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**Chinese American
Christianity in
History and Today**

Sam George and
Andrew Lee, Guest Editors

華源協作
CHINASOURCE



About ChinaSource

For the past 20 years, ChinaSource has been a trusted platform facilitating the flow of critical knowledge and leading-edge research among the Christian communities inside China and around the world and engaging them in collaborating to serve the Chinese church and society.

As China continues to grow and change, the church in China is doing the same. With over 100 years of collective China-ministry experience, the ChinaSource team is strategically positioned to help bring knowledge, clarity, and insight to groups engaging with China.

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To access embedded links to resources and other related articles, please go to the online version of this *ChinaSource Quarterly* (<https://www.chinasource.org/resource-library/chinasource-quarterlies/chinese-american-christianity-in-history-and-today-2/>).

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The *Perspectives* class in Mandarin will be offered in a virtual format this January.

RESOURCE CORNER

Perspectives: in Mandarin and Virtual

Perspectives, a fifteen-week course designed around four vantage points or "perspectives," is being offered virtually in Mandarin for the first time in the US. The four perspectives, biblical, historical, cultural, and strategic, highlight different aspects of God's global purpose.

- The biblical and historical sections reveal why our confidence is based on the historic fact of God's relentless work from the dawn of history until this day.
- The cultural and strategic sections underscore that we are in the midst of a costly, but very "do-able" task, confirming the biblical and historical hope.

This class, hosted by the Chinese Bible Church of Maryland

- begins January 7, 2021
- goes from 6:45–9:15 pm EST
- is open to Mandarin-speaking believers with internet access

The first two lessons will be available for free to allow interested people to register and experience the course before fully committing to it.

For more information go to [Perspectives, Rockville, MD Virtual Mandarin Class.](#)



EDITORIAL

Exploring the Chinese Diaspora in America

By Andrew Lee and Sam George, Guest Editors

As directors of the Global Diaspora Institute based at the Wheaton College Billy Graham Center, we are extremely delighted and grateful for the opportunity to serve as guest editors of the winter 2020 issue of the *ChinaSource Quarterly* (CSQ). Since this journal originated at the Billy Graham Center in 1997 and has been an effective vehicle to disseminate knowledge by eminent scholars and ministry practitioners about mission among Chinese worldwide since then, we are glad to see it return to its “source.” We consider it an honor to bring out this issue.



In this installment, we focus on diaspora missions among the Chinese in the United States including a look at Chicago, the third largest city in America. Although “overseas” has been primarily used as a lens to view the Chinese living abroad in the past, the term “diaspora” has gained popularity among and about the Chinese living outside of China. Diaspora is a Greek word used in the Bible that means scattered or dispersed. It is an agrarian word analogous to the scattering of seeds and commonly referred to Jews who were living across the Roman Empire and beyond in the first century CE, especially arising out of persecution. However, the term diaspora is widely used nowadays to refer to all types of migrants, voluntary and involuntary, as well as their subsequent generations who live in places far away from their ancestral homeland.

This winter issue of the CSQ features a series of enlightening articles from a leading Chinese American historian, Dr. Timothy Tseng, who traces the origin and history of the Chinese church in the United States. Dr. Andrew Lee, who recently retired as the Senior Pastor of the Chinese Christian Union Church in Chicago’s Chinatown, provides an insightful perspective on the evangelical faith of English-speaking Chinese Americans. Dr. Sam George, a leading missiologist on diaspora, provides a report about his recently completed centennial research project commissioned by the United Chinese Christian Churches in Chicagoland. He details some of the highlights and findings of a major study analyzing Chinese churches and the Chinese community in the city. This is followed by an interview with Rev. Yoman Man, whose church recently relocated and changed its name. He provides insight about these decisions and other contemporary ministry issues facing a local church.

Joey Zhou and David Fu, members of Northwest Chinese Community Church, provide a compelling report about their recent short-term mission trip to Nairobi, Kenya. They showcase the strategic nature of mobilizing Chinese American Christians to serve cross-culturally in Africa by partnering with a diaspora mission agency to develop a model of ministry in Africa. This volume also includes a review written by Steven Hu, a doctoral student at the University of California at Santa Barbara, of a recent book by a Chinese American scholar dealing with issues of race and prejudice against Chinese in the US. And we include the announcement of a Perspectives course being offered in Mandarin for the first time in the US.

We trust this issue will enrich the understanding of ChinaSource readers of the history and current situation of Chinese American Christians resulting in greater unity, partnership, and ministry.

Andrew Lee is the Associate Director of the Global Diaspora Institute at Wheaton College Billy Graham Center. He has served at the largest Chinese churches in New York City and Chicago. He has also been a seminary professor at several institutions and has written for both the academic and ministry worlds. He holds a PhD in religion.

Sam George, PhD, lives with his family in the northern suburbs of Chicago and serves as the director of Global Diaspora Institute at Wheaton College Billy Graham Center near Chicago, USA. He is involved in researching and teaching about diaspora communities and world Christianity.

HISTORY OF CHINESE CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH AMERICA

The Christian World They Made Together: 1850-1911

Timothy Tseng

The story of Chinese Christianity in North America is a significant part of the lesser known history of the Chinese diaspora. That story was impacted most by the immigration and naturalization policies of the United States and Canada, developments in China, and the rise of indigenous Christianity in the Chinese diaspora. All three factors shaped how Chinese Christians understood their faith and identity as well as how they engaged or reacted to their surroundings.



Image credit: Ahsoka Dillard, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia

Between 1875 and 1945, US and Canadian legislation designed to restrict Chinese immigration, proscribe citizenship, prohibit property ownership, and prevent interracial marriages intensified. Chinese Christians in North America became even more dependent on white missionaries. Chinese Christians also watched closely as China became a republic in 1911, struggled with nation building, fought against Japan, engaged in civil war, and became a Communist nation in 1949.

Throughout these years, most Chinese Christians assumed that public witness was a core part of Christian faith. But after 1965, when immigration policies in the US and Canada were changed to admit Asians on an equal basis as Europeans, a second wave of Chinese Christian immigrants built a renewed form of Chinese Christianity that is now dominant in North America. Today, most Chinese Christians focus on maintaining indigenous faith communities that avoid social and political engagement and are largely isolated from mainstream North American Christianity. Despite the tendency to reside in ethno-religious enclaves, Chinese Christians have had an informal, but influential, impact on the Asian North American community and the United States and Canada.

In this issue of the ChinaSource Quarterly, we begin with three articles, divided into three time periods (1850–1911; 1911–1965; 1965–present) that address the history of Chinese Christianity in North America.

The Christian World They Made Together: 1850–1911

Chinese Protestant Christianity was born in the crucible of Chinese interaction with European and American missionaries in the nineteenth century. This was an era marked by the expansion of British and American commercial and military power. After the Opium Wars (1839–1842 and 1856–1860), Great Britain successfully pried open China to the West and to Protestant missionaries. Before the United States acquired Hawaii and the Philippines, it was engaged in territorial expansion in North America. This territorial expansion was accompanied by rapid economic development that created a tremendous demand for labor. The abolition of slavery in the British territories (1807) and the United States (1861) only intensified the need for cheap labor globally.

These historical developments explain, in part, the growth of the Chinese diaspora and Chinese immigration to the United States and Canada. A small but significant presence in the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colonies in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries in Asia, the Chinese diaspora grew rapidly during British expansion. Chinese labor was crucial for the growth of the North American West. Much of California's agricultural industry as well as US and Canadian railroads were built by Chinese contract workers from Guangzhou.¹

What about the Christians? Most were delighted that the British and American powers had pried China open for the spread of the evangelical faith and cultural uplift. Abolitionists, who fought to eradicate slavery and trafficking, saw new opportunities to share the gospel of liberty and equality globally. In the 1850s, when Chinese immigrants started to come to the United States in significant numbers, the Western Protestant missionary presence in China was limited to Hong Kong and five treaty ports. American mission societies saw an opportunity to build a transpacific Chinese Christian network that could reap the benefits of American Christianity. But even before the first Chinese church in North America (today's Presbyterian Church in Chinatown, San Francisco) was started in 1853 by four Chinese Christian merchants, obstacles arose that would decisively shape the character of Chinese American Christianity.

First, Chinese immigrants almost immediately faced hostility. Like European immigrants, the first Chinese immigrants were adventure seekers who saw an opportunity to become rich through mining or commerce shortly after the news of gold strikes in California in 1849 spread to China. But in 1852, the state of California passed discriminatory taxes and later attempted to force Chinese out of the mines and stop Chinese immigration. Protests from the Chinese associations (including a self-described naturalized citizen and Christian merchant, Norman Asing) could not stem the growing animosity. Even the advocacy of missionaries and mission agencies could do little to prevent the US (and later, the Canadian) government from passing discriminatory immigration and naturalization laws in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Second, the transient, geographically scattered, and male-dominant Chinese immigrants made it nearly impossible to form stable faith communities. This was especially true during the 1850s and 1860s when most Chinese worked in mines scattered across the

American West. As the mines dried up, many settled in adjacent small towns. Some started shoe and cigar-making companies; others entered domestic service. The construction of the Central Pacific Railroad in the 1860s imported a new wave of contract laborers. Many later worked on railroad construction in Canada, the American South, and Northeast. A number of white congregations reached out to their new Chinese neighbors through language schools; however, they could not retain them because of cultural-linguistic barriers and Chinese work transience. An attempt to plant a Chinese Baptist church in Sacramento in 1854 was quickly abandoned. Even the Presbyterian mission in San Francisco, the only free standing Chinese Christian church in North America at the time, became inactive by 1860.

In the 1870s, however, a series of events gave birth to North American Chinese Christianity. As the Chinese population nearly doubled to 63,000 by 1870 and approached 105,000 by 1880, animus towards the Chinese intensified. They were blamed for the 1870s economic downturn in the West. Lacking legal protection that comes with citizenship, Chinese were driven out of mining towns and many were killed. As they fled into Chinatown enclaves, they created segregated urban slums. Fueled by the backlash against Reconstruction in the South, the anti-Chinese movement quickly grew into a national movement leading to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Acts of 1882, 1892, and 1902.²

During this time, American missionary agencies renewed their efforts to build up and support the Chinese Christian community. Beginning in 1868, Methodist, Congregationalist, Baptist, and Episcopalian missionaries and Chinese pastors were assigned to San Francisco's Chinatown. Before long, women missionaries accompanied them and established English language schools, community centers, and women's rescue homes. A number of white missionaries gained notoriety for their fearless advocacy of the rights of the Chinese. William Speer (1822–1904) not only helped plant the Chinese Presbyterian mission in San Francisco, he also left important testimony in the California state records defending the Chinese in the face of racial prejudice. His successors, Augustus W. Loomis (1816–1891), Ira M. Condit (1833–1915), and Donaldina Cameron (1869–1968) have all left important legacies as supporters of the Chinese in North America. Otis Gibson (1825–1889), an unflinching ally who started the Chinese Methodist work, set the tone for Protestant advocacy for racial justice. Congregationalist William C. Pond (1830–1925) was supported by the abolitionist American Missionary Association. He and the Chinese Congregationalist pastors were among the most passionate preachers of the gospel of human equality. Together these missionaries and Chinese Christian leaders provided stability for the community and channeled denominational attention and support.³

The first Chinese converts were clearly drawn to the egalitarianism of an abolitionist-inspired evangelicalism. In a speech at an anniversary celebration of the Methodist Chinese Mission in San Francisco in 1875, Ma See connected the Christian view of a Creator God and Chinese rights: "If this world was created by the one universal God; if it belongs to God; if men are all created equal; if all men come from one family; if these things be so, and they are so, then the Chinese, of course have the same right to come to this land and to occupy the land, that the people of any other nation have."⁴

They also distinguished between what they perceived to be authentic and false Christianity. In the *North American Review* (1887), Yan Phou Lee noted that when "the Chinese were persecuted some years ago—when they were ruthlessly smoked out and murdered—I was intelligent enough to know that Christians had no hand in those outrages; for the only ones who exposed their lives to protect them were Christians."⁵

While white missionaries have been rightly accused of racial paternalism, they were among the few who protested anti-Asian violence and fought exclusionary and discriminatory legislation, albeit unsuccessfully. They modeled a postmillennial zeal that made public witness an indelible mark of Christian faithfulness. Despite their unequal collaboration with missionaries, Chinese Christians embraced a spirituality that wedded personal connectedness to God with social and political engagement. Together they built a Christian transnational network that envisioned racial uplift and national salvation.⁶

¹ Madeline Y. Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882–1943* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000); Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900–1936* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

² Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War against Chinese Americans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

³ Tseng, Timothy. "Ministry at Arms' Length: Asian Americans in the Racial Ideology of American Mainline Protestantism, 1882–1952" (PhD Dissertation: Union Theological Seminary, NY. 1994); Woo, Wesley S. "Protestant Work Among the Chinese in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1850–1920." (PhD Dissertation: Graduate Theological Union, 1983).

⁴ Quoted in Joshua Paddison, *American Heathens: Religion, Race, and Reconstruction in California* (Berkeley: University of California, 2012), p. 55.

⁵ Yan Phou Lee, "Why I Am Not a Heathen: A Rejoinder to Wong Chin Foo," *North American Review* 145, no. 3 (September 1887), 306–312. Cited in *Chinese American Voices from the Gold Rush to the Present*, edited by Judy Yung, Gordon H. Chang and Him Mark Lai (Berkeley: University of California, 2006), 82–83.

HISTORY OF CHINESE CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH AMERICA

Saving China, Saving Ourselves: 1850-1911

Timothy Tseng

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Chinese diaspora was a lively cacophony of political debate about the future of a weakened China. The military humiliation of the Qing by Japan in 1894 gave rise to an urgent call to modernize and empower China. Saving China, it was believed, would also improve how Chinese were treated by their host countries. As debates between reformist and revolutionary advocates intensified, Chinese Christians were deeply engaged. They believed that China's salvation required integrating Western technological prowess and spiritual values (i.e., American democratic ideas and Christian faith) into Chinese cultural heritage. Before the Sino-Japanese conflict of the 1930s, this optimistic point of view made sense.¹



Image credit: National Archives ([see below](#)).

One of the most prominent advocates of this perspective was Ng Poon Chew (1866–1931). Born in Guangdong province, Ng moved to California in 1881 and started as a domestic servant. He quickly mastered English, adopted Western dress, and became a Christian. After completing his studies at San Francisco Theological Seminary in 1892, he became the first Chinese Presbyterian minister in America and pastored a Chinese church in Los Angeles. He soon decided to focus on publishing *Chung Sai Yat Pao*, the first Chinese language daily newspaper outside of China. The newspaper spoke forcefully for Chinese civil rights and encouraged Chinese to embrace American values. Ng and his newspaper were the public face of opposition to the Chinese Exclusion Act and its abuses in the early twentieth century. Ng traveled the country extensively, spoke out against Chinese exclusion, and published books and pamphlets that opposed discrimination against Chinese. Though he was well received, public opinion did not change. America remained opposed to the "yellow peril" and restrictive immigration practices were not modified.²

Chung Sai Yat Pao became the leading advocate for a modern Chinese republic influenced by Christian values. Though this covered the speeches of Dr. Sun Yat-Sun (1866-1925), Ng did not embrace revolutionary republicanism until his visit to China in 1910. Afterwards, his editorials wholeheartedly supported Sun, and he started raising money for Sun's efforts. Following the 1911 revolution, Ng was in great demand on the Chautauqua speaker circuit and throughout America. He did his best to explain events in China and to fight against anti-Chinese discrimination.³

During this time, Chinese Christianity in North America became an urban haven for an evangelical social gospel. In partnership with white missionaries and allies, Chinese Christians helped build public schools, YMCAs and YWCAs, and hospitals to serve the community. Women missionaries drew increased attention to the social conditions of Chinese women and children. The most famous example was Presbyterian missionary, Donaldina Cameron, who devoted her life to "rescuing" Chinese prostitutes and helping them establish new lives and new families. Chinatown missions increasingly looked like family-centered communities. The women missionaries encouraged Chinese women to become Christian homemakers. Ironically, a generation of American-born or raised Chinese women preferred to follow the example of their public leadership.⁴

Mabel Pin Hua Lee (1897–1966) is a striking embodiment of female empowerment in the Chinese community. She was a bridge to a younger generation of American-born Chinese Christians who were greatly concerned about racial discrimination. Like Ng Poon Chew, she shared that generation's vision for China's salvation, but she devoted her life to women's suffrage and community service. Lee was born in Guangzhou in 1897, the only child of Pastor To Lee. She spent her early childhood in China and enrolled in a missionary school where she became proficient in English. She reunited with her parents in New York City shortly after her father was appointed to pastor the Morningstar Baptist Mission in Chinatown. Mabel attended public schools until she was accepted at Barnard College. Mabel then earned a PhD in economic history at Columbia University in 1921. After her father's untimely death, Lee decided to remain in New York and led the mission and its community center until her death in 1966.^{5,6}

Mabel was a gifted communicator and an ambitious young leader who was dedicated to improving society. Along with their work at Morningstar Mission, Mabel Lee and her mother raised money for Chinese famine victims, worked with the YWCA, and participated in Chinatown parades. When the Qing imperial rule was deposed in 1911, the new government enfranchised woman. This intrigued white American suffragists. In the spring of 1912, Chinese women like Mabel were invited to speak at their meetings. That same year, at the age of 16, Mabel Lee, who was still a high school student, helped lead a parade of 10,000 for women's suffrage while riding a horse. She gave speeches and wrote papers in high school and college that argued for the necessity of woman's suffrage. She and her peers also advocated for US citizenship for Chinese immigrants. After 1930, she devoted her life to leading the mission, serving Chinatown's children, and mentoring young men and women.

American-born Chinese who attended college in the 1920s and 1930s represent a third example of Chinese Christians who engaged in public witness. As children and youth, most grew up in Chinese churches in segregated communities. They were initially enthused about developing multiracial friendships in college and experiencing life outside Chinatown. However, after experiencing

racial discrimination in white Christian student clubs, they joined the Chinese Student Christian Association (CSCA). The CSCA was a student-led campus ministry for students from China sponsored by the YMCA's Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students (it also sponsored the Japanese Students Christian Association and the Filipino Students Christian Movement). Unlike their student work in the south which addressed racial discrimination, YMCA administrators insisted that the prejudice directed towards [international Asian] students was not racism so much as a generalized suspicion of foreigners, a problem that the students could easily overcome by "building a cultural bridge with Americans," offering a social and cultural solution to the issue. But when American-born Chinese reported similar incidents to the CSCA, they and the other Asian student associations challenged the YMCA to recognize the problems of Asian discrimination and to interpret the racial climate and the discrimination as violations of Christian ethics. They also "responded with influential social, cultural, and later political tactics requiring interracial and interethnic solidarity."⁷

The CSCA was disbanded in 1951. Under suspicion of harboring communists, the CSCA faced intense scrutiny from the FBI and CIA. During the Cold War, distinct group identities, whether racial-ethnic or religious, were discouraged in favor of integration and assimilation. Though the number of Chinese international students had risen in the 1950s, they were encouraged to enter mainstream American life. Chinese (and other Asian) American students no longer wanted to participate in ethnic-specific groups as they "celebrated a perceived acceptance among white Americans and an assimilation to American cultural, social, and political life that had been out of reach prior to World War II."⁸

On the other hand, many American-born CSCA alum continued their activism. Some joined interracial movements that focused on African American civil rights. Others, such as Ching Wah Lee, focused on changing the image of Chinatown by promoting Chinese culture and education. Despite pressures to assimilate, most Chinese churches refused to drop their ethnic identification. In cities with large Chinatowns, many mainline Protestant churches were buffeted by the "baby boom" and increased numerically. A new generation of American-born Chinese came of age in the 1960s. One study concluded that the Chinese churches in the San Francisco Bay Area in the 1960s "are growing and are youthful." The United States was not a "melting pot where different cultures and traditions are merged indiscriminately together." The study argued that multiple ethno-religious cultures neither balkanize the nation nor hinder racial integration. Chinese American mainline Protestants spoke English, felt comfortable in the United States, and were committed to their denominations. Many also appeared to be open to "secular" culture and reluctant to draw sharp religious boundaries.⁹

Both interracial activism and Chinese-centric faith communities would have played into the model minority identity. However, in the 1970s, Chinese Christians found in liberationist critique of white supremacy a way to embrace Asian American empowerment and pan-ethnic solidarity without resorting to the model minority myth. They also reconnected with Chinese American history and culture.

It would be a mistake to assume that public witness and social justice were the only concerns of Chinese Christians who would be identified as mainline Protestant today. They also display a rich liturgical and devotional diversity that belies a broad range of spiritualities. But because they were born in the womb of nineteenth century abolitionism and liberal evangelicalism and raised in partnerships with white missionaries, this Chinese Christian tradition, which has never been numerically large, remains faithful to social justice and civic responsibility. Resting on biblical kingdom values, Chinese American Christians during this period envisioned a truly welcoming American society, tried to improve society, and worked for unity in the church.

¹ L. Eve Armentrout Ma, *Revolutionaries, Monarchists, and Chinatowns: Chinese Politics in the Americas and the 1911 Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1990). See also Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) and Timothy Tseng, "Chinese Protestant Nationalism in the United States, 1880–1927" in *New Spiritual Homes: Religion and Asian Americans*, edited by David Yoo (University of Hawaii Press, 1999): 19–51.

² Corrine K. Hoexter, *From Canton to California: The Epic of Chinese Immigration* (New York: Four Winds Press, 1976). A helpful historical analysis of the Chung Sai Yat Po can be found in Shehong Chen, *Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

³ In addition to publicizing particular immigration cases in the Chung Sai Yat Po, he brought new information to light by authoring the fact-filled dossiers, *The Treatment of the Exempt Classes of Chinese in the United States* (1908), and co-authored with Irish American Patrick J. Healy, *A Statement for Non-Exclusion* (1905).

⁴ Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995) and *Unbound Voice: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1999); Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874–1939*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Kristin and Kathryn Wong, *Fierce Compassion, The Life of Abolitionist Donaldina Cameron* (Saline, Michigan: New Earth Enterprises, 2012). *Missionaries also fought against anti-Asian American immigration and naturalization laws*. See Jennifer C. Snow, *Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigrants, and Ideologies of Race in America, 1850–1924* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁵ Timothy Tseng, "Chinatown's Suffragist, Pastor, and Community Organizer: Why Mabel Lee left behind great expectations in China for her American immigrant community." *Christianity Today* (June 16, 2107) <https://www.christianitytoday.com/history/2017/june/mabel-lee-chinatown-suffragist-pastor-community-organizer.html?share=Ry%2f0xbmLaCXBuLOVA51bV6fQnOvzUMEV> and Grace May, "Leading Development at

Home: Dr. Mabel Ping Hua Lee (1896-1966)” WCIU Journal (Nov. 1, 2016) <https://wciujournal.wciu.edu/women-in-international-development/2018/10/14/leading-development-at-home-dr-mabel-ping-hua-lee-18961966>.

⁶ Ibid. See also Cathleen D. Cahill, “Mabel Ping-Hua Lee: How Chinese-American Women Helped Shape the Suffrage Movement” *Women’s Vote Centennial* (April 30, 2020) <https://www.womensvote100.org/the-suff-buffs-blog/2020/4/30/mabel-ping-hua-lee-how-chinese-american-women-helped-shape-the-suffrage-movement> and Carl Samson, “Meet the First Chinese American Woman to Fight for Voting Rights That History Almost Forgot” *Next Shark* (November 6, 2019) <https://nextshark.com/mabel-lee-womens-suffrage-pioneer/>.

⁷ Stephanie Hinnert, *Race, Religion, and Civil Rights: Asian Students on the West Coast, 1900–1968*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015). See also Tseng, Timothy “Religious Liberalism, International Politics, and Diasporic Realities: The Chinese Students Christian Association of North America, 1909–1951,” *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 5:3–4 (Fall–Winter, 1996).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Frederick Bird, *A Study of Chinese Churches in the San Francisco Bay Area* (Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Community Research, 1968), 1, 20.

Image Credit: Radiogram; 6/26/1937; Case #12-943; Chinese Exclusion Act case file for Mabel Lee (Ping Hua Lee); Chinese Exclusion Act Case Files, ca. 1882 - ca. 1960; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives at New York, New York, NY. [Online Version, <https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/radiogram-mabel-lee>, November 18, 2020].

Timothy Tseng, PhD, is the Pacific Area Director for InterVarsity Christian Fellowship’s Graduate and Faculty Ministries (GFM). He has served as a seminary professor, scholar, founder of a non-profit organization, and pastor. Tim is all about helping Jesus followers flourish wherever faith and life intersect. Over the years, he has worked to strengthen Asian American Christians through research, teaching, and supporting ministry leaders. He has lectured, led workshops, and published in the areas of Chinese American Christianity, Asian American studies, evangelicalism, the social gospel, the history of Christianity, and race in American history.

The Christian World They Made Together: 1850-1911

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⁶ Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874–1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Charles J. McClain, *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth Century America* (Berkeley: University of California, 1994); Jennifer C. Snow, *Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigrants, and Ideologies of Race in America, 1850-1924* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

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HISTORY OF CHINESE CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH AMERICA

Transpacific Transportation: 1965 to Present

Timothy Tseng

Since 1965, the story of Chinese Christianity in North America has been about the awakening and dominance of independent-minded and indigenous evangelicalism.¹ Over the last sixty years, Chinese Christians have built several parachurch organizations and have planted hundreds of churches. Between 1953 and 1984, the number of Chinese congregations in the United States increased almost tenfold to 523. By 2001, there were over 1,200 Chinese Christian churches and organizations in the United States and Canada (819 in the United States alone). Much of this can be attributed to the large number of Chinese immigrants during this period. Five million Chinese now live in the United States which remains the largest ethnic group of Asian Americans (25.9% of the Asian American population as of 2010) and constitute 1.5% of the total US population as of 2017. The Chinese American community is the third largest community in the Chinese diaspora (after the Chinese communities in Thailand and Malaysia), but it is the largest overseas Chinese community outside Asia. Chinese in Canada make up about five percent of the Canadian population or about 1.77 million people according to the 2016 census. The Chinese community is the largest ethnic group of Asian Canadians, consisting of approximately 40% of the Asian Canadian population.²



Image credit: Andrew Lee.

At least five factors created Chinese evangelicalism in North America. First are its radical populist origins. Second, the Cold War Chinese diaspora was an essential context out of which evangelical leaders formed a non-territorialized, ethno-religious identity. Third, fundamentalist and evangelical American-born Chinese leaders in midcentury separated themselves from mainline Protestantism to form their own networks of English-speaking leaders. Fourth, evangelicals often gained the upper hand in conflicts with mainline Chinese congregations. Fifth, indigenous parachurch organizations were created that functioned as surrogate denominations for Chinese congregations that connected these churches to global Chinese Christian networks.

Radical Popularism

In a 1965 report of the World Council of Churches' Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, Harry Haines observed:

In many countries, particularly Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, and Hong Kong, there are many independent Chinese churches unrelated to any denomination, any National Christian Council, or any ecumenical body such as the East Asia Christian Conference. Some of the indigenous churches have their roots in mainland China in groups such as the Little Flock, Fishermen of Christ Fellowship, and the Chinese Native Evangelistic Crusade, while others are the fruit of itinerant independent evangelists such as Andrew Gih, Leland Wong, John Sung, and Timothy Chao. Nearly all are characterized by strong feelings of independence, deep pietism, and ultraconservative theological beliefs.³

The report complained about the exclusiveness and suspicion with which Chinese Christians in the diaspora treated other Christian groups. It blamed missionaries of independent evangelical missions, the receipt by the independent churches of large amounts of money from the United States, the divisiveness of Dr. Carl McIntyre and the International Council of Churches, and the lack of support for these independent Chinese churches from "major churches" in the form of personnel and ecumenical literature.⁴ American evangelical missions indeed expanded during the Cold War era and were partners with Chinese Christians in the diaspora,⁵ but the report understates the significance of indigenous Chinese leaders and their experiences.

Indeed, the spiritual roots of Chinese evangelicalism in North America are found in the ecstatic, millenarian, and indigenous revivals that swept through rural China in the early twentieth century and in the Chinese diaspora in midcentury. Their religious practices involved weeping, screaming, glossolalia, miraculous healings, and demanding disciplinary rituals such as tithing, exorcisms, foot washing, mass public confessions, and communal sharing of goods. The fundamentalist leaders of these revivals often issued fierce denunciations of mainline Christianity and liberal theology. According to Lian Xi, this radical Christianity flourished because it met the spiritual needs of the marginalized people in a period of great social dislocation, but also because it distanced itself from the real and perceived imperiousness and ethnocentrism of the mainline Western missionary establishment.⁶

While many of the more extreme characteristics of this radical religion are no longer manifest today, its exclusivist and fundamentalist tenor can still be found in Chinese Christianity in North America.

A Non-territorialized Identity: Baptism in the Diasporic Wilderness

The "loss" of China to the Communists in 1949 muffled the political voices of Chinese Protestants throughout the diaspora and greatly deflated their civic and patriotic participation. Whether they lived under the Nationalist Regime in Taiwan, British-

controlled Hong Kong, the United States, or in societies ripe for ethno-religious conflict such as Malaysia, Indonesia, or the Philippines, nine million diasporic Chinese were without a nation they could call their own. This alone sharply differentiated their experience from the experience of Chinese in the People's Republic.⁷

From the ashes of failed religious nationalism emerged a vibrant young cohort of evangelicals who pinned their hopes on the Chinese diaspora rather than on the Chinese state. Given their radical popularism, it was always centered on Chinese people rather than the Chinese nation state. There was always hope that China would once again allow the free proclamation of their gospel. But because political forms of nationalism were circumscribed, their nationalist impulse was redirected through ethno-cultural and religious practices and organizations.

Most of the leaders responsible for the reconstruction of Chinese American Protestantism spent considerable time in the Chinese diaspora even if they were born and raised in China. Though the Chinese population in the United States was not large in the 1950s, the revivalists saw opportunities to build support for their ministries from Chinese Protestants and the growing American evangelical networks there. Chinese students who studied at North American colleges between the 1950s and 1970s "came mostly from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and other places in Southeast Asia."⁸ Many with Christian backgrounds formed Chinese Bible Study Groups (CBSGs) or Chinese Christian Fellowships (CCFs). According to Samuel Ling, the CBSG was "a unique phenomenon among all the foreign students in North America; no other group of foreign students formed as many spontaneous, student-run, and independent Christian fellowships as the Chinese."⁹ Those who settled in the United States and Canada either joined existing congregations or formed independent Chinese congregations. Students from the Chinese diaspora also reconstructed Chinese American Protestantism as "separatist" and evangelical.¹⁰

More Than a Social Club: American-born Chinese Evangelicals

During the postwar years, not every American-born Chinese was comfortable in mainline Chinese Protestant churches. One repeated criticism of mainline Protestantism was its lack of religious zeal. Evelyn Shih did not like "social gospellers" and the older ministers who preached cold, rationalistic messages. Leland Chinn recalled that many members of the Chinese Union Church in Chicago attended merely to socialize in the early 1950s. Bernadine Wong grew up in a mainline Baptist church, but required a "full[er]" conversion before she could claim her faith.¹¹

American-born Chinese with fundamentalist and dispensational roots organized the Eastern Chinese Bible Conference, Midwest Chinese Bible Conference, and West Coast Christian Conference. The term "Bible conference" was a conscious alternative to the "unbiblical" ecumenical Chinese Christian youth conferences where participants merely "socialized." Over the years, these Bible conferences have drawn hundreds of participants from local congregations. Their ethos has broadened to reflect the theological diversity within Chinese American evangelicalism.¹²

Another network of English-speaking Chinese evangelical leaders with broader theological representation was organized during the North American Consultation of Chinese Evangelicals (NACOE) conferences in the 1970s. Advocates for North American-born Chinese concerns such as Hoover Wong, Joseph Wong, Wayland Wong, Peter Yuen, William Eng, and others pressed for devoting greater attention to the perceived problem of a high "drop-out" rate among American-born Chinese (ABC) in Chinese churches. By 1978, this group had received endorsements from NACOE to form the Fellowship of American Chinese Evangelicals (FACE), a direct result of efforts to give greater voice to English-speaking Chinese evangelicals.¹³ FACE sought to cultivate ABC church leadership, advocate for ABC ministries within Chinese churches, and support ABC laity toward "responsible leadership in the church." In April 1979, they started publishing the AboutFACE newsletter. Each issue of AboutFACE addresses a couple of ABC sociological, psychological, or cultural issues and provides plenty of practical suggestions for those involved with ministry among American-born Chinese evangelicals. Over the years, it has served as a communication tool for ABC evangelical leaders and has developed a strident posture that often grates against the sensibilities of overseas-born leaders.¹⁴

There are indications, however, that an emerging generation of Chinese American evangelicals is gaining prominence, who are supportive of women in leadership, willing to embrace a pan-ethnic or multiracial approach to congregational ministry, and more responsive to postmodern culture. At the vanguard of this growing network are InterVarsity Christian Fellowship leaders and a growing number of pastors in North American Chinese evangelical churches. This cohort is unwilling to be limited by the ethnic Chinese church and seeks to embrace either a pan-Asian or multicultural vision for the church. It remains to be seen whether this emerging group will develop a concept of pan-Asian ministry that is inclusive of immigrant Chinese or inadvertently lead their followers to a "color-blind" multiculturalism.¹⁵

Congregational Conflicts and Evangelical Ascendancy

In 1955, the leaders of mainline Protestant Chinese North American churches gathered in San Francisco under the auspices of the National Council of the Churches of Christ and formed the National Council of Christian Workers among the Chinese North America (nicknamed CONFAB).¹⁶ Five years later, CONFAB presented a report that expressed alarm about the growing influence of evangelicals among the Chinese churches:

While the church leaders in our major denominations are in sympathy for integration, many of the "Sects" and conserva-

tive groups are going “all out” to win our people by helping them to organize into small fellowship groups which will help them to strengthen their own racial identity, by care-taking to their special needs. More often than not, these groups of zealous evangelists would come to “re-convert” our church members into their particular way of belief instead of going out to win people of other faiths to Christ.¹⁷

As mainline Chinese churches became predominantly English-speaking, there was a sense that they were “definitely losing ground so far as...reaching out to the Chinese-speaking people is concerned.”¹⁸ Indeed, the language gap between the American-born mainline Protestants and the growing immigrant population was one of the more convenient excuses for evangelical separatists to plant their own congregations. The other solutions to the language gap problem were less palatable: split a congregation or gradually replace one ethno-religious ethos with another.

In Washington, D.C., the easiest course was taken when the Mandarin-speaking Chinese Bible Study Group decided to organize the Chinese Christian Church of Greater Washington, D.C. in 1962. The existing congregation, the Chinese Community Church, had been organized in 1935 in Washington’s Chinatown with a Cantonese base and as an interdenominational effort.¹⁹ According to Fenggang Yang, this church “has continuously provided social services to the Chinatown community, frequently expressed concerns about the welfare of the whole ethnic Chinese community, and sometimes participated in political actions cooperatively organized by inner-city churches.”²⁰ Clearly, dialect and other demographic factors were important considerations for starting a new congregation.²¹ However, a theological bifurcation also underlays this decision.

Congregational conflicts illustrate how theological differences can amplify ethno-religious divergence. In 1960, Pastor James Tan resigned from the Chinese Christian Church of New England after only a two-year stint as associate pastor. Theological differences with the senior pastor, the Rev. Dr. Peter Yue-Fang Shih (1904–1986), were cited as the main reason for his departure. Dr. Shih was clearly aligned with mainline Protestant ecumenism. A graduate of Nanjing Jinling Theological Seminary and Union Theological Seminary in New York, Dr. Shih was dean and professor at West China Union Theological Seminary in Chengdu. In 1953, he was appointed by the National Council of Churches’ research bureau to conduct the survey of Chinese churches in the United States and Hawaii. Despite his commitment to the evangelization of the urban Chinese in Boston, he embraced higher criticism of the Bible and expended much energy providing social services. Pastor Tan’s departure resulted in the planting of the Chinese Evangelical Church of Boston, a large and vibrant ministry today.²²

The formation of alternative congregations and church splits were two means by which evangelical separatists were able to reconstruct Chinese Protestantism and thus reshape the ethno-religious landscape. The conflicts that took place in the 1970s and 1980s were undoubtedly related to linguistic, ethnic, political, and national differences among Chinese immigrants. An influx of Taiwanese students and immigrants in the early 1970s not only established the Evangelical Formosan Church denominational network but also created tensions in existing congregations over Taiwan and People’s Republic of China politics. It also spawned conflicts over Taiwanese independence. Since the 1980s, a large influx of migrants from the People’s Republic has introduced a new dynamic within many Chinese congregations. One of the consequences of the increasing diversity within Chinese evangelicalism is an inability to maintain a single national network such as NACOCE. Thus, the evangelical reconstruction of Chinese American Protestantism has not resulted in a more united religious community. Rather, Chinese American Protestantism is a patchwork of diverse congregations and networks that, to varying degrees, identify with being Chinese. Indeed, parachurch organizations have become the most important loci for a sense of common identity.

Participating in a Global Network: Parachurch Organizations

Since the 1950s, Chinese evangelicals have created flexible, transnational parachurch organizations, most of which originated and/or maintain their base of operation in North America.²³ Unlike the historic Chinese churches that originated on the Pacific West Coast with the support of mainline denominations and white missionaries, the two Chinese parachurch ministries indigenous to North America were started in Washington, D.C. and Detroit, Michigan: Ambassadors for Christ, Inc. (AFC), which began as a campus ministry to Chinese students from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Chinese diaspora in the late 1950s and early 1960s,²⁴ and Chinese Christian Mission (CCM). Like Ambassadors for Christ, Chinese Christian Mission experienced significant growth in the 1970s and 1980s. Both organizations provide local church resources, but CCM has placed greater emphasis on sending missionaries to the Chinese diaspora.

According to Sam Ling, there are almost 200 Chinese parachurch organizations with offices in North America.²⁵ Through their literature, programs, and networks, these organizations have played central roles in shaping contemporary Chinese evangelicalism. Insofar as they provide practical resources and prod congregations to step outside the narrow confines of their own cultural niches, they function much like denominations. Indeed, the repeated rhetoric of para-church leaders about engaging “missions” or becoming “missions minded” is an attempt to broaden the visions of local churches to include the cross-cultural and global reality of the church. It is also an effort to resist the temptation of becoming enmeshed in the demands of secular Chinese and North American cultures.

By connecting Chinese North American congregations to a global evangelical network in the Chinese diaspora, these parachurch organizations are reshaping their transnational ethno-religious identity. The normalization of relations with the People’s Republic

of China in the late 1970s triggered the migration of a large number of students, scholars, and laborers to the United States and other countries worldwide. Chinese parachurch organizations have shifted their focus to evangelizing these populations. Given the flexibility of these organizations, it would not be farfetched to suggest that Christianity in the People's Republic will be greatly influenced by the Chinese evangelical ethno-religious culture forged in the diaspora.

In sum, the evangelical reconstruction of Chinese Christianity in North America has been shaped by indigenous Chinese revivalism, the postwar Chinese diaspora, North American-born leaders, congregational conflicts, and parachurch organizations. Looking to the future, the impact of three additional developments have yet to be clearly seen: (1) how the recent wave of immigration from China is reshaping Chinese Christianity in North America; (2) the changing governmental policy in the People's Republic of China towards Christianity and other religious groups; and (3) the geopolitical consequences of China's increasing power and influence. Since all these factors are in flux, one should anticipate further transformations. Despite (or perhaps because of) these changes, there is a cautious hope for Chinese Christianity in the People's Republic of China, the Chinese diaspora, and the Chinese community in North America.

¹ This evangelical shift parallels the "restructuring" of twentieth-century American Protestantism described by Stephen R. Warner in *New Wine in Old Wineskins: Evangelicals and Liberals in a Small-Town Church* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988) and Robert Wuthnow in *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). See also George M. Marsden in *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) and Joel A. Carpenter in *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 33–56.

² Sources: "Chinese Americans" Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_Americans and "Chinese Canadians" Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_Canadians [accessed August 25, 2020]

³ J. Harry Haines, *Chinese of the Diaspora* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1965), 25.

⁴ Ibid., 28, 32, 33.

⁵ Joel A. Carpenter, "Propagating the Faith Once Delivered: The Fundamentalist Missionary Enterprise, 1920–1945," and Richard V. Pierard, "Pax Americana and the Evangelical Missionary Advance," both in *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880–1980*, Joel A. Carpenter and Wilbert R. Shenk, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990).

⁶ Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Daniel Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900–1937," in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Daniel Bays, ed. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 307–316; Daniel Bays, "Christian Revival in China, 1900–1937," in *Modern Christian Revivals*, Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer, eds. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 161–179; Daniel Bays, "Chinese Popular Religion and Christianity Before and After the 1949 Revolution: A Retrospective View," in *Fides et Historia: Journal of the Conference on Faith and History XXIII:1* (Winter/Spring, 1991), 69–77.

⁷ Daniel Chirot and Anthony Reid, *Essential Outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the Modern Transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); Wang Ling-chi and Wang Gungwu, eds., *The Chinese Diaspora: Selected Essays*, vol. 1 (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1998).

⁸ Ibid., 81–82. Between 1953 and 1975, 23,540 students from Taiwan alone came to the United States. See T. K. Chu, "150 Years of Chinese Students in America," *Harvard China Review* (Spring 2004), 18.

⁹ Samuel Ling, "Three Short Pieces: The Metamorphosis of Chinese Church Growth in North America, 1943–1983," *Chinese Around the World* (October 1983).

¹⁰ Leo A. Orleans, *Chinese Students in America: Policies, Issues, and Numbers* (Washington, D.C., National Academy Press, 1988).

¹¹ Evelyn O. Shih, *Love is Forever* (Hong Kong: Chinese Alliance Press, 1981), 25; Evelyn O. Shih, *Torrey Shih: The Lord's Servant* (Kowloon: China Alliance Press, 1994); Leland Chinn, "Abounding in the Work of the Lord for Seventy-five Years," in *Diamond Anniversary Commemorative Issue of the Chinese Christian Union Church of Chicago: 1915 to 1990* (Chicago: Chinese Christian Union Church, 1990); Author interview with Bernardine Wong (July 1, 1996).

¹² American-born Chinese youth and young adults from mainline Protestant churches had organized youth conferences in Lake Tahoe, California and Silver Bay, New York since the 1930s. In addition to recreation, these conferences discussed social issues, matters of "Chinese-American identity," and theological questions. The youth were exposed to a brand of religious liberalism that encouraged the youth to devote their lives to civic service in China or the United States. See Paul Louie, "Chinese Christian Youth Conferences in America, with a Focus on the East Coast," *History and Perspectives 2001: Chinese America* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 2001), 47–58.

¹³ The dialogue and debate were covered by Chinese Christian Mission's Challenger magazine and FACE's AboutFace (Oakland, CA). Some of the articles were compiled in *A Winning Combination: Understanding the Cultural Tensions in Chinese Churches* (Chinese Christian Missions, 1986). AboutFACE ceased publication in 2005.

¹⁴ Timothy Tseng, "Second Generation Chinese North American Evangelical Use of the Bible in Identity Discourse," *Semeia*, vol. 90–91, ed. Tat-siong Benny Liew (Atlanta, Ga., 2002).

¹⁵ Russell Jeung, *Faithful Generations: Race and New Asian American Churches* (Rutgers University Press, 2004).

¹⁶ The occasion for the 1955 gathering was to receive the report of a survey of Chinese churches in the U.S. sponsored by the NCCC. See Horace R. Cayton and Anne O. Lively, *The Chinese in the United States and the Chinese Christian Churches: A Statement Condensed for the National Conference on the Chinese Christian Churches* (National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1955) and Wilbur W. Y. Choy, "Survey Needs of Christian Chinese," *Christian Century*, 72 (June 15, 1955); 14. The conference was organized by a core of San Francisco-based Chinese clergy. Chinese clergy in San Francisco have worked collaboratively since 1916. See Chinese Christian Union of San Francisco, USA: 80th Anniversary Souvenir Book (Chinese Christian Union of San Francisco, 1996).

¹⁷ Teng Kiat Chiu to Wilbur W. Y. Choy, August 22, 1960, Edward Lee Collection (folder 12), Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ *Chinese Community Church of Washington: An Inter-denominational Enterprise of the Christian Organizations in the Nation's Capital* (pamphlet, no date, possibly 1943).

²⁰ Fenggang Yang, *Chinese Christians in America*, (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1999) 70.

²¹ Moses C. Chow, with Leona Choy, *Let My People Go! An Autobiography* (Paradise, PA: Ambassadors for Christ, Inc., 1995), 77.

²² Zhongxin Wang, "A History of Chinese Churches in Boston (1876-1994)" (ThD dissertation, Boston University School of Theology, 2000), 101–144; James Y. K. Tan, *Grace Upon Grace*, 149-154; Timothy Tseng, "Trans-Pacific Transpositions: Continuities and discontinuities in Chinese North American Protestantism," *Revealing the Sacred in Asian and Pacific America* edited by Jane Naomi Iwamura and Paul Spickard (Routledge, 2003): 241–271.

²³ Pál Nyíri, "Moving Targets: Chinese Christian Proselytizing Among Transnational Migrants from the People's Republic of China," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2003), 263–301.

²⁴ Ted Choy, with Leona Choy, *My Dreams and Visions: An Autobiography* (Winchester, VA: Golden Morning Publishing, 1997); Moses C. Chow, with Leona Choy, *Let My People Go!*, 77–78.

²⁵ Sam Ling, "Confessing Christ in the 21st Century" (unpublished, January 1, 1998), <http://www.chinahorizon.org/Articles/CONESSING%20CHRIST%20IN%20THE%2021ST%20CENTURY.doc>

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TODAY'S CHALLENGES

The “Model Minority” Myth in the Chinese American Church

Andrew Lee

Asian Americans, including Chinese Americans, have been labeled the “model minority” in the United States. They are presented as sterling examples of those who arrived from distant shores and ascended through the ranks to achieve the American dream. How did this common script develop? Do Chinese Americans indeed see themselves as the “model minority”? How has being the “model minority” impacted their faith and church life?



The Humble Beginnings

It is difficult to imagine that Chinese Americans would one day be perceived as the “model minority” based on their early treatment. They were regarded with suspicion, as were other immigrants both before and after them.¹

In the nineteenth century, the majority of Chinese came as common laborers to escape the economic and political turmoil in southern Guangdong province. Even after the California gold rush fever died down, great numbers of Chinese continued to arrive and found employment at positions requiring menial labor. Whether they prospected for gold, were employed to build the transcontinental railroad, or worked on farms and plantations, they were subjected to discriminatory practices and laws.²

Anti-Chinese sentiment gained momentum as these “coolies” were blamed for the loss of jobs among whites. In the space of a few decades, they were deprived of livelihood and home and driven from towns. They were the victims of violence, including murder, at the hands of vigilantes. They were considered an inferior race, as were Native Americans and African Americans.

A series of laws were passed gradually restricting their rights. The culmination of these legal barriers was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The Chinese were specifically named, targeted, banned, and denied naturalization.³ It was not until passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 that the floodgates opened for Asian immigration to America.

The “Model Minority”

The degrading perception of the Chinese in 1882 and how they are now viewed as the “model minority” presents a dramatic turnaround. The blueprint for their career success supposedly rests on their strong work ethic and an emphasis on family, study, and education. These values align well with evangelical virtues.⁴

The term “model minority” was first coined by William Petersen in 1966 as he described the success of Japanese Americans in the face of discrimination and other obstacles.⁵ Unlike other minorities, Petersen concluded that the Japanese succeeded due to their cultural values such as diligence, frugality, and achievement orientation. This mantra was repeated in subsequent journal articles lending credence to this myth regarding Asian Americans as a whole.⁶ Asian Americans were held up as an example to be emulated by other peoples of color. Hence, civil rights protests were unnecessary. Equality could be achieved by following the example set by the “model minority.”

Mainstream society came to accept this myth as truth, yet it crumbles under closer examination as full equality in society has yet to be attained. Asian Americans remain a minority people not woven into the fabric of the majority.

Nevertheless, studies have pointed out that a number of Asian Americans have internalized the “model minority” label assigned to them. As students do not learn about Asian American history in the classroom, they are largely unaware of their historical treatment. Growing up in the current context, they have come to accept the notion of meritocracy. They study hard believing that this will lead to a prosperous career in the years ahead and fulfillment of the American dream.⁷

The Perpetual Foreigner

While Chinese and other Asian Americans are able to live in affluent neighborhoods, send their children to enviable schools, and achieve artistic and financial success, they are still the perpetual foreigner unable to attain complete assimilation into a society that continues to privilege whiteness. Materialistic success as the “model minority” is not equivalent to equality.

Chinese Americans were cruelly reminded about their place in the general population by the recent racist attacks against them following President Donald Trump’s description of the coronavirus as the “Wuhan Flu,” the “Chinese Flu,” or “Kung Flu.” The Asian Pacific Policy and Planning Council, and Chinese for Affirmative Action created a website on March 19 to report attacks launched against Asian Americans. More than 2,100 incidents were reported between March and June alone.⁸ Even if Chinese Americans are viewed as the “model minority,” the term itself assigns them to a lower rung of society.

The “Model Christian”

The aspiration to be the “model minority” has spilled over into religious life. If Chinese American (and Asian American) evangelicals aspire to be the “model minority” in secular life by imitating those in power, they similarly seek to imitate the leaders of the American church. They attend popular church growth and church leadership conferences such as the Global Leadership Summit founded by Bill Hybels and Willow Creek Church, Saddleback Church’s series of Purpose Driven seminars led by Rick Warren, and Passion under the direction of Louie Giglio. These majority culture churches are on display as models to be emulated.

The latter was embroiled in controversy earlier this year when he suggested that the phrase “white privilege” could be replaced by “white blessing.” “We understand the curse that was slavery, white people do... And we say that was bad. But we miss the blessing of slavery, that it actually built up the framework for the world that white people live in.” In an attempt to defuse the firestorm created by his comments, Giglio later declared that he wanted other white believers to recognize that “white privilege is real.”⁹

White privilege is real, but Chinese American believers have not connected the dots in regard to their faith. If one were to attend a typical English worship service in a Chinese church on a Sunday morning, the worship songs, both contemporary and classic, would be written by Western composers; thus, the theology expressed in the lyrics comes from the dominant culture. The preaching style would be suitable for Western culture congregations as pastors are trained in evangelical seminaries. The service format would likely follow what one would find in many majority culture evangelical churches.

Redeemer Presbyterian Church in New York City was founded by noted church leader Tim Keller. More Chinese Americans and Korean Americans attend Redeemer than any respective second-generation Chinese or Korean church in the city as forty-five percent of Redeemer’s congregants are second- or third-generation Chinese and Korean.¹⁰ Leaving the immigrant church as adults has been the general trend for decades. However, even though Redeemer and several other popular large churches are multiethnic, one can argue that they are not multicultural. The dominant expression in these churches is white evangelical, an often-overlooked factor.

Anthony Alumkal’s study, “The Scandal of the “Model Minority” Evangelical Mind: The Bible and Second-Generation Asian American Evangelicals,” analyzes the wholesale manner by which second-generation Asian believers swallow popular Anglo-American evangelical modes of thought and discourse. Critical thinking is absent even from those who are college educated.¹¹ The sermons and books popular in the white evangelical world are also consumed by Asian American Christians.

These behavioral patterns are consistent with the findings of scholars who have critically analyzed the “model minority” in matters of faith. They leave behind an immigrant church heavily influenced by an Asian flavored Christianity to establish a new home in evangelical churches that will help them develop their spiritual, not ethnic, identity. “Decidedly opposed to culture, especially Asian culture above the church, the second-generation promote a culture-free and color-blind church, a position on race shared with white evangelicalism.”¹² Asian American campus groups seek to serve their ethnic constituency, yet at the same time propagate an evangelical identity that is non-race-specific.¹³

What they fail to understand is that American churches themselves are a product of Western culture including the phenomenon of evangelicalism. These Western churches are far from being culture neutral. When Asians join these churches, “what emerges is the self-reinforcement of the Christian model minority: the maintenance of white privilege, affirmation of middle-class standing, preservation of ethnic hierarchy in American evangelicalism, and compliance in the racialized formation of Asian Americans.”¹⁴ They remain the perpetual foreigner even in the spiritual domain.

This is evident in the arena of social justice where for many years, the sin of racism was perceived as an individual’s struggle. Overlooked was the specter of societal and systemic racism which the evangelical church has been slow to speak out against. Within the current climate in America, protests were mounted in all fifty states against the death of George Floyd at the hands of the Minneapolis police. However, the Chinese church has been reluctant to join in these protests, emulating the evangelical church at large.

When a march for black dignity and pride was organized in Chicago’s Chinatown, many members of the historic local church were slow to action. There was indifference, even opposition, from leaders and members. Moreover, participation in civic protests is not behavior associated with those who are deemed a “model minority.” Such demonstrations are directed toward those entrenched in the capitals of power, against those who stand above them in society’s hierarchy.

Chinese Americans (and Asian Americans) continue to live in the liminal space of the margins. This is not to say that much has not been gained by Chinese Americans in both secular and religious life. However, as the “model minority” they remain on the outside looking to the majority for guidance and direction in matters of church and faith.

¹ Erika Lee, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2019).

² “History of Chinese Americans,” *Wikipedia* (Wikimedia Foundation, August 22, 2020), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Chinese_Americans.

³ Lee, pp. 81–93, gives details about the Coolie Trade Act of 1862 and the 1875 Page Act which preceded the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.

⁴ Rebecca Y. Kim, *God's New Whiz Kids?: Korean American Evangelicals on Campus* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

⁵ William Petersen, "Success Story, Japanese American Style," *The New York Times Magazine*, January 1966, p. 20ff.

⁶ Claire Jean Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans," *Politics & Society* 27, no. 1 (1999): pp. 105–138, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329299027001005>.

⁷ Candace J. Chow, "Raced Curriculum: Asian American College Students' Lives," in Bic Ngo and Kevin K. Kumashiro, "Raced Curriculum: Asian American College Students' Lives," in *Six Lenses for Anti-Oppressive Education: Partial Stories, Improbable Conversations* (New York: Peter Lang, 2014). Even academically under achieving students have internalized the "model minority" myth and respond to this script.

⁸ Erin Donaghue, "2,120 Hate Incidents against Asian Americans Reported during Coronavirus Pandemic," *CBS News* (CBS Interactive, July 2, 2020), <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/anti-asian-american-hate-incidents-up-racism/>.

⁹ Sarah Pulliam Bailey, "Atlanta Megachurch Pastor Louie Giglio Sets off Firestorm by Calling Slavery a 'Blessing' to Whites," *The Washington Post* (WP Company, June 16, 2020), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/2020/06/16/atlanta-megachurch-pastor-louie-giglio-sets-off-firestorm-after-calling-slavery-white-blessing/>.

¹⁰ Sarah Eekhoff Zylstra et al., "The Life and Times of Redeemer Presbyterian Church," May 22, 2017, <https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/article/life-and-times-of-redeemer-presbyterian-church/>.

¹¹ Anthony Alumkal, "The Scandal of the 'Model Minority' Evangelical Mind: The Bible and Second-Generation Asian American Evangelicals," *Semeia* 90/91 (March 2002): pp. 237-250.

¹² K. Kale Yu, "Christian Model Minority: Racial and Ethnic Formation in Asian American Evangelicalism," *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Religion* 7, no. 4 (November 2016): pp. 1-24, http://www.raceandreligion.com/JRER/Volume_7_%282016%29.html.

¹³ Rudy V. Busto, "The Gospel According to the Model Minority?: Hazarding an Interpretation of Asian American Evangelical College Students," *Amerasia Journal* 22, no. 1 (1996): pp. 133-148, <https://doi.org/10.17953/amer.22.1.nw6177p521l33334>.

¹⁴ Yu, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Andrew Lee is the Associate Director of the Global Diaspora Institute at Wheaton College Billy Graham Center. He has served at the largest Chinese churches in New York City and Chicago. He has also been a seminary professor at several institutions and has written for both the academic and ministry worlds. He holds a PhD in religion.

TODAY'S CHALLENGES

Short-Term Missions in Africa with Chinese Diaspora Mission

Joey Zhou and David Fu

At 2:00 am on June 21, 2019, three short-term mission (STM) teams from the United States arrived at the office of Chinese Diaspora Mission (CDM) in Kenya after a journey of nearly 30 hours. It was the Chinese lunar summer solstice, the longest day of the year, but for the country on the equator, there was no difference in day length. As I (Joey) set foot in Africa for the first time, I had a feeling of returning to my hometown.

The CDM head office in East Africa is in Limuru, Kenya, a small town on an equatorial plateau, more than 2,000 meters above sea level, about 30 km north-west of Kenya's capital, Nairobi. Because of the high altitude and rainy season in East Africa, the air was cool and pleasant, not as hot as I had imagined Africa would be. Located on a hillside, the CDM office nestled in among vibrant green tea plants. Tall avocado trees stood in the grassy courtyard. Our fourteen STM team members, including ten church pastors and Bible teachers and four youth leaders from three Chinese churches in Chicago and Pittsburgh, settled into our living quarters there. This STM trip was a response to the call to cross-cultural mission, as well as to support and care for our Chinese missionaries in Africa.

Before our travel, we had three pre-trip training sessions. We learned that Chinese make up the largest diaspora group in the world, with forty-six million people spread across the globe, two million of whom are in Africa. The diaspora Chinese have abundant resources, including personnel and finances, enabling them to access different cultures and

participate in world missions. In response to the calls from African churches, a missional model has been established by CDM in Africa. This model will mobilize Chinese churches in North America and mainland China to send short-term and long-term missionaries and raise up diaspora Chinese missionaries from their workplaces in Africa.

There are two main parts of the model: First is a mission of discipleship embodied by the Institute for Training in Ministry (iTIM) center. The goal of the iTIM center is to provide systematic theological training and discipleship using the iTIM curriculum that has been designed and adapted for local African church pastors and leaders. It utilizes a 3-H methodology: Head, Heart, and Hands, representing theology, spirituality, and ministry application, respectively. The learning process consists of group study with CDM's unique workbooks, completed in two years. The certified trainers are mainly short-term missionaries from diaspora Chinese churches in North America.

The second part of the model consists of missions of empowerment in three areas:

Church planting in local communities. Trained African pastors will use iTIM methods for church planting and discipleship, with Chinese long-term missionaries working alongside them to grow their indigenous churches.

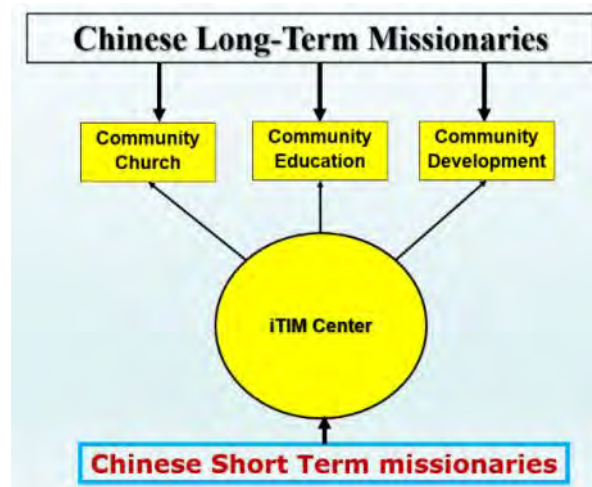
Schools in the communities. Rather than simply donating money to Africans in need, Chinese churches will invest in schools as missions to end illiteracy and equip people to work so that Africans can have freedom from ignorance, tyranny, and dependence. Local church leaders will receive training in computer technology and business administration, and Chinese language study can be added to the curriculum.

Community business development. Chinese Christian businessmen may start joint ventures with trained African church leaders. The indigenous people can find jobs in these workplaces and benefit from business profits. In five to seven years, the Chinese missionaries will exit the businesses, and the local African people will eventually operate the businesses independently.

Our two-week STM missions schedule was set according to the mission and vision of CDM. It was very tight and diverse, including



All images courtesy of the authors.



an African Pastors' Retreat; Discipleship iTIM leader certification training; Chinese church services in Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Kenya; Maasai Women's Ministry; and an African Pastors' Wives' Retreat, being completed by several breakouts.

In the first small team I was assigned to lead the African Pastors' Retreat, and in the second small team I served in a Discipleship iTIM Leader certification training at Kakamega Seminary as well as in a demonstration of iTIM discipleship group leading at a Chinese church in Nairobi. These services are centered around iTIM's discipleship program. East African countries have many Christians, but the roots of faith are not very solid due to lack of education and resources. Most church pastors have no systematic theological training, self-describing their beliefs as being "a mile wide and an inch deep." Therefore, CDM's training courses for church pastors and leaders are critical and important.



What impressed me most was Kenyans' godliness and love for God, which is worth emulating. Most shops are closed on Sundays so local believers can go to church and worship. They truly dedicate the day to worship God in sharp contrast to Chinese Christians in the United States, many of whom work, schedule their children's activities on Sundays, or only show up at sermon time. African Christians go to church very early, some even two hours prior to the service; they wear their best clothes, appearing well dressed, even if most of their clothes are from the second-hand market. I asked one sister: "Why don't you save the cost of the clothes and buy food?" She answered with a confident smile: "I want to give my best to God!" Church facilities are limited, and many churches do not have projectors or pianos, but an African drum and a cymbal can bring the atmosphere of worship to the whole church and God blesses their music. Groups of adults, youth and children sing in worship without instruments. I could not control my tears when listening to the rich tonalities and harmony of the song "You are so Great" in Swahili.

Because of poverty in Kenya, even full-time pastors find it difficult to survive on only the salary from their churches, so most pastors need an additional job to support their families. For example, many of the pastors we served in the retreats also work farmland and raise livestock. We understood through the STM trip that local pastors need not only spiritual food and discipleship, but also practical help, and this cannot be done by simply giving money. Because Africa is indeed relatively poor, small (to us) amounts of money given directly to pastors can easily lead them into temptations, and sometimes their mission is also affected. We were told several heartbreaking stories during the pre-trip training. For example, one pastor left during the training when he received 600 USD from a STM member. He believed the easy money was better than continuing with church ministry and training. We need to help local churches in Africa stand on their own feet, not just give them money. While fundraising may not be a major problem for Chinese churches in North America, using money wisely to help local churches and pastors in Africa develop themselves and become independent is certainly a huge challenge.

CDM's long-term missionaries in the field also impressed us. For example, Lily, in charge of the meals during our STM trip, was very considerate and humble, serving us quietly. Later we learned she was from Shanghai, called by God to come to Africa as a long-term missionary. The day after we arrived, Lily's mother passed away in China. At one point she was so sad that she could not keep back tears. However, she decided to stay and help us instead of returning home. She insisted on continuing to prepare meals for us, even while fasting herself for the next few days. I know that she was able to do this only through the touch and comfort of God himself.

During the two-week STM work in Kenya, I found that most parts of Kenya we visited have no public running water or sewage system. I discovered that the water and power supply systems are also unstable in Kenya. On at least three occasions I found myself without water or electricity while taking a shower, causing embarrassment. If the missionary has a family with children, there are practical challenges of childcare and schooling in addition to cross-culture missions. It reminded me that missionaries in the field face real difficulties and challenges that we cannot imagine from afar. Many things that are easy and taken for granted by us in the United States result in pressures and emotional needs that we cannot imagine. How do we really care for our missionaries and accomplish God's mission with them?

In all, the innovative mission model of CDM can empower the indigenous population and transform culture in Africa. It is God's mission and can be fulfilled in partnership with God's people, including Chinese churches, full-time missionaries, STM teams, and local African church leaders. As an African proverb says, "If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together." Churches, mission organizations, and Africa field workers need to work together in mission partnership and missionary member care.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF ONE AMERICAN CITY— CHICAGO

Chinese Christians of Chicagoland

Sam George

The year 2015 marked a historic milestone for the Chinese Christian community in Chicago as they celebrated the 100th anniversary of the start of the first Chinese church in the city. A glowing report appeared in a 1915 local publication about that first, exclusively Chinese church service held in October with fifty-five members. Although several other informal gatherings of Chinese Christians had occurred in the city previously, Chicago Chinese churches observed the centennial year with special meetings and celebrations. That community has steadily grown and flourished over the last century.



Image credit: Andrew Lee.

As a migration scholar and diaspora missiologist who has lived in Chicagoland for over two decades, I happened to be at some of the celebrations and was subsequently drafted by the United Chinese Churches in Chicago (UCCC), an association of the Chinese pastors and leaders in and around the Chicago area, to embark on a research project about the Chinese Christians of Chicagoland. Its goal was to discern ministry trends of this diasporic faith community and to assess issues facing Chinese churches as well as to explore ministry opportunities.

Let me begin with full disclosure. I am not of Chinese origin (I am actually of Asian Indian descent) but have many friends among the Chinese and Asian American Christian community in major cities of the US and Canada. I have lived in Singapore and Hong Kong for short stints during my corporate career and have widely connected with Chinese Christian leaders in different parts of the world. I serve as the director of the Global Diaspora Institute at Wheaton College Billy Graham Center and as a Global Catalyst for Diasporas of the Lausanne Movement. I research, teach, write, and consult about global migration, diaspora mission, and world Christianity.

In light of the expectations and guidelines provided by the UCCC, this research spanned two years of fieldwork from January 2018 to December 2019 with quarterly reports presented at the gatherings of Chinese pastors. I was ably assisted by a team of graduate students from Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, the University of Chicago, and Wheaton College in conducting fieldwork and interviews. We had ample opportunity to participate in worship services of various Chinese churches, small group meetings, and youth and children's ministries. In addition, I was invited to preach at Chinese churches and mission conferences during the research phase. This study was multidisciplinary in its approach and used ethnographic methods as well as congregational analysis tools. It drew from literature and reports of ethnic demography, social sciences, sociology of religion, and diaspora missiology.

Chinese Diaspora: Global Scattering

Chinese diaspora is the largest dispersed community in the world. Though traditionally referred to as overseas Chinese, it is only in recent years that the term diaspora has gained wider acceptance among scholars for Chinese migrants globally. China has a long history of emigration, and its people have been widely scattered all over the world for a variety of reasons. The Chinese diaspora is highly diverse and comprises various distinct migratory waves to different regions of the world. The global Chinese diaspora is roughly estimated at 60 million worldwide, most of whom are still in Southeast Asia with a sizable population of Chinese in North America, Europe, Africa, and Australia. As per the American Community Survey of US Census report 2018, the Chinese American population had swelled to 5.2 million (excluding Taiwanese) and is the highest among all Asian American groupings (twenty-three percent of 22.6 million Asian Americans).¹ In thirteen states Chinese is the third most spoken language besides English and Spanish.

The Chinese migration to the United States began in the 1850s, drawn by the pull of the California Gold Rush of 1848 and the push factors of crop failure, poor economic conditions, and political unrest in China. Most immigrants were young men who worked on farms, in fishing, mining, railroad construction, and other low-skilled jobs. In subsequent decades, they began to migrate eastward from the West Coast using the newly built transcontinental railroad and began to arrive in the Windy City starting in the early 1870s.² The Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 and an increasing anti-Chinese attitude precipitated the tide of the second migration of Chinese from the Pacific Coast to Chicago, New York, Boston, and elsewhere for the next few decades. The first Chicago Chinatown was established in the 1880s moving to its current location around 1912; it currently remains as one of the most thriving Chinatowns in North America. The Chicago World Fair of 1893 drew many to the city and created numerous service jobs with Chinese dominating the laundry business. Later Chinese "chop-suey" restaurants became popular bringing more people from coastal Chinese cities and causing their community to grow steadily throughout the depression era. After the repeal of exclusion laws in 1943 and immigration law reforms in the mid-1960s, Chinese migration to the United States surged with many coming to Chicago. The

communist control of China, the fall of Saigon, and the geopolitics of Taiwan and Hong Kong created wave after wave of diverse groups of Chinese migrants to the American shores.

The early immigrants were mostly Cantonese single men who had little education and worked as laborers or in the small business sector. Without families of their own, there was noticeable gender imbalance and negative stereotypes. Poor socio-economic conditions without political representation kept them as an isolated minority in America. The vices of opium smoking, gambling, prostitution, and crime further undermined the Chinese in the city. However, later immigrants, who came in the 1970s and 80s, especially those who came from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Northern China, were educated, or came to America for higher studies in specialized fields. They came with their families or established stable and nuclear families in Chicago. In the last three decades, more professionals in medical, science, and technology fields have migrated to Chicago and settled directly in the suburbs with little contact with Chinatown while earlier immigrants still have familial or cultural associations with the Chinatown area.

Chinese Christianity in Chicago: Local Gatherings

As of early 2020, there are eighty Chinese churches in the greater Chicagoland area that include services in Cantonese, Mandarin, and English. They maintain affiliations with various Protestant, Catholic, Evangelical, and independent ecclesial traditions. The Chinese Baptist Mission work began in Chicago in 1878 and the Swedish Evangelical Free Church began the Canton Mission in 1887. There are only two churches that are more than a century old and only a couple of Taiwanese (Formosan) churches in the city. We mapped the spread of Chinese churches across the city and suburbs over time and identified specific congregations for detailed analysis. We also met with Chinese pastors and leaders who are not part of the association but are active with local, American, large, multiethnic churches; some are second generation and are studying in local seminaries or serving with other Christian organizations.

Using a questionnaire, we surveyed the church leaders within the association about their respective churches and we researched the latest published information about Chinese demographics for Chicago, its suburbs, Illinois state, and even the US at large. We charted the migration and settlement patterns of Chinese in the city and suburbs and carried out detailed interviews with select pastors, elders, English ministry pastors, youth leaders, children's ministry leaders, and others. Some of the interviews were conducted in Mandarin and later translated into English for analysis. When some of the findings at the quarterly meeting of the pastors were presented, it generated extensive discussions. We examined the Chinese international student population in various educational institutions in the region as well as met with select Chinese business leaders, and professors—and even Buddhist community leaders. Our team visited Mandarin schools for children and participated in other Chinese cultural celebrations in the city.

When analyzing the age distribution of congregations, we could discern the generational divide in some churches. We conducted some intergenerational dialogues between leaders of immigrant generations and American-born and raised Chinese and applied the life-stage theory of immigrant churches to local Chinese churches. The study explored the mission of the Chinese churches in the city, particularly their mission awareness, involvement, activities, and giving. We highlighted congregations who were involved in mission projects in Asia (China and elsewhere), Africa, and Europe. During the study, I made it a point to connect with Chinese leaders in other parts of the world, and I spoke about the global dispersion of Chinese and missional opportunities for Chinese Christians in Chicago. We also identified the lacuna of Chinese churches in the suburbs and located potential locales where new Chinese churches could be started. In fact, during the study, a new church plant began directly as a result of this study and is showing promising prospects.

One of the surprising finds was a cluster of nearly 10,000 Chinese students in the Urbana-Champaign region without any Chinese church in the university town. In the summer of 2017, a young Chinese woman scholar was killed at the university and many international students and college officials were on edge. Some church leaders decided to visit the Champaign area and have since adopted the Chinese student community there. They now take turns hosting a student fellowship every Friday evening and have started meeting as a church offering Mandarin services on Sundays. This outreach has emerged as a haven for these Chinese students on campus and several dozen Chinese students have embraced the Christian faith. It has also given a sense of mission to the partnering churches in Chicago, and upon graduation many of those students are likely to end up in Chicago, other US cities, or return to China as Christians.

Conclusion

This is only a brief, initial account of our research. The details of the research and other findings are being analyzed. We hope to put them all together for a publication sometime soon. Most of the academic and mission research on Chinese American Christians has been focused on the West and East Coasts of the US while little effort has been given to Chicago or the Midwest. We hope this study becomes a welcome addition to the growing literature on Chinese diaspora and presents a simple and helpful framework to research any immigrant community in a city. We pray that more intentional effort will be taken to understand the dynamics of immigrant communities and the missional opportunities and challenges they pose for fruitful and lasting ministry.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF ONE AMERICAN CITY—CHICAGO

Interview with Rev. Yoman Man

Sam George and Andrew Lee

Drs. Sam George and Andrew Lee, the guest editors of this issue of CSQ, conducted an interview with Rev. Yoman Man on September 23, 2020 in Chicago, Illinois, USA. Rev. Man is the Senior Pastor of Cornerstone Chinese Church.



Image credit: [Cornerstone Chinese Church](#).

Editors: Tell us a bit about yourself, your background, and your church in Chicago.

Yoman Man: I studied textile technologies at Hong Kong Polytechnic in the early 1970s and then went into ministry. I was trained at Evangel Theological College and became a pastor, and then the senior pastor, of a church. I served with the denomination of the Evangelical Free Church and became its first General Secretary in 1990. A major responsibility was to prepare the denomination for the future as the United Kingdom would hand over governance of Hong Kong to China in 1997. We focused on the Great Commission, and the number of churches grew from 29 to 44 in seven years and the number of believers increased by about 50%.

After 1997, I pursued my dream of further studies and came to Chicago to study at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. After graduation I became senior pastor of the Chinese Bible Church of Oak Park which was established in 1908 by the Church of the Brethren. Then, in 1972, it became an independent church due to doctrinal differences. Today, our beliefs are similar to those of the Evangelical Free Church. Recently, we relocated to Villa Park and are now called Cornerstone Chinese Church.

Until the 1970s, we only had Cantonese ministry. However, we began to work with the English-speaking second-generation students and young adults, and as a result, we hired our first English ministry pastor in 1983. A Mandarin ministry began in the late '80s when many Chinese scholars and students came to America. We had our first Mandarin service in 2008 and hired our first Mandarin minister in 2009. So, our Mandarin ministry is recent.

Eds: Regarding changing your name and relocating, can you tell us the reasons behind these decisions?

YM: In the year 2000, the Property Planning Committee was formed. The continued growth of church membership called for a larger facility. The committee concluded that the current church facility could not meet our needs by rescheduling or remodeling at that location. So, we began to look into this. This is the first reason for our relocation.

The second reason has to do with our mission. We had Cantonese speakers, Mandarin students from mainland China, and American-born Chinese. I went to a marketing company and purchased all the Chinese surnames in about ten zip codes surrounding the church's location in Oak Park. I organized Saturday visitation for several weeks and sent out about 20 people to go to the addresses with those surnames. We found 200 Chinese families in those ten zip codes and many older people. Things had changed from the '50s and '60s when there was a concentration of Chinese immigrants in Oak Park and neighborhood areas. So that's why we needed to move. We followed the movement of the Chinese westward but not too far away from our current location. Our target area was a place close to three highways as our members can live up to 70 miles apart from north to south. We wanted to find a location in the middle.

Another reason for relocation to a larger facility is that we wanted to unite, to have all three language groups support each congregation's mission. We wanted all our members, from three different language groups, to work together for the same purpose.

With the relocation from Oak Park, we obviously had to change our name. We held a contest for members to suggest a new name. We agreed the needs of the greater Chinese community were still there. There was a heated argument about the new name. In the end, we didn't have to change our Chinese name (中華友愛教會) and this helped us. The new English name is Cornerstone Chinese Church because to everyone it is still a Chinese church.

Eds: What is the future of Cantonese congregations as their rate of immigration has slowed down?

YM: It is true that Cantonese congregations are aging in the United States and Canada. However, if I am correct, over 60 million people speak Cantonese in China, mostly in southern China with another seven million plus in Hong Kong and Macau. There are tens of millions of people who speak Cantonese outside China—in Malaysia, Southeast Asia, Australia, Europe, and the Americas.

So, when we look at the Cantonese-speaking church in America, we are talking mostly about the Cantonese from Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, and southern China. Most came here to reunite with their families. I have heard that Chicago is the only place in

America that has an expanding Chinatown. This is because of family reunions with people from southern China. Since their English language skills are not very good, they have to stick to living in the Chinatown locale.

With fewer Cantonese immigrants, the emphasis has been on Mandarin-speaking ministry; almost forgotten are the needs of the Cantonese-speaking immigrants already here. Yet, we see that more than ninety percent of Cantonese-speaking people here are not yet converted. In my estimation, less than three percent of Cantonese Chinese in Chicago are believers. From this perspective, there is a need for Cantonese ministry in the Chinese community. They can be reached through friendship evangelism within family relationships as they have relatives all around them.

Also, the Cantonese older folks are very lonely. I realized this while in Hong Kong and so I created a social center for the elderly for outreach at my church planting site. Later, in my role as general secretary, I supervised that social service center.

Pui Tak Center is special because it's in the center of Chicago's Chinatown. But how can we use this model in suburban Chicago? Over the last ten years there are many Confucian Institutes and Chinese cultural centers all over America. They have language schools and also some social groups in almost every Chinese community. Church ministry can be like that. Chinese Christian Herald Crusades has such a model in different parts of New York.

Eds: Many people say that Mandarin is the future for the church. How do you see the impact of Mandarin immigration on the Chinese church?

YM: Now the reason why I said Mandarin-speaking ministry is the future of the church is because of the ability to speak Mandarin among all Chinese people. Even the Cantonese-speaking people can still use Mandarin to survive in the church. That's what happened to a church in the Chicago suburbs that was Cantonese. But then, the Mandarin-speaking from Taiwan superseded the number of Cantonese and changed it totally to Mandarin-speaking.

Let me go back to another perspective about Mandarin ministry. I think everybody knows that there is a huge number of immigrants from China. Back in the '50s and '60s, the church was mostly established by believers from Hong Kong. Although many do not speak Mandarin, they tried to be friendly to them, so I think they were successful in receiving the Mandarin-speaking Chinese in the '80s and '90s.

Under the policy from President George H. W. Bush, Chinese in America were allowed to stay for at least ten years. So, during that ten years, most of the Chinese from mainland China got their citizenship. That is why I think even if there are fewer international students and new immigrants, there are still family reunions that have taken place since the year 2000.

Those who were naturalized in the late '90s began to apply to reunite their families, and immediate family members could come in one or two years. But those who are brothers and sisters have to wait for 14 to 16 years. From this perspective, beginning in the middle of the 2000s and up to the next decade, there have been many family reunions. So, even though currently we don't have new students and scholars from China, family reunions will give us the opportunity to reach out to different generations.

This is just like the family reunions of Hong Kong immigrants. You have an increase in the '80s and '90s because people from Hong Kong came to America in the '60s and '70s. That's why I think the majority of new immigrants will be Mandarin-speaking people.

Eds: There are believers from Taiwan and believers from the mainland. They are Mandarin speakers but there are certainly some cultural differences there. Do you see that these two groups are able to get along together well in church?

YM: There has been a huge improvement in the cultural assimilation between these two communities, not just in the church. This was a huge problem in the '90s, I think. But in the '80s it was less a problem because there were fewer immigrants from mainland China. I think the big problem happened in the '90s when many arrived from China, but most of the leadership of the Mandarin-speaking church was from Taiwan. So, there was conflict with the church leadership.

However, there has been improvement over the last twenty years. So, now I look forward. There is a difference between generations. For baby boomers and older folks, there is still an issue with these differences. They can be categorized by political education, life experience, and cultural differences. This is very difficult.

Even language usage can create a lot of problems. In my church, I allow everyone to use different terms to name the same thing among different groups. The Cantonese may have different terms than Mandarin. Those from (mainland) China may have different terms from the Chinese from Taiwan. Allowing them to use different terms helps to assimilate them into the church. Language itself can be an issue that we want to avoid. Different kinds of leadership style can create a crisis. Let me give you an example.

At a conference that included Taiwanese, there were different workshops. We asked people to register for the different workshops as we needed to know how to designate rooms for the different workshops. I can distinguish this as a Hong Kong mindset. If you register, you need to stick to your workshop. If you want to change, you can talk to us privately for permission to change. So, I organized all the workshops, and then the person handling the facilities said, "That's not necessary. Anybody can change their mind at the last minute. I don't need your registration numbers. I will randomly assign rooms for the workshops."

I was very surprised. Later I observed that the believers from Taiwan have that kind of thinking. They don't want to hurt anyone's

feelings, so it's okay not to be so strict in organizing. But people from Hong Kong want organizations to be effective and efficient.

Eds: Thank you Rev. Man for your insights into the intricacies of serving in a Chinese church in America.

Sam George, PhD, lives with his family in the northern suburbs of Chicago and serves as the director of Global Diaspora Institute at Wheaton College Billy Graham Center near Chicago, USA. He is involved in researching and teaching about diaspora communities and world Christianity.

Andrew Lee is the Associate Director of the Global Diaspora Institute at Wheaton College Billy Graham Center. He has served at the largest Chinese churches in New York City and Chicago. He has also been a seminary professor at several institutions and has written for both the academic and ministry worlds. He holds a PhD in religion.

Short-Term Missions in Africa with Chinese Diaspora Mission

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Growing up, David Fu had many diaspora experiences, moving frequently with his geologist parents. He met Jesus while pursuing his PhD in Nebraska in 1997 and has since determined to serve him at his professional workplace. He has participated in STM trips and is now a coworker for CDM missions in Africa.

Joey Zhou was born in China and came to the US in 2003. In May 2012, nine years after he first heard the gospel, he became a Jesus follower. He is the father of two sons and deeply passionate about spreading the gospel to his friends, neighbors and all nations.

Chinese Christians of Chicagoland

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¹ ACS 2018. US Census. <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=chinese%20alone%20or%20in%20combination&t=Race%20and%20Ethnicity&tid=ACSDT1Y2018.B02018&hidePreview=true> (Accessed Nov 1, 2020).

² Melvin G. Holli and Peter d'A Jones, *Ethnic Chicago: A Multicultural Portrait*, 4th Edition, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995. pp 378–408.

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BOOK REVIEW

America for Americans

Reviewed by Steven Hu

America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States by Erika Lee. New York: Basic Books, 2019. vii + 416 pages, hardcover, ISBN: 978-1-54-167260-4. US\$32.

According to United States census projections, more than half of all Americans are estimated to belong to a minority group by 2044.¹ Combined with factors such as higher birthrates and a declining white population, the number of foreign born—anyone who is not a US citizen at birth—is expected to grow to 78 million by 2060 representing 18.8 percent of the total US population. While overall public opinion regards immigrants as having a positive contribution to American society,² recent policies, such as the “Muslim Ban” (Executive Order 13769) and anti-Asian racism engendered by the COVID-19 pandemic, paint a contradictory picture of American acceptance of minorities and immigrants.

Authored by Erika Lee, chair of Immigration History and director of the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States*, delves into the long and complicated record of hostility, racism, and violence toward immigrants in American history and attempts to offer an answer to this contradiction.

The title of the book comes from Theodore Roosevelt’s 1916 “America for Americans” speech in which he embraced the ideal of America as a nation of immigrants while exhorting them to cast off their hyphenated identities and fully assimilate to become indistinguishable members of an entirely new race, “a nationalized and unified America” (p. 6).

While Roosevelt’s speech sounds benign, groups such as the KKK later appropriated the phrase “America for Americans” to advance nativist and racist agendas. Exactly *who* is an American, who decides what “American” is, and who gets to *become* American? These questions are part of the larger issue of xenophobia which Lee sees animating the inherent contradiction between America as the “shining city upon a hill” and the enduring racism that haunts American society.

That the fear of foreigners has been a constant and defining feature of American life is an open secret already examined by numerous authors and scholars. *America for Americans* is one of the few books that links various anti-immigrant campaigns which have flared up throughout American history and understands them in relation to each other. There should be no surprise xenophobia is not only endemic but also innate to the American experience.

Taking a synchronic approach, Lee meticulously examines the ways xenophobia manifests itself and how it is directed at specific groups of immigrants throughout American history. Beginning with the pre-Revolutionary War period and ending with the Muslim Ban of 2017 enacted by the Trump administration, the book does well to point out that the fear of foreigners manifests contemporary social, political, and economic anxieties.

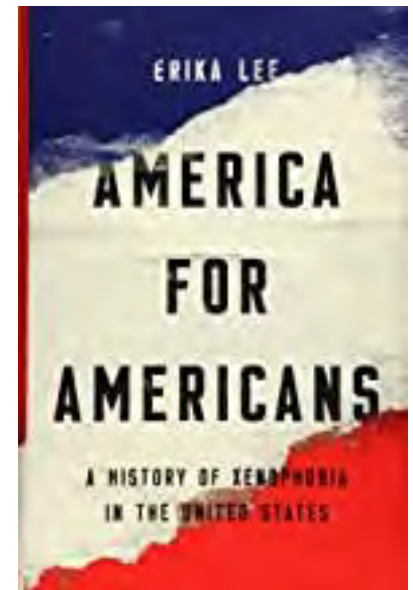
One of the most infamous episodes of American xenophobia, the restriction and exclusion of Chinese immigrants from settling in the US, lasted 61 years from 1882 until 1943. Known as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, this was the first and only law enacted to prevent all members of a specific ethnic or national group from immigrating to the US.

The history of Chinese in North America began in the 1840s with the California Gold Rush and the building of the transcontinental railroad. An American demand for cheap labor combined with a declining socio-economic climate in China encouraged large numbers of Chinese to immigrate to the US. Chinese laborers made up ninety percent of the Central Pacific Railroad workforce and were hired to clear trees, blast through mountains, and lay tracks heading east from Sacramento.

By 1870, there were more than 63,000 Chinese in the US and three-quarters of them lived in California. Chinese workers became indispensable in mines, factories, farms, and vineyards of the American West. They faced much discrimination but worked in jobs that were thought to be too dirty, dangerous, or degrading to white men and were paid on a separate and lower wage scale from whites.

Lee notes because they were not white, Chinese Americans were treated more like African Americans and Native Americans as “race problems to be stringently controlled (as in Jim Crow segregation) or expelled and driven off (as in the ongoing war against Native Americans)” and were denied rights and freedoms, including the right to become a naturalized citizen (p. 81).

The movement behind anti-Chinese sentiments grew out of anti-Irish xenophobia of the 1850s. What made the Chinese Exclusion Act possible was an already existing and well-defined anti-immigrant political movement based on grassroots organizing, populism, and secrecy that coalesced in the Know Nothing Party.



By the 1850s, the Irish became the target of xenophobia due to their perceived fear that Catholic outsiders were intent on infiltrating the US. Irish immigrants were scapegoats for America's social, political, and economic problems. Anti-Irish xenophobia was not only about religion, but also class, national origin, and race. Race became a category that scientists used to delineate people into groups by ascribing inherited and immutable characteristics to them. Irish immigrants were linked to Native Americans as a way to demonstrate Irish racial inferiority.

The Know Nothings capitalized on public discontent over political corruption and the government's inability to regulate immigration to propel themselves into political offices. The Know Nothings also appropriated Native American symbols to claim native status and defined Anglo-Saxon Americans in opposition to foreigners. Though successful for only a short period, the politics of the Know Nothings set the stage for xenophobia directed toward the Chinese beginning in the 1850s.

While Chinese immigrants were integral to the construction of the American West, an economic crash in the 1870s fomented xenophobia toward the Chinese. Ironically, those advocating anti-Chinese actions were union organizers and Irish Americans who saw their work siphoned away by coolie labor.

Much like Native Americans, the Chinese experienced riots, violence, and forced removals. Through various political maneuverings on the regional and national level, anti-Chinese organizers were successful in passing the Chinese Exclusion Act (CEA) of 1882 which prohibited all members of a specific ethnic group from immigrating to the US. The CEA also marked the first time the term "illegal immigration" became part of American discourse where a specific ethnic group were put under surveillance.

The book also examines other episodes of xenophobia in American history—anti-German and anti-Native American sentiments in the pre-Revolutionary War period, the perceived "Catholic horde" inundating America from the shores of Europe, the mass deportations of Mexican Americans in the 1930s, and the internment of Japanese Americans during WWII.

In the last three chapters of the book, Lee examines the evolution of xenophobia in contemporary American society. The landmark Immigration Act of 1965 ended the national origins system and abolished the policy of admitting immigrants according to racist ideas of "inferior" and "superior" groups of people, and unequal quotas that reinforced that racism. While the new law did end the unfair quota system, it still masked the color-blind xenophobia prevalent in American society.

One key element of the Immigration Act of 1965 is the cap on immigration from the Western Hemisphere. While not explicitly stated, this provision is designed to curtail immigration from Latin American countries, especially Mexico. This ceiling would also set the stage for the massive influx of undocumented migrants due to political unrest and economic instability in Central America in the 1990s and 2000s.

Anti-immigration advocates such as Patrick Buchanan, who unsuccessfully ran on the "America First" platform for the Republican presidential nomination, capitalized on the perceived influx of undocumented migrants to further an "American-only" political agenda. This was realized in California's Proposition 187, approved via voter referendum in 1994. The main goal of Proposition 187 was to deny health care and public education to undocumented immigrants.

The proposition relied on race-neutral language and fiscal conservatism while deploying the racially coded term of "illegal immigration" as an undeniably and exclusively Mexican problem. Lee points out this episode of xenophobia unified a variety of conservatives in the US whose impact can still be felt today in the Muslim Ban of 2017, anti-Chinese rhetoric, and the denial of international student visas which the current White House administration has attempted to pass via presidential executive orders.

One will indeed feel a heaviness of heart after reading this book given the long history of xenophobia and its current manifestations in American society. Xenophobia is as American as apple pie. Xenophobia has not gone away and has evolved to be more sophisticated in its discourse and tactics.

While *America for Americans* is a volume not in the purview of critical race theory, the book does make the question of race front and central. Although *America for Americans* does not prescribe solutions to racism and xenophobia, the book does well in meticulously excavating this troubling history for the reading public. The question that remains is: How now shall we live and be in the world in light of this history? This history is one all should understand, examine, and reflect upon, especially for those engaging in Christian ministry that seeks the reconciliation of all to Christ and all to all.

¹ Sandra Colby and Jennifer Ortman. 2015. "Projections of the Size and Composition of the U.S. Population: 2014 to 2060." US Census Bureau.

² Abby Budiman. 2020. "Key findings about US immigrants." <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/> Accessed September 15, 2020.

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CHINASOURCE PERSPECTIVE

A Rich Historical Ride

Kerry Schottelkorb

I came to this issue of the *ChinaSource Quarterly*, “Chinese American Christianity in History and Today,” with great curiosity and expectancy and was not disappointed. In the span of only seven articles I was taken on a rich historical ride which covers the story of the Chinese diaspora in North America, a closer look at Chinese Christians in Chicagoland, an interview with a thoughtful, discerning pastor who has his prayerful eye on the ministry lay of the land, a powerful short-term missions model in Africa with Chinese Diaspora Mission, and a consideration of the “model minority” myth in the Chinese American church.



Image Credit: [Chicago Chinatown by Ryan Eby via Flickr](#).

I came away informed, enriched, sorrowful, thankful, troubled, and invigorated.

Dr. Timothy Tseng does a masterful job of providing clear historical context with his three-part synopsis of Chinese Christianity in the history of North America. Along the way I was inspired and encouraged by the churches, movements, and individuals who have courageously and faithfully lived out the Father’s call for them in the face of danger, rejection, and disenfranchisement on many levels.

While pointing out the shaping influences for “the evangelical reconstruction of Chinese Christianity,” Dr. Tseng also points to three additional developments that are still playing out and will have significant impact. He leaves us with much to consider going forward.

Dr. Andrew Lee’s paper on the “model minority” myth in the Chinese American church is certainly relevant to the current discussion taking place throughout the United States and the world, related to race relations and racism. This is a hot topic often almost exclusively framed, even within the North American church, in political terms.

In the section entitled “The Perpetual Foreigner” Dr. Lee writes:

While Chinese and other Asian Americans are able to live in affluent neighborhoods, send their children to enviable schools, and achieve artistic and financial success, they are still the perpetual foreigner unable to attain complete assimilation into a society that continues to privilege whiteness. Materialistic success as the “model minority” is not equivalent to equality.

Dr. Lee ends with the following:

Chinese Americans (and Asian Americans) continue to live in the liminal space of the margins. This is not to say that much has not been gained by Chinese Americans in both secular and religious life. However, as the “model minority” they remain on the outside looking to the majority for guidance and direction in matters of church and faith.

The previous two quotes alone are enough to ignite heated debate, but not so much if we come to these matters with open hearts, to listen and learn, while graciously holding to our convictions and reexamining our assumptions. In fact, we must address these issues together for Christ’s Bride to truly be one as Christ prayed in John 17. We know racial reconciliation in Jesus Christ is ultimately where he is leading us. The question is will we follow him?

A diaspora is a scattered population whose origin lies in a separate geographic locale. Both Dr. Sam George and Dr. Timothy Tseng provide meaningful historical context and definition of the Chinese diaspora in North America.

As I read, I could not help but reference the reality that we are all part of the kingdom of God diaspora. Like Immanuel in John 13:3, we know we are from God and we are going back to God. We are strangers in a strange land, aliens, and sojourners en route to the heavenly city. When we identify this larger, eternal reality we can better understand and embrace the immigrant stories of every race and culture.

We are grateful to the contributors of the winter *ChinaSource Quarterly* for providing us the opportunity to be richly informed in such a crucial season. I hope we can all come to this reading as humble learners, challenged to seek, understand, and grow.

Rev. Kerry Schottelkorb is the president of ChinaSource.

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