in giving a critique of the movement.

Second I will cite similarities in two Japanese "new religions," Mahikari and Koomyookai. I also have a video of the latter. Finally I will conclude with a discussion of whether this movement "fits" the Japanese culture and mentality.

1. The Charismatic Movement in the 1990's.

When historians write the record of Christianity for the 20th century I predict that two events will be selected as most characteristic and important in our century: the Vatican II Council of the Catholic Church from 1963–65 and the Azusa Street revival which broke out in 1906 at a small black church in Los Angeles. The latter was the first wave of the charismatic movement. It began as a small movement but spread rapidly among lower class people in the United States. The main characteristic of the first "wave" was speaking in tongues, and to some extent, healing. Most main line Christians looked down on the Pentecostals as "holy rollers."

But in the 1960's speaking in tongues broke out in every mainline denomination in the States — including such liturgical denominations as the Episcopal and Catholic churches. The new Pentecostals were called "charismatics" and claimed more social respectability. It was during this period that remarkable growth started taking place in Pentecostal churches in Africa and Latin America, particularly in the latter. Peter Wagner documented some of this in his book *Look Out! The Pentecostals are Coming!* For example, in Argentina evangelicals now number 6.9% of the population, but 82% of those are Pentecostals.¹ There are now 26 million evangelicals in Brazil (1990 figures), 88% of whom are Pentecostals.²

The beginning of the so called "third wave" might be dated to Mother's Day in 1981, when revival broke out in John Wimber's church, then one of what was a practically unknown group called "the Vineyard." Wimber claims that what we need is "power evangelism" and "power encounter" with the forces of darkness. He seeks to return to the signs of the kingdom that were displayed in Jesus'

ministry, with an emphasis on healing but now with new ingredients in the recipe — prophecy and the word of knowledge. In 1982 Wimber started teaching his formula in a course at Fuller Theological Seminary "Signs and Wonders and Church Growth." Subsequent controversy closed the course but Fuller's Peter Wagner is a fully convinced propagandist for the movement, especially concerning that aspect of exorcising territorial demons and "spiritual mapping." In 1988 Wimber made the mistake of embracing the "Kansas City prophets" but has since distanced his movement from theirs.

Though the second wave did not seem to ever really arrive in Japan, the third wave has come ashore like a small tsunami. Peter Wagner has lectured in Japan in high profile situations, and several of Benny Hinn's books have been translated. Some churches are being split and some churches and pastors are leaving their denominations. In 1994 the JEA theology committee studied the problem of "power evangelism" and came up with a carefully balanced booklet stating numerous cautions and concerns.3 This however, was a major factor in the formation in 1996 of the Nihon Revival Association (NRA) which is now the third large bloc in the Protestant churches distinct from the NCC and JEA. They have started their own newspaper and will probably start their own publishing houses and literature ministries. In 1996 John Arnott and his team came from Toronto to hold a series of five "seminars" in Nagoya from April 3-5. Benny Hinn held a two day crusade in Kobe August 24 and 25 with about 5,000 in attendance.

The Toronto "Holy Laughter" Revival

I would now like to focus on one aspect of the third wave and that is the so-called "Toronto Bless-

ing." John Arnott was amazed and a bit alarmed. During the "ministry time" of his service at the Airport Vineyard Church of Toronto on January 20, 1994, 80 percent of the people were rolling on the floor laughing hysterically. And it is still going on, with thousands of people gathering every night except Monday, flying in from all over Canada and the U. S. and England, Germany, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand, India, Korea, Japan, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. Besides hysterical laughter, and being "slain" in the Spirit, there is often uncontrolled weeping, groaning, being "drunk" in the Spirit, seeing visions, roaring like a lion, pawing the ground like a bull, and various other animal sounds. Many lie helplessly, jerking spasmodically. Some make chopping motions, or swing an imaginary battle axe. Some jump up and down as if on a pogo stick.

At one session I observed in Nagoya, the "phenomena" were much more restrained. There was a small amount of laughter which seemed forced. I did not hear any loud weeping or any animal noises. One young woman was jumping up and down on the stage ("pogo-ing"). Perhaps there are cultural factors which restrain the responses.

The remarkable phenomena occur only during the "ministry time" in the last hour of a three hour service. The first hour is devoted to singing contemporary Christian praise songs over and over with most people raising their hands and often closing their eyes and swaying slightly. This was followed by a message about 45 minutes long by John Arnott. He spoke in a very calm soothing voice. The content of the message was "Child-like Joy." Numerous Bible passages about joy were cited. The "wine" of John 2 was used to suggest that we need more spontaneous joy in our church

services. Luke 7:31—we must become more like little children at play who are not concerned with what people think of them. Luke 15. "The best party of all is in the father's house. But we have some older brothers around who don't like the party." The whole message was from the Bible but designed to remove the inhibitions of the audience for the excitement of the main event and to make those who opposed it feel guilty. Then three Japanese who had been to Toronto gave testimony of the great blessing they had received by receiving the Spirit at Toronto. After each testimony, Mr. Arnott asked if he could pray for them and each received prayer and collapsed backward and were caught and laid out on the stage as if asleep.

Though nothing had been said about the fact of sin, the cross of Christ or the plan of salvation, Mr. Arnott at this point gave an invitation for salvation to which about five people responded. As he prayed for them he did include the plan of salvation briefly. Finally we were ready for the main event. Mr. Arnott asked for those who wanted prayer to come up to the stage. Since the stage was small, only a certain number of people were allowed up at one time. They were prayed for, not only by Mr. Arnott, but by his wife Carol and other assistants, many of them Japanese. They stood, hands raised slightly, with a "catcher" behind each one. The minister would pray and lay his hand on the head. Though about 10% remained standing, within ten minutes most of them were laid out in rows on the stage. Those who were "hard to receive" were revisited many times. I observed Mrs. Arnott dipping her knees rapidly, an obvious body language suggestion that the person she was praying for fall. The ministering team was not satisfied until as many as possible

were lying face up in neat rows. After a while these were wakened and escorted off the stage to make room for the next group. Finally after three hours the meeting was closed.

After the meeting Mr. Moribe of the *Christian Shinbun* and I were able to interview Mr. Arnott for about ten minutes. He insisted that the "phenomena" were not the important thing. The important thing was the invisible work being done in hearts by the Holy Spirit. I pointed out that despite this claim, the whole service was a build-up to the climactic ministry time and that he did not seem satisfied until as many as possible were lying on the stage. In Arnott's thinking the results may be more important than the phenomena but the phenomena are necessary channels of the Spirit's work.

Defense of the Toronto Revival.

Dr. Guy Chevreau, who has a ThD from Wycliffe College, Toronto School of Theology, has written *Catch the Fire* which gives a defense of the Toronto revival.⁴ John Arnott has written *Keep the Fire* to defend and extend the movement.⁵ The defense has two main elements, biblical and historical.

The phenomena of the revival are defended as having biblical precedent. (The following are taken from Chevreau, 37–51). Abraham, Saul, Ezekiel, Paul, and the Apostle John all fell on their faces in the presence of the Lord (Gen 15:12; 1 Sam 19:24; Ezek 3:23; Acts 9:4; Rev 1:17). To Chevreau and Arnott, the phenomena are signs of the presence of God. Daniel fell into a trance, trembled, and could not stand in the presence of an angel of God (Dan 10:4-19). The revival is "a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord" (Acts 3:19). Psa 23:2 "He makes me to **lie down...**" Is it quibbling to point

out that in each of these cases there was a **visible** manifestation of God's presence? And that in each case they were not prayed for, nor were hands laid on them in a meeting, nor did they fall backward but **forward**, on their faces? Or that citing Psalm 23:2 in defense of these practices is a gross misuse of Scripture?

Arnott defends the raucous laughter with any Scriptural reference to joy, especially joy in the Holy Spirit. The modern church is too dark, has been "playing funeral" too long. Now it is time to "play wedding" (Luke 7:31–34). Arnott defends the animal noises with a few references to lions such as Rev 5:5 and Amos 3:8.6 The animal sounds and actions are examples of acting out object lesson prophecies such as are found in the Old Testament prophets. God used animals to symbolize holy things (Rev 4:6-8). For some phenomena such as "pogo jumping" no biblical precedent can be found. Chevreau asks the question: "Should pogoers be taken aside immediately, and corrected?"7 "Such a commitment to rigid biblical literalism is not conducive to the Spirit of revival. Suffice it to say there is little by way of a biblical basis to 'prove' the validity of ANY (emphasis his) particular physical manifestation."

This is a very damaging admission that reveals the heart of this revival. "I have just given you some verses that showed that people fell down in the presence of God. But I now admit that there is no genuine biblical basis for **ANY** of the phenomena. I dismiss doubts of the movement as "rigid biblical literalism" that might hurt this revival, which is obviously a work of the Spirit of God."

Chevreau then devotes a chapter to show that such phenomena have occurred fairly often in church history.⁸ The star witness for the defense is none other than the hero of the Great Awakening in America, the great theologian and philosopher, Jonathan Edwards.

I have had a view... of the glory of the Son of God... As near as I can judge this continued for about an hour; which kept me the greater part of the time in a flood of tears, and weeping aloud."9

Sarah Edwards had similar experiences which included the grace of God "taking away her bodily strength". ¹⁰ Chevreau's footnote interprets such expressions as the 18th century equivalents of the present expressions of falling, resting, and being "slain" in the Spirit. Perhaps more to the point is Edwards' *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls* (1736). Edwards wrote that during this movement many experienced "extraordinary affections, accompanied by physical demonstrations of fear, sorrow, love, joy, tears, trembling, groans, loud outcries, agonies of the body, and the failing of bodily strength; fits, jerks, and convulsions."¹¹

Citing Edwards makes an impressive defense for the Toronto movement. But I have some questions. The phenomena that accompanied this revival were unsolicited spontaneous reactions to preaching the Word. Is the preaching of the Word **really central** in the Vineyard movement in general and the Airport Church services in particular? In Edwards' day the goal was conversion. In Arnott's services the emphasis, even though he denies it, is on getting as many people as possible to experience the phenomena. Some 5,000 conversions are claimed but they seem incidental. Edwards was puzzled by the phenomena and wrote a lengthy treatise in November 1741 *The distinguishing marks of a the*

true Spirit with a particular consideration of the extraordinary circumstances with which this work is attended. He concludes: "A work of the Spirit is not to be judged by any effects on the bodies of men; such as tears, trembling, groans, loud outcries, agonies of body, or the failing of bodily strength... because Scripture nowhere gives us any such rule." Before John Arnott can assume the mantle of Jonathan Edwards, he would do well to take these words to heart, not only in his words, but also in his deeds. Neither Edwards nor Whitefield tried to "bottle and sell" the strange phenomena.

Dr. Richard L. Ganz, pastor of a Presbyterian church in Ontario, commented on the Toronto revival at the JEMA Conference in July 1995 that the charismatic movement is like an addictive drug. After some time, the addict must increase the dosage to get the same effect. Just so in the charismatic movement. The tongues that were the controversial phenomenon of the first and second "waves" are now passe. To get the same effect now they must have prophecy and animal noises and "holy laughter." Whereas the so-called gift of tongues at least had some Scriptural precedent, it is admitted by Chevreau that the current phenomena have none. This marks a big step beyond the first and second waves into dangerous and unsteady ground. When the current drug fad wears off, what will come next?

What causes the phenomena?

There are several possible answers to this question. 1. It is all of God. 2. It is demonic. 3. It is phony like a magician's trick. 4. It can be explained by principles of crowd psychology.

As for the first, I cannot accept this type of thing as a work of the Holy Spirit. Granted, the Holy Spirit sometimes makes people do surprising and even shocking things, the examples that we have in Scripture simply do not fit the scale of craziness that can be seen any night at the Airport Church. Even John Wimber has lost patience with the animal sounds in particular, and after a year of probation, has severed organizational relations with the Airport Church. 13 Although as in the case of Whitefield's and Edwards' revivals, there may be strange responses to the work of the Spirit, the whole service at most third wave rallies are a carefully orchestrated to lead up to the main event of "soaking in the Spirit." The hour of repetitious praise choruses, the testimonies, the message which is constantly planting suggestions in favor of falling and demonizing those who resist or criticize the "falling" as "Pharisees" or "elder brothers."

As for the second, I do not believe the phenomena are demonic. The recipients often seem to be genuinely more in love with Christ and more zealous in their Christian life. Though the praise choruses have a hypnotic effect, the genuine praise of the Savior is not something that would characterize a work of Satan. There is no doubt about the sincerity of John Arnott in his love for Christ and His church. He and his associates are convinced that they are doing the right thing. Whether their discernment is adequate is a separate problem.

Is it a trick? Again the sincerity of the leaders would speak against the possibility of deliberate deception. Too many hundreds of strange people are involved for there to be any possibility of conspiracy or collusion. Are some of the people "faking it"? One can pretend to fall, or laugh, or cry out simply because it is the expected thing. In fact the atmosphere of large meetings can become so charged that the most natural thing is to fall down when everyone else around is

laughing on the floor. It has been demonstrated by linguistic studies that "tongues" are a learned behavior coached and stimulated by conducive environments. ¹⁴ There is no doubt that some are "acting out," "faking it," or acting in the flesh. All of the leaders of the movement admit this possibility. But they deny that the phenomena can be "explained away" by the minority that are "faking it."

My preliminary conclusion is that much of what is going on falls into the domain of altered states of consciousness. In particular hypnosis may explain much of what is going on. The Nagoya meeting I attended reminded me of an incident that occurred over 40 years ago in an assembly in my high school in Pennsylvania. A hypnotist demonstrated his skill for the students. Several student volunteers went up on the stage and other volunteers were selected to stand behind those receiving hypnosis. I do not remember the exact procedure but some of the students did "go to sleep" and fell backwards. They were caught and told to sit down in chairs where they sat asleep with heads drooped and eyes closed. Some did not "get it" and were dismissed to go back to their seats in the audience. One by one the hypnotized students were interviewed by the hypnotist. He would ask them about childhood memories and they would relive the incident, answering with childish voices. Or they were told to do odd things like put on a funny hat or that another student was a dog and they should pet his head. One by one they were wakened and sent back to their seats.

I am sure that John Arnott and Guy Chevreau would deny that they are hypnotists. But I am convinced that unwittingly they are doing something very similar. The mantra-like chanting of praise choruses, the posture of uplifted hands, and closed

eyes work to reduce consciousness levels. Almost everything in the messages is a planting of suggestions for what is to come or they removal of objections to falling under the influence. The high sense of expectation creates an atmosphere of suggestibility. Under such circumstances those who have submitted to the process will fall down! In fact it may be very hard, under these circumstances, **not** to fall down! As in the case of hypnotism they are laid down and can be easily awakened when necessary. My knowledge of hypnotism is very limited, nor have I had time to do any research on hypnotism. But this possibility needs to be examined in future research.

(To be continued)

- 1 Patrick Johnstone, *Operation World*, 5th ed. (Carlisle, Cumbria: OM Publishing, 1993), 95.
- 2 Johnstone, 129.
- 3 日本福音同盟神学委員会『今日における聖霊の動きと日本の宣教:「力の伝道」に関する見解』 (1994年)。
- 4 Guy Chevreau, Catch the Fire: The Toronto Blessing, An experience of renewal and revival (London: Marshall Pickering, 1994).
- 5 John Arnott, Keep the Fire: Allowing the Spirit to Transform your Life (London: Marshall Pickering, 1996).
- 6 Arnott, 168–183.
- 7 Chevreau, 53.
- 8 Chevreau, 70–144.
- 9 Chevreau, 74.
- 10 Chevreau, 75.
- 11 Chevreau, 90.
- 12 Chevreau, 101.
- 13 See Marcia Ford, "Toronto Church Ousted from Vineyard," *Charisma* Feb. 1996. The dismissal took

place on December 5, 1995.

14 William J. Samarin, *Tongues of Men and of Angels: The Religious Language of Pentecostalism* (New York:
The Macmillan Company, 1972).

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