Asian American Historical and Cultural Context of Montgomery County

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RK&K

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Acknowledgements

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. PURPOSE AND STUDY BACKGROUND

The purpose of this context is to document underrepresented Asian American communities to include in the county's local historic resources inventory and the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties (MIHP), and to inform future listings in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). The project ties into broader efforts locally, statewide, and nationally, to recognize sites significant to members of Asian American communities, which have been historically underrepresented in existing historic resource documentation. This project was undertaken utilizing the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation*, in particular, the *Guidelines for Preservation Planning*.

B. STUDY LIMITATIONS

Several limitations affected the preparation of this context study. Research centers such as libraries and archives often lack original source material by members of the Asian American community, such as personal narratives, oral histories, or memories. Census records provide useful data, but it was not uncommon to discover misspellings, miscounts, or incorrectly reported information due to language barriers or other limitations. One primary source of information, particularly about early Asian immigrant life, was newspapers, which often presented a bias against Asian community members and sometimes used derogatory language. Specifically in Montgomery County, mentions of Asian American residents and businesses were often found in the "lifestyle" or similar sections of newspapers. The preparers of this context recognize the limitations of information provided by such sources, including misspellings, bias of the author in reporting, and the general negative bias concerning Asian immigrants in early-twentieth-century newspapers. Yet, these sources provide accurate information about physical locations of Asian immigrant businesses, residences, and other community resources. Limited site visits were conducted as part of this project and complementary projects.

Because outreach into Asian American communities in the past was infrequent, it was a challenge to develop connections with individuals willing to share their histories for the project. Those who participated in the oral history component of the study provided invaluable information into the daily lives of some Asian Americans in Montgomery County. Importantly, the oral histories and site visits conducted as part of this study provide individual perspectives that may not be an accurate representation of the experience of a wider group of people in the county. Information obtained from these individuals included in this study are not intended to be interpreted as a generalized experience of all members of a particular ethnic group. Building on the relationships established over the course of this study may lead to further individual histories that can provide the necessary insight into the diversity of Asian American experiences in the county.

The experiences and development of Asian American communities in Montgomery County requires further research and examination. All Asian American and Pacific Islander ethnic groups who contribute to the diversity of Montgomery County could not fully be covered in the limited scope of this study. Future amendments to this study may include expansion of the themes presented here to include details about different Asian American ethnic groups, or addition of new themes and trends.

Researchers' ability to conduct site visits and interviews were limited to the places and individuals who responded to inquiries and accepted invitations to meet. The project was advertised on the M-NCPPC website, with a request for people to provide information on important people or places. A few sites, including the Shanghai Restaurant, were identified through this process. Other site visits and interviews were obtained through cold calls and connections with other individuals. Some people and places did not respond to our requests for interviews or a one-on-one meeting.

C. TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Terms and definitions used throughout this context study are discussed below. This list is not a comprehensive list of terms associated with the Asian American community. Words in languages other than English are generally italicized, except if it is a proper noun. Words found in source material that are derogatory are sometimes presented to provide context but are always used in quotations.

Asian American: The National Park Service's *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* describes Asia as a geographic region bounded by China to the north and Indonesia to the south, Afghanistan to the west, and Japan and the Philippines to the east. The Pacific Islands refer to a geographic region containing major islands such as Hawai'i, Guam, the Marshall Islands, the Solomon Islands, Northern Mariana Islands, Samoa, and Fiji (Odo 2019, 3). Research conducted thus far as part of this study did not identify a Pacific Islander community, as previously defined, in Montgomery County. In recent years, the term Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) has become a commonly used term to describe all people originating in all Asian and Pacific Island countries. Because the geographic scope of this part of the study is much smaller and generally does not include Pacific Islander communities, the authors of this context have chosen to use the terms "Asian" or "Asian American" as an umbrella term to describe the ethnically diverse and geographically disparate group of peoples that are the subject of this study.

Chinese American/Chinese immigrants: Early Chinese immigrants came from the Guangdong region of China (often referred to as Canton). Later, Chinese immigrants arrived from other regions of China and spoke Toishanese or Mandarin, particularly after Mandarin became the preferred dialect of China in 1911. This document uses the terms "Chinese" or "Chinese American" to refer to immigrants or their descendants from mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and immigrants to the United States of Chinese descent migrating from countries outside of China.[1] Sources of information, especially newspaper articles, do not always use correct transliteration into English and spelling is inconsistent. With regard to names, Chinese names are generally presented with surname first and given name second. Again, representation of Chinese names in English text is inconsistently written, either in incorrect order, inconsistent spelling, or by incorporation of honorifics such as Ah (Chou et al. 2019, 6). This context made every effort to present names and words correctly and consistently but relied on inconsistent source material. If names were frequently found following the Western convention of given name followed by surname, that

[1] This survey acknowledges the complex political dynamics of mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, but notes that an examination of such is beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the terms "Chinese" and "Chinese American" were used to describe individuals from these places. It should be noted that several people interviewed as part of this study, including Dr. Alan Cheung and Karina Hou, were born in Hong Kong and refer to themselves as Chinese.

convention was used in this document. Generally, terms and names associated with Chinese Americans are presented in this context in the form and spelling provided in source material.

Issei: This term describes first-generation Japanese immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1890 and 1924. US law excluded *issei* from becoming US citizens. They retained strong ties to Japanese culture and tradition.

Nisei: This term describes the second generation of Japanese immigrants to the United States, the children of the *issei*, born in the United States. This generation was mostly born between 1910 and 1940 and were US citizens based on their native birth (Chou et al. 2019, 7).

Korean American/Korean immigrants: This term describes people who immigrated from South Korea or are descendants of Korean immigrants. Terms and names associated with Korean Americans are presented in this context in the form and spelling provided in source material. Korean names typically are presented with the surname first and the given name second; however, many Korean immigrants followed the Western convention of given name first and surname second after arriving in the United States. Some Korean immigrants adopted more common American names (Chou et al. 2019, 8).

People immigrating from India, the Philippines, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, and their descendants are identified as Indian Americans, Filipino/a Americans, Japanese Americans, Thai Americans, and Vietnamese Americans, respectively.

II. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC) hired Rummel, Klepper & Kahl, LLP (RK&K) to complete this study. M-NCPPC and RK&K coordinated with the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT), a partial funder of the project, to identify the research priorities, including areas of the county and specific ethnic groups and resource types. A list of all identified sites associated with Montgomery County's Asian American community can be found in **Appendix A**. **Appendix B** includes a table showing the distribution of resource types among the identified sites. A map indicating the locations of all identified sites is included in **Appendix C**.

In accordance with the *Guidelines for Preservation Planning*, public participation played an integral role in the development of this context report. M-NCPPC and RK&K's professional historians and architectural historians conducted the research described below and identified overarching themes and trends related to the history and places associated with Asian American communities in Montgomery County. M-NCPPC and RK&K sought input from the public, including interested individuals and organizations associated with the county's Asian American communities, as described in the detailed methodology below. Research drew from a separate context study focusing on Asian American communities in Maryland, particularly in the Baltimore metropolitan area and the Maryland suburbs of Washington, DC. The statewide context study is a related planning document prepared separately but using shared research as the Montgomery County study. Coordination between these two efforts—local and state—is consistent with the SOI *Guidelines for Preservation Planning*.

A. PRIOR RESEARCH AND REVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE

RK&K and M-NCPPC conducted background research to develop the historical context for sites associated with Asian Americans in Montgomery County, Maryland. Researchers consulted primary and secondary sources including, but not limited to: existing context studies associated with Asian American heritage, including the National Historic Landmark *Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Theme Studies*; primary and secondary source material focusing on Maryland immigration and settlement patterns such as census data and state and local legislation and policies; and other primary materials such as newspaper articles, and historic photographs.

Databases such as ProQuest, Chronicling America, and Newspapers.com were used to find news articles, dissertations, and journal articles relating to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Montgomery County. Broad search terms were avoided to maximize appropriate results. The term "Asian American" did not enter American lexicon until the 1960s, and when referred to in news articles, typically referred to broad patterns of immigration, rather than individual stories in Montgomery County. The term also tended to exclude South Asians and Pacific Islanders in articles. Found articles were written between 1904 and 2014, with the majority between 1980 and 2000, when Asian American immigration peaked in Montgomery County (M-NCPPC 2022).

Ancestry.com provided information on individuals identified within censuses and other records. Research centers such as the National Archives, Library of Congress, Maryland State Archives, the Maryland Center for History and Culture, and the East at Main Street Mapping Project website were consulted. Researchers also reviewed Montgomery County's list of identified sites and the

Maryland Historical Trust's Medusa Cultural Resource Information System. This research was compiled into the historical context narrative.

Karen Yee, during her time as a University of Maryland graduate student, worked on several projects that prepared the groundwork for this survey. In 2020, Yee, as an intern with MHT, completed a report that identified sites related to Baltimore's Chinatown, which was funded by the MHT Board of Trustees. Yee also prepared an Asian Americans in Maryland Historic Context Study Toolkit, which provided much useful information for this study.[2] In addition, Yee, as an intern with M-NCPPC, conducted eight virtual interviews in April and May 2022, using a web-based video conferencing platform, and identified sites associated with Asian Americans in Montgomery County.

B. PUBLIC OUTREACH

M-NCPPC developed a web-based form posted on its website and shared with the public to collect information about places associated with Asian American culture in Montgomery County. The form provided a means for members of the community to share places of personal and community importance by adding a point to a map and completing a brief form. In addition, the authors of this report reached out via email to various Asian American and historical organizations in the county seeking input about important places to the community.

C. ORAL HISTORIES

Twelve oral histories were conducted as part of this project by Catherine Dayrit Mayfield, an Asian American oral historian (see **Appendix D** for abstracts of the oral histories). Ms. Mayfield coordinated with M-NCPPC and RK&K to identify people to interview for their potential to yield relevant information and for their willingness to participate. A focus was applied to those with long-standing ties to the county and those who had ties with the largest Asian American populations in the county. Efforts were made to ensure interviews were conducted with people of varying ethnic backgrounds, experiences, and perspectives. Oral interviews were audiotaped and/or videotaped, transcribed, and are available for public and scholarly use at the offices of Montgomery Planning and at the Maryland Historical Trust, part of the Maryland Department of Planning, which sponsored this project. The interviews conveyed individual perspectives and relevant information regarding the experience of various Asian American communities in Montgomery County.

Interviews covered such topics as immigration history to Montgomery County; locales of significance for community gathering, cultural education, worship, and commerce, among other sites; experiences around professional work, community service, and civic engagement; and reflections on demographic and developmental changes to the county. See **Table 1** for a list of interviewees.

[2] The toolkit can be accessed at https://hcstoolkit.weebly.com/.

Table 1: List of Persons Interviewed

PERSON INTERVIEWED	ASSOCIATED ASIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY	GENERATIONAL STATUS[3]
Seema Alexander	Indian	Second Generation
Michelle Amano	Japanese	Third Generation
Shanthi & Aishwariya Chandrasekar	Indian	First Generation
Alan Cheung	Chinese	First Generation
Sunil Dasgupta	Indian	First Generation
Karina Hou	Chinese	First Generation
Susan Lee	Chinese	Second Generation
John Melegrito	Filipino	First Generation
David Moon	Korean	Second Generation
Long Nguyen	Vietnamese	First Generation
Tony Sarmiento	Filipino	Second Generation
Lucy Yee	Chinese	Second Generation

D. SITE VISITS

M-NCPPC reached out through its website and telephone calls to organizations and institutions identified in the research as connected to Asian Americans in Montgomery County. M-NCPPC requested site visits to various properties, some of which were identified for their potential to yield information regarding Asian American settlement and cultural traditions in Montgomery County. Other properties were selected based on their level of availability or because they were recommended to the researchers. The purpose of the site visits was to learn more about each place's role in the community, and to identify aesthetic or architectural features that may be associated with the property type. See **Table 2** for a list of sites visited.

[3] According to the US Census Bureau, generational status refers "to the place of birth of an individual or an individual's parents… The first generation refers to those who are foreign born. The second generation refers to those with at least one foreign-born parent. The third-and-higher generation includes those with two U.S. native parents." For more information see https://www.census.gov/topics/population/foreign-born/about/faq.html#:~:text=The%20first%20generation%20refers%20to,with%20two%20U.S.%20native%20parents.

Table 2: List of Site Visits

SITE NAME, ADDRESS	SITE CONTACT	ASSOCIATED ASIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY
Chinese Bible Church of Maryland, 4414 Muncaster Mill Road, Rockville	Rev. John Tung	Chinese
Chinese Culture and Community Service Center, 9318 Gaither Rd #215, Gaithersburg	Rita Lewi	Chinese
Gandhi Memorial Center and Self-Revelation Church of Absolute Monism, 4748 Western Ave NW, Bethesda	Srimati Karuna	Indian
Masaoka Residence	Michelle Amano	Japanese
Vietnamese American Services Community Center, 12621 Old Columbia Pike, Silver Spring	Tho Tran	Vietnamese
Wat Thai DC, 13440 Layhill Rd, Silver Spring	Dr. Handy Inthisen	Thai

The public outreach conducted thus far was intended as a first phase to build trust in the community. Future outreach efforts are anticipated to continue to develop relationships with the various Asian American communities in the county and expand upon the research conducted to date.

E. IDENTIFY THEMES AND TRENDS

Standard I of the *Standards for Preservation Planning* establishes the importance of the historic context as an organizational framework for defining relationships between individual properties. Historic contexts organize information about a cultural theme within specified geographical and chronological limits, and describe significant broad patterns found within the cultural theme that may be represented by historic properties. This historic context focuses on the Asian American communities in Montgomery County, Maryland between 1900, the first census year to include Montgomery County residents of Asian ethnic origin, to 2023, the year of this report publication.

Using primary and secondary source research, as well as information compiled from the oral history interviews, a brief historic overview of Asian American immigration and Asian American history in Montgomery County was developed. Themes and trends were identified from compiled research and identified sites. In particular, the research sought to identify trends in area settlement and development of community resources, and to determine how aesthetic or artistic values are embodied in the architecture of places within the community.

III. HISTORIC OVERVIEW OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY

A. IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Early Immigration Policy

Asian migration to the Americas began as part of Spain's Pacific Empire in the mid-sixteenth century. Between 1565 and 1815, an estimated 40,000 to 100,000 Asians from China, Japan, the Philippines, and South and Southeast Asia arrived in the Americas (NPS, Lee 2019, 88). The exact number is difficult to determine, since census records did not yet exist, and immigration records were poor.

The newly independent United States (US) began importing Asian goods and labor as early as 1784, with the earliest pursuits financed by wealthy merchants in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. The *Pallas,* a US merchant ship, arrived in Baltimore with, according to one account, a crew of "Chinese, Malays, Japanese, and Moors." South Asians arriving in the United States in the 1790s were given English names, and served indentures, or were sold and bought as slaves. Some Asian men, upon obtaining their freedom, married African American women and became part of the North's free black communities (NPS, Okihiro 2019, 23). The growing US presence in Asia, driven by demand for goods and labor, continued to bring Asians to the United States throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Citizenship in the United States, as defined by Article I of the United States Constitution, counted for full representation for "free Persons," including indentured servants, and three-fifths representation for African Americans and those not free. The first United States Congress passed the Naturalization Act in 1790, which allowed for citizenship through naturalization for "free white persons." Though not explicitly mentioned, the act's definition of free white persons considered Asians and Pacific Islanders as non-Whites, like American Indians and African Americans, which were identified in the act's language; this policy was based on the concept that Asian immigrants were "unassimilable," and would never adopt American values and practices (Okihiro 2019, 24-25; USHOR n.d.; Banks 2019, 150).

Migration from Asia increased as a result of the 1848 discovery of gold in Northern California and the resulting gold rush. By 1850, more than 1,000 Chinese, mostly from the Guangdong province, had arrived in San Francisco, with as many as 30,000 more arriving in 1852, all in search of gold. Political events such as the Opium Wars (1839–-1842) and the Taiping Rebellion (1850–-1864) and natural disasters in southern China in the mid-nineteenth century, paired with potential opportunities in the United States, regular steamship routes to ports along the West Coast, the influence of American missionaries, and increased US labor needs, contributed to this influx of Chinese immigrants. By 1865, gold mining profits were decreasing, leaving miners searching for new work.

Meanwhile, the Central Pacific Railroad was unable to find enough White workers to build the transcontinental railroad. To meet its labor needs, the company hired 12,000 Chinese laborers between 1865 and 1867. After completion of the transcontinental railroad, Chinese railroad laborers moved to other areas of California. The development of chain migration networks followed, bringing more migrants, first mostly young male laborers, but later non-laborer Chinese, including women (Chou et al. 2019, 21; NPS, Lee 2019, 88-89).

While Asian immigrants established business and communities in their new homeland, attaining citizenship was not possible until after the Civil War. The first Civil Rights Act, passed in 1866, mandated that all persons born in the United States were to be declared citizens, and granted all citizens the "full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property." The legislation, however, specifically excluded American Indians and African Americans from citizenship and did not explicitly mention other groups like Asian Americans. It was not until the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, which gave all persons born in the United States citizenship, that children born of Asian immigrants in the United States could become US citizens. Except those serving in the armed forces, Asian-born immigrants to the United States remained "aliens ineligible to citizenship" per the 1790 Naturalization Act until the 1952 passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act (Okihiro 2019, 24-25; USHOR n.d.; Banks 2019, 150).

Businessmen who fled the economic depression in Guangzhou and settled in California established the first outposts of a trade network providing groceries, newspapers and magazines, clothing, and postal and banking services to Chinese immigrants. These outposts were expanded nationwide in urban centers, including Baltimore, by the 1930s. Import-export firms based in Hong Kong, called *jinshanzhuang*, which had developed as early as the 1850s, supported this network. They continued to expand the services and goods they provided as Chinese migration to the United States increased. *Jinshanzhuang* exported Chinese rice, groceries, medicine, tea, books and magazines, fruits, sweets, fish, and poultry to overseas Chinese communities and imported flour, dried fish, and oil from Chinese-run businesses throughout the United States, including Baltimore. The trade networks also allowed Chinese living in the United States to send letters and money to their home villages in Guangdong (Hsu 2006, 22-27).

Between 1871 and 1880, 123,201 Chinese entered the United States, more than in any other decade (Larson et al. 2017, 13). The first anti-Asian immigration act, the 1875 Page Act, prohibited "Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian women" from entering the United States "to engage in immoral or licentious activities" (Maeda 2019, 272). The act treated Chinese women applying for admission into the United States as suspected prostitutes or allowed them only to enter as dependents of a husband or father who himself was eligible for entry (NPS, Lee 2019, 89).

The organized labor movement representing low-skilled, mostly White workers, began to target Chinese laborers in California. After the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, many Chinese started to move away from California, heading east to cities such as Baltimore and Boston. Eastward migration was also fueled by the 1879 adoption of California's state constitution that banned the hiring of Chinese laborers (Larson et al. 2017, 14). The organized labor movement, along with wider fear of aliens and the threats they allegedly posed, ultimately led to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Chou et al. 2019, 12; NPS, Okihiro 2019, 29). The act banned Chinese laborers, both skilled and unskilled, from entry into the United States, and halted naturalization for a decade. The act was repeatedly extended through April 1904 and was not repealed until 1943. The result was a sharp drop in the Chinese immigrant population: the United States had 132,300 Chinese immigrants in 1882, and only 67,729 in 1900 (Larson, et al. 2017, 18-19).

Between the late 1870s and the mid-1920s, Asian-American immigrants, lacking a clear definition of United States citizenship status filed suits to be classified as "white." Congress' definition of "free white persons" as of 1790 clarified which groups were excluded—African Americans and

American Indians—but did not explicitly identify Chinese Americans as either White or non-White. In 1922, the US Supreme Court ruled in *Ozawa v. United States* that Asian immigrants were not "white" and therefore not eligible for US citizenship (Aoki and Nakanishi 2001, 606). The primary intent of the Immigration Act of 1924, also called the Johnson-Reed Act, was to reduce immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe; however, it also barred the immigration of aliens racially or nationally ineligible for naturalization, which included Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Indians (Maeda 2019, 272). It established a "national origins" numerical formula for establishing national origins quotas equaling one-sixth of one percent of nationalities (Vo 2019, 287; Bennett 1966, 131).

Immigration Policy During World War II and the Korean War (1941-1953)

Until the Philippines attained independence in 1946, it was a US colony between 1898 and 1935, and then a self-governing commonwealth until Japanese occupation during World War II. Filipinos were considered US nationals, meaning they were residents of a US territory but lacked full citizenship; thus, the national origins quotas previously established did not apply to Filipinos (Chou et al. 2019, 59). During World War II, approximately 260,000 Filipino men were recruited to fight alongside US soldiers, with the promise of full US citizenship and full veteran's benefits; however, in 1946 President Truman rescinded that promise in the Rescission Act (NPS, Vo 2019, 290).

Approximately 20 percent of the nearly 100,000 documented Chinese Americans in the United States served during World War II, including 70 from Maryland. Unlike African American and Japanese soldiers, Chinese American soldiers did not serve in segregated units. Until 1942, Chinese Americans in the Navy could only serve as stewards. Chinese American women also faced discrimination and harassment in their military service, mostly as translators and nurses (Rao 2019).

In February 1942, incited by Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor two months prior, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 that called for the military to move any person living on the West Coast deemed a threat to national security to incarceration camps. The order did not specifically identify those of Japanese heritage; however, in March, Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt issued Public Proclamation No. 4, which led to the forced removal of Japanese Americans from their homes within a 48-hour time span. Through the summer of 1942, 112,000 people of Japanese heritage—including 70,000 American citizens—were sent to incarceration camps in remote areas of the country or in less populated communities in Idaho, Utah, California, New Mexico, and Arkansas (NARA "Japanese-American Incarceration During WWII").

The War Relocation Authority (WRA) moved 46 American citizens of Japanese ancestry to Baltimore from incarceration camps in 1945, spurred by gaps in the workforce caused by men joining the military. Forty were born in the United States and had family who were denied citizenship due to the Executive Order 589. Some had been in the United States for up to 70 years and owned property such as farms (Davis 1945).

Between 1943 and 1964, the US Congress passed a series of acts to allow entry to those of Chinese descent to the United States of based on a quota system; to permit resident Chinese Americans to become naturalized citizens; and to allow US servicemen to bring war brides and fiancées from China, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea to the United States. Between 1949 and 1957, several

acts were passed to allow refugees and displaced persons entry and permanent residency in the country (Larson, et al. 2017, 68-69; Maeda 2019, 273; Niiya 2019, 215-216; Vo 2019, 293).

In an attempt to limit migration from Asia, 1952 legislation created the "Asia-Pacific Triangle," the name for a geographic area of 20 countries that contained approximately half the world's population. In 1952, Congress changed the established national origins quota to 100 persons per country, with a few exceptions. Though widely considered the country's most progressive immigration act to date, it faced opposition from many who thought the act was "un-American" and would negatively impact US foreign policy goals by being overly restrictive. Many wanted the abolition of the Asia-Pacific Triangle to allow greater immigration from those countries. Despite President Harry Truman's veto, the act was passed by the US Congress (Bennett 1966, 127-132).

Immigration Policy During and After the Cold War (1954-Present Day)

Prior to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the US permitted Chinese immigrants already in the country to bring family members from China. Some Chinese found ways to circumvent this rule and would bring over non-relatives under the guise of being a family relation. In 1962, President Kennedy passed the Hong Kong Parole Program, an act that allowed refugees to admit their true identity to become lawful citizens. Immigrants who came into the country illegally could confess through an attorney and be given amnesty (USCIS n.d.; Yee 2022).

The passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, also known as the Hart-Celler Immigration Act, marked a major transition in Asian immigration to the US by abolishing the national origins quota system (FitzGerald 1998, 1). The Act gave admissions preference to relatives of US citizens and legal permanent residents and privileged highly skilled and educated individuals to promote US economic supremacy during the Cold War (Baldoz 2019, 230). The preference for family reunification led to a more socioeconomically diverse Asian immigrant population, compared to previous waves of Asian immigration, which was heavily weighted toward lower-income laborers. Some immigrants turned to entrepreneurship after finding that their degrees and skills were not recognized in the United States or facing challenges due to limited proficiency in the English language. For example, Filipinos migrated to the United States to fill shortages in the nursing and medical fields, or for work as nannies and live-in domestic help (Vo 2019, 289-290). From 1925 to 1965, just three percent of immigrants to the United States were Asian. By 1975, ten years after the Hart-Celler Immigration Act's passage, the number jumped to 34 percent (FitzGerald 1998, 1).

The late 1970s through 1990s saw an increase of Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese refugees, due to insecurity in Southeast Asia caused by political instability and the Vietnam War. The United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) Orderly Departure Program was created to process the departure of Vietnamese refugees and resulted in approximately one-half million immigrants to the United States (Vo 2019, 292). In July 1989, Vietnam and the United States reached an agreement that allowed 8,000 former political prisoners to resettle in the United States, with pending applications for over 100,000 more. While learning English remained one of the harder aspects about their new lives in the United States, many of these refugees were educated and from more affluent backgrounds than previous waves of Vietnamese refugees in the 1980s, which softened the transition. The Maryland Vietnamese Mutual Association sought federal funds to start a peer support program to help the former prisoners adjust to their new lives (Bush 1990, B3).

Korean immigration to the United States peaked in 1987 after a steady growth over the prior two decades. Unlike other earlier Asian immigrants to the United States, the late twentieth century wave of Korean immigration represented the first time Koreans were able to immigrate as families. Since then, the "kinship-centered chain migration" of Korean families, meaning migration with help from family members, friends, or other relations, has been the primary way of immigration to the United States (Kunst 2005, 2-3).

The Chinese population in the United States almost doubled between 1980 and 1990 (Rosenbloom and Batalova 2023). This growth continued into the 1990s. Between 1990 and 2000, the population of Chinese and Hong Kong-born immigrants grew from the seventh largest to the third largest group in the United States. In 2008, over 85 percent were from mainland China, while a little over 13 percent were from Hong Kong (Terrazas and Batalova 2010). After Mexico and India, Chinese immigrants are the third largest group in the United States as of 2021(Rosenbloom and Batalova 2023).

Settling in the United States

The loosening of US immigration policy in the mid-twentieth century led to increased immigration from Asia and a greater diversity of Asian immigrants. This period of increased immigration coincided with a nationwide period of suburbanization driven by political change, housing legislation and zoning practices, and the expansion of the interstate highway system. Earlier Asian immigrants who had found economic and professional success also moved from cities to suburban areas, wishing to reflect their new societal status. This outmigration from urban ethnic enclaves combined with newly arrived immigrant settlement in suburban areas, resulted in the creation of new satellite ethnic enclaves. The original urban ethnic enclaves remained, but over time they became primarily commercial in nature, with Asian Americans traveling into the city for work and shopping but living in the suburbs (Liu and Geron 2008).

New immigrants arriving in the late twentieth century settled directly into suburban areas and began to establish new enclaves. These were primarily commercial in nature, created by Asian entrepreneurs wishing to provide goods and services to members of their community. Many of the new suburban enclaves were established by South Asians, Koreans, and late-twentieth-century refugees from Southeast Asian countries. Often these enclaves are comprised of repurposed older buildings, much like their urban predecessors (Liu and Geron 2008, 19). See **Section III.D.** for a more detailed discussion of buildings and spaces used by Asian American communities in Montgomery County.

B. WASHINGTON, DC, CHINATOWN

US census records from the late nineteenth century recorded primarily Chinese immigration, reflecting contemporary immigration laws. Migration into Montgomery County remained slow through the first decades of the twentieth century. Census data show that larger cities, such as Baltimore and Washington, DC, attracted greater numbers of Asian immigrants. These cities allowed many to move into neighborhoods and small enclaves with people who spoke the same native tongue and shared social customs and traditions, which helped establish tightknit networks that were crucial for newcomers to the United States.

The first Chinese immigrants arrived in Washington, DC, in 1851. Within the following thirty years, these immigrants, mostly arriving from the West Coast, established the first DC Chinatown

along the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue. The area was home to Chinese restaurants, drugstores, and community organizations (Zheng 2017). By 1900, the city was home to 455 documented people of Chinese ancestry and nine people of Japanese ancestry (USCB 1914, 31). Plans in 1929 for the construction of the Federal Triangle government complex and other municipal projects forced relocation of Chinese residents in the Pennsylvania Avenue Chinatown (Zheng 2017). In 1931, some Chinese residents and businesses established a new Chinatown between 5th and 7th streets NW. By 1936 more than 800 people resided in the new Chinatown, which also included a church, schools, and entertainment facilities. Community groups such as the Chinese Youth Club formed to create social and recreational opportunities for community members (APIA n.d.). Over time, the new Chinatown expanded to include all blocks between G Street SE and Massachusetts Avenue, and between 5th Street and 9th Street. The neighborhood continued to thrive until 1968, when civil unrest following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. caused a decline in the safety and economic success of the neighborhood. Chinese residents relocated to the DC suburbs seeking safety and new opportunities (Zheng 2017).

Throughout the latter half of the twentieth century the Asian American population and business ownership in Chinatown continued to decrease as people moved out of the city. The construction of the MCI Center (now Capital One Arena) in 1997 prompted increased property values, which forced Asian business owners to close and sell their businesses and relocate to nearby Montgomery County, Maryland, and Fairfax County, Virginia (Zheng 2017).

C. ASIAN AMERICANS IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY

The first documented people from Asia living in Montgomery County were noted in the 1900 United States census, which identified a total of four people who immigrated from China (USCB 1900, 567). According to the 1900 census, four people from China, one born in San Francisco, and one naturalized citizen were living in Rockville, Kensington, and Gaithersburg that year. Typical of immigration trends of the time, all of them were men, and four listed their profession as laundrymen (USCB 1900).

Juhie Morie, a 21-year-old Japanese woman, was identified in the 1910 census, the first documented person of Japanese ancestry and the first documented female of Asian heritage living in Montgomery County. She immigrated to the United States two years prior and was working as a gardener in 1910. Her marriage status is unknown, and she is not listed as living with family (USCB 1910). The 1920 census identifies two Chinese and three Japanese residents in the county. Kathleen A. Eldridge, wife of Francis R. Eldridge, who worked for the US Government in 1920, was half Japanese through her father's side, and half White through her mother's side. Though born in New Jersey, the 1920 census identified her and her two children as Japanese (USCB 1920). She lived with her family in Takoma Park.

During World War II, US Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and former professional baseball player Sam Rice brought four US-born Japanese poultry specialists and three of their wives to their farms in Olney to address the labor shortage. Ickes told reporters that "I do not like the idea of loyal citizens, whatever their race or color, being kept in relocation centers any longer than need be…we need competent help very badly and these are all highly skilled workers" (*The New York Times* 1943, 17). In September, 67 *nisei*, or American-born Japanese, and two *issei*, Japanese-born, were working in Baltimore as doctors, dieticians, mechanics, students, domestics, and more (*The Evening Sun* 1945).

Figure 1: Harold Ickes' wife (second from the left) guides Mrs. Fred Kobayashi, Fred Kobayashi, Roy Kobayashi, and farm superintendent Robert Lymburner (left to right) on the Ickes' farm, 1944. Photo Credit: LOC.

The numbers of Asian Americans in Montgomery County continued to grow, but not in large numbers. Tennyson Chang, professor at the Georgetown School of Foreign Services, and his wife Anna May purchased their home in 1948 and were some of the first Chinese Americans to buy property in the county, on Johnson Avenue in Bethesda. Their daughter, Meris Chang, was the only non-White student from elementary school through her sophomore year of high school. Her cousin, Lily Ing, lived on a street where she was the only Asian child (Montgomery County n.d.). This study did not find evidence of widespread housing discrimination against Asian Americans in Montgomery County; however, as of the 1940s, some neighborhoods west of Bethesda had covenants against Asian Americans. Covenants specifically including Asian Americans seem to be less frequent than covenants restricting Black residents, but this is likely related to the smaller Asian American population at the time (Montgomery Planning 2022).

It wasn't until the 1950s that the populations of Chinese and Japanese residents in Montgomery County reached triple digits (USCB 1950). Large numbers of Japanese Americans moved to the east coast at the end of and following World War II, after their release from War Relocation Authority (WRA) incarceration facilities. Some Japanese Americans resettled in the Washington, DC, area to take jobs in the federal government, including the State Department, Army Map Service, Census Bureau, and other agencies. Following the war, Japanese American military veterans also settled in the area, sometimes joining spouses who had settled there during deployment (Gordon 1950, 2-3). The 1950 census recorded 78 Chinese, 66 Japanese, and 26 Indian

residents in the county.[4] One decade later, the Chinese population had grown rapidly to 628, and the Japanese population to 569. Though likely that Filipino immigrants were already living in Montgomery County, they were not identified in census records until 1960, which identified 166 Filipino residents (USCB 1950, 20.63; USCB1960, 22.66).

Montgomery County remained primarily White, but starting in the 1970s, the county saw a slow but steady increase in residents with Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Indian heritage, among many others (Hagey 1987, 1A). The fall of Saigon in 1975 brought 112,000 refugees to the United States, including 18,000 to the Washington, DC, metropolitan area. Of those, 3,000 lived in Maryland suburbs such as Silver Spring and Hyattsville (Sendor 1980, Md.3). Long Nguyen, a participant interviewed as part of this study, was one of these Vietnamese refugees. Born in Hanoi, his family moved to Saigon when he was young. Nguyen attended military school before joining the US Army 1st Infantry Division in the 1960s. His service helped him leave Vietnam and come to the US in 1975 (Nguyen 2023).

Between 1970 and 1975, most immigrants to the US were from Korea, the Philippines, China, and India, with those from Vietnam not far behind. In the Washington suburbs during this period, the number of Asian immigrants increased by 75 percent (Feinberg 1975, A1). Some of the increase in the county's Asian population was a result of Chinese Americans moving out of Washington, DC, to the suburbs following the civil unrest downtown after Martin Luther King's assassination in 1968, along with the decline of DC's downtown into the 1970s (NPS n.d.).

In 1978, 16 Montgomery County Chinese residents established the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Chinese Americans on Vietnamese Refugees. The committee gathered signatures and presented them to Maryland congressman Paul Sarbanes to urge Southeast Asian countries to allow boats carrying refugees to temporarily land on their shores (Henry 1978, MD5).

Montgomery County was home to the largest number of Asian Americans in Maryland by 1980, with 22,790 Asian American residents. A 1986 news article noted that the term "Asian American" encompassed those from China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Japan, Korea, India, and Cambodia. This later wave of immigrants had higher levels of education and were more skilled than those who arrived a century prior, and thus were able to afford to live in higher-than-average cost of living communities such as Montgomery County (Denny 1986). Many were attracted to technology-focused jobs at companies along the Interstate 270 corridor, health-related jobs at places such as the National Institutes of Health, and the large diplomatic community and government job opportunities afforded by the close proximity to Washington, DC (Spayd and Cohn 1991, A19).

By 1987, the county had approximately 42,000 Asian Americans out of 635,000 total residents, which was a 75 percent increase since 1980. Of all Asian Americans living in Maryland at the time, 40 percent were in Montgomery County alone (Hagey 1987, MD5). As of 2023, approximately 16 percent of the county's residents are Asian American, which remains a large and culturally diverse community (USCB 2022).

[4] The census included only counties and cities of 10,000 residents or more with at least 10 Indian, Japanese, or Chinese residents in 1950.

D. ARCHITECTURE IN ASIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

This study found that buildings and spaces used by Asian American communities in Montgomery County are typically suburban property types that were built prior to use and occupation by Asian Americans.

Commercial Buildings

Property types identified in this study associated with Asian American commercial properties include standalone, single-use, commercial buildings; office buildings and towers; and strip malls. These property types are associated with the theme of commerce discussed in **Section IV.B.** and categorized in **Appendix B.** All commercial properties associated with Asian Americans in Montgomery County identified during this study were likely constructed prior to use by an Asian American business or were built as part of a larger building effort such as an office tower or strip mall. Asian Americans used these buildings and units in larger complexes to establish their businesses. The earliest known example of a business owned by an Asian American moving into an existing space was Lee's Tea Garden, which Loui See Ling opened in a shopping center in 1938. More information about Lee's Tea Garden is provided in **Section IV.B.**

Commercial property types include commercial buildings associated with retail and other commercial activities such as restaurants, grocery stores and supermarkets, office towers, and strip malls. Many known resources often have mixed uses or are spaces built for other businesses that Asian American businesses moved into, such as strip malls. Some properties may feature company logos or branding. Building signage may reflect Asian American design influences or contain lettering with Asian characters, though this is not universal.

Religious Buildings and Spaces

Property types identified in this study associated with Asian American religious properties include churches, temples, and educational and support buildings associated with a religious group. These property types are associated with the theme of religion discussed in **Section IV.D.** and categorized in **Appendix B.** Religious and spiritual organizations served as important social centers in Asian communities.

Early immigrant Christian congregations often were housed in churches owned by English-speaking congregations, but as the congregations grew and experienced more economic success, they began to occupy their own buildings, either by purchasing an existing church building, or by building a new church. These churches largely used traditional architectural features of western church buildings, distinguished as an Asian American church only by the church names and text on the signs. One exception is the 1990 Our Lady of Vietnam Parish in Silver Spring, which resembles the form of a pagoda.

Early Buddhist and Hindu temples in Montgomery County occupied residential dwellings along or near major thoroughfares. Groups of worshippers would often meet in these existing buildings, tucked into established residential neighborhoods. From the exterior, these properties largely fit in to their surroundings; some are identified by signage, statuary, and gardens in the yards. Additional research is needed to define themes and trends associated with adaptation and re-use of existing buildings, particularly residential buildings, as temples.

Purpose-built Buddhist and Hindu temples were not constructed in Montgomery County until the late twentieth century when larger numbers of Southeast Asian immigrants arrived in Maryland. At the turn of the twenty-first century, as Buddhist and Hindu communities became more financially secure, the congregations constructed purpose-built structures with architectural details and forms reflective of architecture in Southeast Asia. Examples of these properties are discussed in **Section IV.D.**

Few instances in which a building was constructed for a specific use by an Asian American group were identified. The earliest known purpose-built Buddhist temple in Montgomery County, the Nichiren Shoshu Myosenji Buddhist Temple, opened in 1980.

Community Buildings and Spaces

Similar to commercial and religious buildings, Asian American community activities such as language schools, arts and recreational groups, social and advocacy groups, community centers, and senior centers all occupied existing buildings in Montgomery County. These buildings have multiple uses and are typically rented public space. Property types associated with Asian American community spaces include public schools, public libraries, office spaces in complexes and towers, and churches. These property types are associated with the themes of community and education discussed in **Sections IV.A.** and **IV.C.** and categorized in **Appendix B.**

IV. HISTORICAL THEMES AND TRENDS

Montgomery County's Asian American communities are diverse, and the experiences and cultural context varies amongst ethnic and religious groups and among individuals within these groups. The following themes are intentionally broadly defined in order to provide a structure that can encompass the various and unique experiences of different Asian American communities.

This study uncovered six broad themes of Asian American community and culture in Montgomery County: 1) Community; 2) Commerce; 3) Education; 4) Religion; 5) Political Involvement and Civil Rights; and 6) Cultural Preservation, Integration, and Assimilation. Discrete trends were found within certain themes, while other trends were found to span different themes and communities, such as religious groups, language schools, and social services using shared-use spaces or residential properties.

A. THEME: COMMUNITY

While immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries formed enclaves and neighborhoods within cities, in the second half of the twentieth century, immigrant groups were more likely to choose where they lived based on local benefits and amenities with less emphasis on living in a neighborhood with people of the same ethnic heritage. Korean Americans, for example, lived primarily in Fairfax County, Virginia, and Montgomery County because of the high-quality school systems. And unlike their predecessors, who often experienced state-sanctioned discrimination, more recent immigrants were less restricted as to where they could live, due to anti-discrimination policies and improved civil rights (Garreau 1992, E1).

Silver Spring, once a bedroom community for government workers after World War II, by the early 1980s gave way to a melting pot of long-established Black and Jewish residents and new Cuban, Chinese, Cambodian, and Vietnamese immigrants. All were attracted to Silver Spring for its proximity to Washington, DC, good schools, and affordability compared to DC and other towns in Montgomery County. In a single block a passerby could come across an international grocery store, a Chinese restaurant, and a Jamaican bakery. Some residents expressed concern that the attractiveness of Silver Spring would bring younger, urban professionals, often with few or no children, who were looking for different businesses than what Silver Spring's commercial streets offered, a change that could eventually culminate in the gentrification of a diverse, working-class community (Richburg 1981, B1).

In the 1990s, rather than settling in Washington, DC, 87 percent of immigrants settled in the suburbs surrounding the city (Sheridan and Cohn 2001, A1). Despite a more dispersed settlement pattern, relationships with friends and family remained strong Garreau 1992, E1). Members of these communities gathered at each other's residences and at public places such as restaurants, grocery stores, parks, and places of worship.

Trends Associated with the Theme of Community

Two trends associated with the theme of community were uncovered during this research: volunteerism and participation in community service, and the formation of social and advocacy groups.

Trend: Volunteerism and Community Service

For one individual interviewed as part of this research study, Sunil Dasgupta, volunteering was a means of increasing his visibility as part of the neighborhood. He noted his apprehension about walking in his neighborhood near Rockville shortly after moving there in 2016, and how becoming involved in his child's school's Parent Teacher Association (PTA) helped visually establish him as a member of the community (Dasgupta 2023).

Karina Hou, a Chinese American community leader interviewed as part of this research study, noted volunteerism was of particular importance to her. Hou's influence on and connectivity within Montgomery County, and the larger metropolitan DC area's Chinese American community is extensive. She served as president of the Maryland Chapter of the Chinese American Chamber of Commerce of Greater Washington, and the president of the Maryland Chapter of the Organization of Chinese American Women (OCW). The OCW organizes and hosts events to create a community and a social and support network for Chinese American women. Hou also served as co-chair of a youth committee of the United Chinese American (UCA), which supports Asian American high school and college students. Hou's efforts are an example of the important role of volunteerism plays in overall networking, advocacy, and community-building among Asian Americans.

Volunteer organizations such as the Lions Club have become more diverse, attracting young, non-White members. Some chapters in Maryland are all Latino or all Filipino. Many of the volunteers did not expect to be in a position where they could volunteer their time and money to help others, as when they came to the United States their main goal was to make money so they could survive. Giving back to the community was often seen as a way for immigrants to acknowledge and utilize their sometimes-unexpected position (Ly 2005).

Trend: Formation of Social and Advocacy Groups

As more people of Asian heritage moved into Montgomery County, social and advocacy groups were established that allowed people interested in certain hobbies or interests to meet and form connections. For example, in 1993, the Vietnamese Cultural Society of Metropolitan Washington hosted the Vietnamese Heritage Camp at Catoctin Mountain Park (Dang 1993, 1B).

Often, groups or events formed to preserve heritage or culture. For example, the University of Maryland hosted its first North American Vietnamese Olympics, which attracted over 2,000 Vietnamese American and Vietnamese Canadian athletes, in 1987. The Maryland games included table tennis, volleyball, swimming, soccer, basketball, track and field, and badminton. The games originated in 1971 in Montreal and continued yearly except for three years between 1974 and 1977, due to the political upheaval in Vietnam. After North and South Vietnam were united as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1975, the games became an important way for Vietnamese immigrants to maintain their culture and remember their homeland (Pressley 1987, B1).

Two identified advocacy groups are detailed below.

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE

The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) is the country's oldest and largest Asian American civil and human rights organization. The JACL encourages public awareness concerning

the achievements of the AAPI community and trains young adults for leadership and service, in addition to being involved in public policy issues that affect the AAPI community, including civil rights inequities. The JACL is headquartered in San Francisco and has offices in various parts of the country, including in Washington, DC (JACL 2011).

JACL hosted bazaars at St. Catherine Laboure Catholic Church in Wheaton, Montgomery County in the early 1970s, where community members would sell food, handmade art, and other items associated with Japanese culture (Walker 1972, 4).

In 1961, Maryland repealed a 306-year-old law prohibiting interracial marriage. One year later, Montgomery County became the first jurisdiction in the state to enact a law prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in public places. The JACL and other advocacy groups were heavily involved in the efforts (Pacific Citizen 1967, 1; Pacific Citizen 1962, 3).

Mike Masaoka, who lived in the town of Somerset, Montgomery County, was the national legislative director of JACL (Gordon 1950). Masaoka lived in Salt Lake City prior to World War II. Because Masaoka was not living in Washington, Oregon, California, or other border states on the West Coast, he was able to avoid being sent to incarceration camps, though his mother and siblings were sent to Manzanar in southern California (Amano 2023).

Masaoka became involved with the JACL while living in Salt Lake City, and met his future wife, Etsu, on a Greyhound bus while both traveled to a JACL convention in Monterey. Etsu had spent time at the incarceration camp Heart Mountain in Laramie, Wyoming, after their marriage until Masaoka was able to arrange for her to leave (Amano 2023).

After the war, Mike Masaoka moved to Washington, DC, as JACL's legislative director. Soon after, the promise of Montgomery County's public education led to him and his wife moving to Somerset, Maryland, in 1956. While living in their split-level Ranch, Masaoka wrote the Japanese American Creed, which was incorporated into the JACL bylaws. He also helped work on the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act that eliminated immigration quotas based on race and sex (Amano 2023).

Figure 2: The Masaoka Residence. Image Credit: Daniel White, RK&K, 2023.

NATIONAL YOUTH/STUDENT COUNCIL

The National Youth/Student Council, formerly the Japanese American Youth Services, developed in 1996 as a branch of the JACL (JACL n.d.). According to Michelle Amano, granddaughter of Mike and Etsu Masaoka, the National Youth/Student Council had an active membership in Montgomery County in the late twentieth century. The group often met in the meeting hall of the Bradley Hills Presbyterian Church in Bethesda, where they would host events (Amano 2023).

Trend: Food Fosters Community and Culture

Food also played a critical role in creating and fostering a sense of community. This aspect of the community featured prominently in the oral histories conducted as part of this study. Often restaurants could be the hub of the community, as described by Seema Alexander when discussing her father's restaurant, Siddhartha. The restaurant served as a gathering place and a landing spot for new immigrants seeking employment and connections in a new area (Alexander 2023). Other situations where food plays a central role in community and social activities are religious festivals and events.

For Filipinos in the region, groups would often form a Tambayan at local restaurants. The term Tambayan refers to a group of people from the Filipino community who share a common interest and meet to connect. Jon Melegrito, a Filipino American interviewed for this study, explained that Tambayan, or "hangout," can occur at restaurants, such as the New Fortune Chinese restaurant in Gaithersburg, which remains a popular hangout spot. Less formal Tambayans occurs at local grocery stores that sell Filipino food, too. Melegrito refers to the locations where Tambayans takes place as the "third place," meaning after the home and one's place of employment, a place where groups of people meet and share kinship, food, dancing, or conversation (Melegrito 2023).

Food was also significant for immigrants with children and grandchildren born and raised in the United States and fostered cultural awareness and preservation. For example, Long Nguyen teaching his daughter and grandchildren how to cook Vietnamese dishes was a way for him to preserve their heritage, despite not living in Vietnam (Nguyen 2023). This was a common thread throughout the oral histories conducted for this study and is not specific to one ethnic group.

Trend: Creation of Arts and Recreation-Based Societies, Groups, and Businesses

Examples of societies and organized groups centered around arts, sports, and other recreational activities popular in certain Asian countries and cultures are found throughout the county. Additionally, several Asian Americans interviewed during this research study noted participation in local recreational and arts-based groups such as badminton, ping pong, and painting, to name a few.

Montgomery County is also home to Asian American artists. Karina Hou, a prominent Chinese American figure in the county who moved from Hong Kong to Canada, and later to the United States as a young adult, established her own business, Fantasia Music Studio, in Rockville around 2002. She later moved the business to Gaithersburg and then opened a second music studio in Kentlands. Most of her students were Chinese Americans (Hou 2023). Another person interviewed for this study, Shanthi Chandrasekar, is a multimedia artist with a studio in Bethesda. One form of art she and her daughter Aishwariya create are *kolams*, a geometric form of art created by dots and lines made from rice or rock powder (Chandrasekar 2023).

TANGHALANG FILIPINO

Jon Melegrito and his wife, along with approximately a dozen other people living in Kensington, Gaithersburg, and Bethesda in the 1980s, founded Tanghalang Filipino in 1986. Tanghalang translates to "theater" in Tagalog, a major language of the Philippines. The group is primarily a theater group, but it also includes concerts and dances. The primary purpose was to provide a space for second-generation Americans, typically the children of the founders, to appreciate Filipino culture and the Tagalog language. The group would meet once a week in a space such as a school or church basement (Melegrito 2023).

MARYLAND TABLE TENNIS CENTER

Charlene Liu and her husband Changping Duan established the National Table Tennis Center (now the Maryland Table Tennis Center [MTTC]) in Gaithersburg in 1992, four years after the sport became an Olympic game. The couple enjoyed playing the sport while living in China and opened the center once they saw the interest in Montgomery County's Chinese community (Markus 2015). One of MTTC's instructors, Jack Huang, moved to the Washington, DC, area in 1991. Formerly a member of the Chinese National Team, he worked with students at the center, many of whom lived in Montgomery County, to improve their game. Part of the success of the MTTC was due to the large Asian American population in the county, many who came from countries where table tennis is more popular than other sports. In 1993, there were just a few table tennis centers in the region. By 2008, Maryland was considered a "hotbed" for table tennis, with at least six table tennis centers in the state. That year, the North American Teams Table Tennis Championship was held in Baltimore (Spayd 1993 BMD-1; Dolan 2008, 3B).

TAI YIM KUNG FU

Tai Yim Kung Fu is a martial arts studio that teaches the Hung Fut style of Kung Fu. Tai Yim, who became the eighth Generation Grandmaster of the Hunt Fut Style while living in Hong Kong, established his first studio in the United States in Wheaton in 1979. The current studio operates out of Kensington (Tai Yim Kung Fu n.d.).

WORLD TAEKWONDO ACADEMY

The academy was established in South Korea in 1973 by Grand Master Woon Se Lee, a former Korean army officer, Korean National Champion, and Olympic Team Head Coach. In the 1960s and early 1970s, Lee served in the Vietnam War. After the war ended, he taught martial arts to military academies, colleges, and national teams. Lee moved in 1989 with his family to Maryland and opened the academy soon after. It is the oldest martial arts school still in operation in Olney World Taekwondo Academy 2018).

Trend: Establishment of Community Centers and Social Services

Immigrant groups commonly established community centers to connect immigrants with other recent and established immigrants, provide financial and health aid, and organize classes for language instruction and hobbies such as dancing. Many of these centers within Montgomery County offer senior-specific services, such as adult day care, home care, and sometimes housing, which may be a reflection of cultural values. For example, information obtained by members of the Vietnamese American Services, described in the section below, emphasize the importance of elder care in their community. Additional insight into this trend is needed.

CHINESE CULTURE AND COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTER, ROCKVILLE

The Chinese Culture and Community Service Center (CCACC) was founded by Ned Li, who came to the United States in 1978, and four others. Initially, CCACC served as a gathering space, first in a basement before moving to the Germantown Senior Center, the Rockville Senior Center, and its current space, a two-story brick-veneer building east of Interstate 270 in Gaithersburg. The Center has established many outreach programs, such as an adult daycare center, a clinic for low-income patients, and an art gallery, which opened in 2016 (Lewi 2022). In 1998, CCACC launched the Evergreen Senior Program, which provided ballroom dancing instruction and English classes for Chinese American seniors at the Germantown Community Center. One of the courses taught Chinese Americans how to explain their medical symptoms to doctors in English. Recognizing that many immigrants and non-English speakers have a difficult time scheduling medical appointments or explaining symptoms to their doctor, in 2002, CCACC partnered with MobileMed to establish a part-time clinic with Chinese American doctors in the Rockville Senior Center. CCACC already had a health assistance care program that referred patients to Chinese-speaking doctors, but the hope was that MobileMed would be able to better facilitate regular health checkups (Park 2002). In 2015, the Center gained a license for home health care, training care givers, mostly from mainland China, to assist new immigrants from China (Lewi 2022).

Today, CCACC employs approximately 270 people, whose wages are funded through grants, programs such as Medicaid, and donations. The Center attracts people not just from Montgomery County but further away, including Washington, DC, and Virginia (Lewi 2022).

Figure 3: The Chinese Cultural and Community Service Center, 2022. Image Credit: Nicole Diehlmann, RK&K.

KOREAN COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTER OF GREATER WASHINGTON

The Korean Community Service Center of Greater Washington (KCSC) was established by a pastor and his congregation in 1974 to provide basic services such as transportation and translation assistance to newly arrived Korean immigrants. The group also helped immigrants rent apartments, set up utilities, and enroll their children in school. Since 1974, KCSC has helped over 150,000 Asian American immigrant families among four locations, including Annandale, Virginia, and Gaithersburg, Riverdale, and Silver Spring, Maryland (KCSCGW 2020). The Center has helped broaden the county's Korean presence in society by providing drug and alcohol seminars and free medical screenings and inoculations to both Koreans and the area's non-Korean population (Ruane 1998, M01).

VIETNAMESE AMERICAN SERVICES

The Vietnamese American Services (VAS) was established in Silver Spring in 2015 in an auxiliary building at St. Mark's Episcopal Anglican Church, which the group rents. Most of the group's clients are senior citizens who may have limited English speaking skills or are economically disadvantaged. Due to the needs of VAS clients, the VAS established a Seniors Club as well as an adult day care. Like many adult day care centers, availability is limited, and people often have to be added to a waitlist before admittance. Members of the VAS have emphasized the importance of elder care among their community, stressing that adult day care centers provide a sense of belonging and camaraderie amongst seniors (VAS 2023; Nguyen 2023). This appears to be a universal theme among a variety of communities who utilize social services offered at community centers such as the ones described in this context. The VAS also provides services such as English language classes and transportation, according to Long Nguyen (Nguyen 2023).

B. THEME: COMMERCE

Businesses and commercial activities associated with Montgomery County's Asian American population are typically, though not always, associated with the second half of the twentieth century, when the county experienced a surge in population of those with Asian ancestry. In larger cities and more urban areas, Asian American commercial businesses clustered together, drawing other businesses and patrons to a concentrated block or several-block radius. However, the suburban lifestyle in Montgomery County allowed for Asian American commercial activities to develop in places such as strip malls or along busy streets such as Hungerford Drive in Rockville that could be accessed by cars or buses. These Asian American commercial corridors became more established after redevelopment in Washington, DC's Chinatown led to the dispersal of businesses to the suburbs. The county's businesses associated with the Asian American community include restaurants, small groceries and large supermarkets, beauty salons, financial institutions, and more.

Trends Associated with the Theme of Commerce

This study identified two common Asian American business types—grocery stores and restaurants. Business listings and windshield surveys of commercial areas of the county noted the presence of a much wider variety of Asian American owned and/or operated businesses; however, information about these businesses was not found as easily in printed research materials. Additional information, particularly oral histories, is needed to understand the trends associated with businesses such as nail salons, automobile repair shops, and dry cleaners.

Trend: Establishment of Asian American Commercial Corridors

Washington, DC's Chinatown was established by Taiwanese and mainland China immigrants in the 1930s but had been declining for several decades. Construction of the MCI Center (currently Capital One Arena) and a mixed-use development at Gallery Place in the late 1990s brought in new, non-Chinese-related development that pushed many Chinese Americans to Rockville and other Washington, DC, suburbs. A *Washington Post* article from 2003 touted a "New Chinatown" in Rockville. They called it a growing Chinese shopping core along North Washington Street and Hungerford Drive containing Kam Supermarket, Maxim Gourmet Oriental Grocery, several Chinese bookstores, video stores, hair salons and gift shops, and a Chinese-owned interior design firm. Along Rockville Pike between Nicholson Lane and East Gude Drive there were more than 25 Chinese restaurants and food stores that offered the most diverse selection of Chinese foods and cooking styles in the region. Asia Bank and China Trust established offices in Rockville and Citibank included Chinese language signs on the exterior of the buildings. Employees of Asia Bank were fluent in Mandarin, and some in Taiwanese. According to one business owner, "the Chinese community is coming here because there is so much more to offer than in D.C.'s Chinatown." New immigrants hailed from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the mainland cities of Shanghai and Beijing, drawn by the large diplomatic community and opportunities at the National Institutes of Health and as representatives of Chinese companies. Rockville's Chinese population increased 60.5 percent between 1990 and 2000 (Nicholls 2003a, F1A; Hedgpeth 2003, 5-6).

As immigrant families moved to new areas, they established businesses in their new neighborhoods. One example is in Takoma Park, where a variety of businesses representing Asian and other ethnic communities line University Boulevard. Before the 1980s, the area was primarily a White community, but the affordability of housing in the late 1980s through the 1990s drew interest from immigrant families. Asian American restaurants and stores in Takoma Park would advertise by word of mouth (Hedgpeth 2000, 5-6).

Trend: Shift from Small-Scale and Ethnic-Specific Grocery Stores to Pan-Asian Supermarkets

Asian Americans established stores that sold products imported from their native countries, with packaging featuring their native language. In addition to wide varieties of groceries specific to Asian cuisine, the stores often sold a variety of goods, including household goods, toiletries, and digital media, all in packaging lacking English-language text. These stores provided a more comfortable shopping experience for Asian American customers, particularly first-generation Asian Americans. Examples include Korean Korner, established by Young Nam in 1966. He later relocated the Korean supermarket to the Colonial Shopping Center, at Randolph Road and Veirs Mill Road in Silver Spring, now called Stoneymill Square. The store sells grocery and household items, and includes a jewelry counter, clothing section, travel agency, and a gift shop (Babington 1991). In 1980, Dumrong Assavarungseekul opened the Thai market at 902 Thayer Avenue in Silver Spring (Baldwin 1992, E1). Another example is Hung Phat Grocery in Wheaton, a popular Vietnamese grocery which provides traditional Vietnamese ingredients that sometimes aren't available in other stores (Nguyen 2023).

The end of the twentieth century gave way to large, suburban supermarkets, such as Lotte Plaza Market, H-Mart, and Great Wall, which sold a mix of pan-Asian, Latino, and western food products. Most of these Asian supermarkets were clustered near other Asian businesses.

ASIAN FOODS INC.

A Thai American couple, Pricha and Vipa Mekhaya, who moved to the DC area as employees of the Embassy of Thailand, opened their first grocery store in Wheaton in a small space behind the Golden Dragon Restaurant. After increased business, in 1970 they moved the store across the street to a small space in a shopping center on University Boulevard. In 1974 they expanded the store into an adjacent space. Asian Foods Inc. sold primarily Chinese food items, as well as Thai and more pan-Asian items. The couple purchased most of their merchandise during their weekly trips to New York, while some of the specialty foods they shipped in from South America (Zibart 1984, B3).

ORIENTAL MARKET

Chaing Wang's Oriental Market opened circa 1983 in the Wintergreen Shopping Center on Rockville Pike in Rockville. The market sold Chinese ingredients, ranging from fresh vegetables and frozen foods to prepared Peking duck, cooked meats, and fresh pastries on weekends. Although it specialized in Chinese cuisine, the store sold ingredients for a variety of Asian cooking needs (Greider 1983). By 2003, the manager of the store, Eva Wong, noted a major change in the demographic of her store's customers; in the 1980s her customers were primarily immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan, but by the early 2000s more were from mainland China. This demographic change corresponds to a change in the kinds of varieties of foods she sells in the store (Nicholls 2003a, F1A).

MAXIM GROCERY

Maxim (or Meixin) Supermarket was one of the oldest Chinese supermarkets in the Rockville area. The 1967 building, designed by locally prominent architect John H. Sullivan, first served as a children's clothing shop before opening as a grocery store around 1985 (The Moco Show 2021). Established circa 1985, it sold primarily Chinese goods, including organ meats and roast duck, which were sought after in the community. In 2003 Elaine Puah and her husband Ky Ho purchased the store, operating it until its 2019 closure (Nicholls 2003a, F1A). As of 2023, the property is slated for demolition and redevelopment.

Figure 4: The former Maxim Grocery. Image credit: M-NCPPC/Karen Yee, 2022.

LOTTE PLAZA MARKET

Lotte Plaza Market was an early Asian supermarket that was established in 1976 in Maryland and Virginia. The Rockville Store opened in 1989, followed by the Silver Spring and Ellicott City stores in 1999. Germantown opened in 2007, and Catonsville in 2012 with more products from India, Pakistan, the Middle East, China, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Another Rockville location opened in 2016 (Lotte Plaza Market n.d.).

SUPER H

As of 2003, Super H, an international market, was owned by the New York-based Han Ah Reum (HAR) distributors ("One Arm Full of Groceries" in Korean). Han Ah Reum also operated self-named stores, including one at 12015 Georgia Avenue in the Wheaton Park Shopping Center. By 2007 the company was rebranded as H-Mart (Nicholls 2003b, F1). H-Mart is the largest Asian supermarket chain in America and focuses on both Asian and western groceries to align itself with more traditional American supermarkets (H-Mart n.d.).

Trend: Establishment of Asian American-Owned Restaurants

Montgomery County is home to dozens of restaurants specializing in Asian American cuisines. While more urban areas such as Baltimore saw Chinese restaurants open at the turn of the twentieth century, Montgomery County's first Chinese restaurant, Lee's Tea Garden, did not open until 1938. The Chinese restaurant Smiling Buddha followed around 1941. Other restaurants opened first in cities like Washington, DC, before moving to the suburbs, like Siddhartha. Two other restaurants, New Kam Fong Restaurant and Wong Gee Restaurant, which were originally in the District's Chinatown, later moved to Montgomery County. The majority of Asian restaurants opened in existing buildings, either standalone commercial properties or in strip malls.

Most earlier restaurants identified as part of the study were Chinese and Indian. Japanese, Korean, Thai, and Filipino restaurants identified in Montgomery County generally were not established until the late twentieth and early-twenty-first century.

SHANGHAI

Lee Gim Yang (1907-2010), later known as Loui See Ling, was born in 1907 in a rural village in Canton. When Ling was 17, the village raised money to send him to the United States. In Philadelphia, Ling attended school and learned to read and write in English, before moving to Silver Spring. At the end of 1938, Ling and his brother opened the oldest Chinese restaurant in Montgomery County.

Called Lee's Tea Garden, the restaurant was located in the Silver Spring Shopping Center on Georgia Avenue. The restaurant operated out of the store labeled as "13" on the shopping center plans, and it appears that superstitious business owners did not want to lease that store, allowing Ling to secure a 10-year lease. Because there were few Chinese Americans living in Montgomery County, most of Ling's customers were White, and were attracted to the Americanized dishes Ling and his brother cooked, including meatloaf, mashed potatoes, and green beans. In 1948, at the end of the lease, Ling was unable to secure a renewal with the landlord, and he closed the restaurant (Yee 2022).

Two years later, Ling worked with a Chinese American named Mr. Eng to open to open Shanghai in a former house on Fidler Lane owned by a widow. Called Shanghai to attract a western audience,

it served Cantonese food, a specialty of a region several hundred miles away from the restaurant's namesake. The house's location was ideal for a commercial venture, given its proximity to Georgia Avenue. Around 1969, a fire occurred at the restaurant. Afterward, Ling acquired the adjacent carriage house property to remodel and expand the restaurant (Shapiro 2010, E2; Rosson 1967, 49; Yee 2022).

While the restaurant featured classic Cantonese dishes, Ling ensured that the dishes were adapted to American tastes, as approximately 60 percent of his customers were White and Jewish. Ling kept up with the times, adding Szechuan and Hunan-style dishes in the 1970s after President Nixon opened relations with China (Shapiro 2010, E2). The restaurant became a popular takeout spot, which allowed the restaurant to feed more people in a night without needing to accommodate space for all patrons in the restaurant (Yee 2022). In the 1990s, the restaurant participated with Suburban Hospital's Heart Healthy Restaurant Program, and offered five low-fat, steamed dishes for patrons (Pleasure 1999, B-15).

Unusual for the time, several chefs employed at Shanghai stayed with the restaurant for decades. Lucy Yee, Ling's oldest daughter, noted that her parents treated the chefs well, almost like family. Ling and his wife helped the chefs and their families by enrolling them in school, helping them get a driver's license, or teaching them English, among other life skills (Yee 2022).

Like many immigrant-established restaurants, Ling's family was heavily involved with the business. His wife, son, and daughters helped prep food, wait on tables, wash dishes, or handle phoned-in takeout orders. The restaurant was central to Ling's family, although the number of hours spent helping the restaurant caused conflict among his children once they were teenagers and wanted to socialize with friends at football games and parties (Yee 2022).

Though Ling continued working and greeting guests at the restaurant until he was 98, the daily operations were eventually handled by his son Donald and then by his daughter, Lucy Yee, and her husband. The restaurant closed in 2000 after Ling's wife developed lymphoma (Shapiro 2010, E2; August 1998, 1; Yee 2022).

Figure 5: Shanghai Restaurant on Fidler Lane, 1951. Image credit: Lucy Yee.

SIDDHARTHA

Saurabh Ramanbhai Ponda opened Washington, DC's first Indian vegetarian restaurant Ponda was born and raised in Dahanu, a small village north of Mumbai. He met his wife Sudha in India, and the two immigrated in the 1970s to Hoboken, New Jersey, where some of Ponda's relatives were living. In 1974 the family moved to Forestville, Maryland, where Ponda had more family, and then to Silver Spring in 1978. According to their daughter Seema Alexander, the Pondas learned to speak English in school in India, which softened the transition when they moved to the United States (Alexander 2022).

Saurabh Ponda started several ventures, including an Indian grocery store and a travel agency. When he opened Siddhartha on New York Avenue, he continued to operate the store and travel agency. The building that housed the restaurant unexpectedly changed ownership, prompting Ponda to move Siddhartha to Silver Spring off Georgia and Thayer Avenues in 1982. It was situated next door to an Asian grocery store and her father continued to operate his travel agency from a floor above the restaurant (Alexander 2022) (.

The location on Thayer Avenue had a large back room that was popular for large parties and banquet-style events. Siddhartha's cuisine included dishes from all regions of India, which appealed to many patrons. The restaurant was a family-oriented space, with the Ponda family and relatives working there. During the lull between lunch and dinner, all staff would dine together. Notables such as Muhammad Ali ate at the restaurant, and it was lauded in local papers. It was close to the center of life for many, though eventually the long hours took a toll on Alexander's parents, and they shuttered the restaurant in 1996 (Alexander 2022).

Trend: Establishing trust by using Asian financial institutions or Asian language speaking businesses and individuals.

As noted above in the discussions of Asian American commercial corridors and grocery stores, many businesses, including banks, provided signs and products with labeling using Asian languages. The first branch of Asia Bank outside of New York opened on Rockville Pike in Rockville in 1999. Employees of Asia Bank are fluent in Mandarin, and some in Taiwanese. US-based bank branches post the bank's name in Chinese lettering in addition to English on their buildings in areas with a high Asian population, which due to the presence of these banks in Asian countries, is familiar to some Asian immigrants (Hedgpeth 2003, 5-6). This practice established trust with new and established Asian immigrants to the area and eased the transition into the new community. Additional research to understand this trend is needed.

C. THEME: EDUCATION

A theme that appeared across multiple Asian American communities was the importance of education, especially for immigrants with American-born children. Families such as the Masaokas and the Melegrito family moved to Montgomery County because of the good reputation of its public school system. The schools gradually became more diverse in the second half of the twentieth century, and by the end of the 1990s, a survey revealed that children in the county's education system represented over 145 countries.

While public schools taught students traditional subjects such as math, literature, and science, many Asian Americans sent their children to language schools that operated after school or on the

weekends. These classes often taught more than just language and provided a way for children to remain connected to their culture and heritage.

Subtheme: Public School Education

After the Supreme Court's 1954 landmark ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* that banned segregation in schools, Montgomery County was the first county in Maryland to plan for integration. Lucy Yee, who attended the county's public schools starting in the 1950s, noted that she experienced few issues regarding discrimination or bullying because of her race (Yee 2022). However, that experience does not appear to be uniform based on the limited oral histories conducted as part of this study. When current Maryland Secretary of State Susan Lee's family moved to Potomac in 1968, she was 13 and began attending Leland Junior High School (now the Jane E. Lawton Community Center). There, Lee, who was one of two Asian students in the school, experienced bullying by boys in her class, who used her Chinese ethnicity as fodder. Lee kept the bullying to herself and did not tell her parents. She noted that "no matter what the bullies did to me, I still was proud to be Chinese American" (Lee 2023).

In the 1980s, Washington metropolitan schools became more diverse. Between 1980 and 1986, nearly 3,900 more Asian students enrolled in Montgomery County Public Schools. This reflected a national trend starting in 1970, in which the enrollment number of Asian Americans in public schools grew from 0.5 percent to 2.5 percent. Minority ethnicities, which included Black, Asian, and Hispanic students, grew from 8 percent in Montgomery County in 1970 to 22 percent by 1980 (Feinberg 1986, A1).

Seema Alexander, who is Indian American, attended Cannon Road Elementary School along with her brother in the 1980s. She experienced bullying despite the diversity of her classmates, whose races and ethnicities included African American, Indian, Asian, Chinese, Spanish, and White. Alexander opted not to wear Indian clothes to school to minimize insults from her classmates (Alexander 2022).

In 1990, Dr. Alan Cheung, a Chinese American clinical pharmacologist born in Hong Kong, became the first Asian to serve on the Montgomery County Board of Education. Dr. Cheung's background as an educator at the University of Southern California propelled him to run for the position. He was also concerned with a lack of Asian American teachers, staff, supervisors, or administrators in the county where his children attended school, despite the growing diversity of the population. Cheung was elected through grassroots campaigning and the assistance of community leaders, including Roscoe Nix, a former member of the Montgomery County Board of Education and then-president of the Montgomery County Branch of the NAACP (Cheung 2023).

As described in several oral histories, many immigrants valued Montgomery County's quality public schools. In 1991, twelve percent of students enrolled in Montgomery County's public schools were Asian American (Babington 1991).

By 1999, students in the county public schools spoke 120 different languages and came from 145 different countries. That year, the county signed a contract with a translation service to better communicate with parents, many who had little to no English proficiency (Perez-Rivas 1999). Shanthi Chandrasekar, her husband, and two children moved to the area around 2000 from Rochester, New York. The family had moved to the United States from India for Shanthi's husband's job with IBM. In seeking a place to live in the DC area they found the schools in

Montgomery County to be attractive for the high quality of the education and the diversity of the student population. Compared to Rochester, in North Potomac they found a higher population of Asian Americans, and even an established Tamil community (Chandrasekar 2023).

Subtheme: Language Schools

Montgomery County is home to a variety of Asian language schools founded as early as the 1970s, most of which are still in operation. Language schools are predominately co-located in public or private schools, community centers, or churches. No purpose-built language school buildings were identified as part of this survey. The nature of the language schools, which usually held classes after traditional schools and on the weekends, allowed students to take classes in places that had existing space for teaching.

Examples of language schools using space in public schools include the Gaithersburg Chinese School, founded in 1974, which offers classes at Quince Orchard High School; the Mei-Hwa Chinese School, established in Silver Spring in 1974, offering classes at James Hubert Blake High School; The Potomac Chinese School (Bo Chinese School), which opened in 1974 and currently offers classes at the Herbert Hoover Middle School in Rockville; the Rockville Cantonese School, established in 1984, which now holds classes at Robert Frost Middle School; the Cantonese School of Greater Washington, which operates out of Ritchie Park Elementary in Rockville; the Washington School of Chinese Language and Culture (WSCLC), founded in 1986 by five Montgomery County families, which holds classes at Thomas S. Wootton High School in Rockville; and LiMing Mandarin School, which was established in 1995 and has been based in various public schools over its history, drawing an intergenerational and multicultural student population from throughout the Washington, DC, metropolitan area. The LiMing Mandarin School is one of the last Mandarin language schools in the United States dedicated to teaching traditional Taiwanese Mandarin and preserving Taiwanese culture. Rita Lewi noted that it was very common for second-generation Chinese Americans to be sent to language schools, but enrollment and interest is declining with third-generation Chinese Americans (Lewi 2022).

Language schools identified in Montgomery County are all collocated or use shared spaces. Research did not uncover any purpose-built spaces thus far. Examples of documented language schools in Montgomery County are described below.

The Rockville Chinese School

The Rockville Chinese School opened in 1981 with 55 students. It was started by Shirley I. Chow, a parent who was concerned with her children losing their ability to speak in their Chinese dialect. In 1991, the school was one of the largest language schools in the area, with more than 500 students. Classes took place in Bethesda at the private Holton Arms School. Like other language schools in the area, classes took place on the weekend and involved more than language classes, such as dancing or calligraphy (Hsu 1991, B1). As of 2021, the Rockville Chinese School operates out of the CCACC in Rockville (Rockville Chinese School n.d.).

First Korean School, Silver Spring

The First Korean Baptist Church of Silver Spring, Maryland, opened the First Korean School to 45 students in the summer of 1977 in the church's annex and basement. In 1980, the church moved to a new building, which also provided classrooms for the school's upper grades. Five years after its opening, the school was educating more than 150 students from kindergarten to high school on

Korean language, culture, history, and arts on Saturdays in the former church building (Long 1988, 96-97; 101). In 1982, all of the students spoke English fluently, and approximately half spoke Korean at home. Most of those who spoke Korean with their families lived with their grandparents (Long 1988, 112).

The Korean language, like other Asian languages and dialects, is structured very differently from English, which often led to a language gap between the older generations who immigrated as adults and the younger, American-born generations who learned English as young children (Kelly 1978).

Figure 6: The school building at the First Korean School, 1982. Image credit: Library of Congress, Ethnic Heritage and Language Schools in America Project Collection, American Folklife Center.

Kuang-Chi, Rockville

The Chinese Catholic Pastoral Mission was established in 1982 to serve Chinese Americans within the Archdiocese of Washington. The mission established Kuang-Chi Chinese School in 1992 "to promote Chinese language and culture" in the Washington, DC, metropolitan area. The school hosts Chinese language and culture classes that teach Chinese as a second language, as well as Heritage Mandarin classes for Chinese students. Kuang-Chi hosts classes at St. Mary's School in Rockville (Our Lady of China Pastoral Mission n.d.).

Huayuan Chinese Academy

The Huayuan Chinese Academy in Rockville opened in 2009 and is the first after-school Chinese institution in the Washington, DC, metropolitan area. Students do not have to be Chinese American to enroll. In addition to instruction in the Chinese language, the school instructs students in Chinese culture, arts and crafts, and science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). The academy does not have a dedicated building; rather, the courses are taught in nearly 20 Montgomery County elementary schools after school dismissal (Huayuan Chinese Academy n.d.).

In 2013, Dr. Alan Cheung, former member of the Montgomery County Board of Education, helped the academy secure a federal grant. The school was competing with larger universities and language departments such as the University of Maryland, Berkley, and Stanford. By integrating STEM into the school's curriculum, the Huayuan Chinese Academy was able to secure the grant (Cheung 2023).

D. THEME: RELIGION

Religious and spiritual organizations served as important social centers in Asian communities. Churches and temples provided a place for immigrants to establish and develop fellowship with others from their ethnic group. Religious institutions also served as social anchors while other aspects of daily life were unfamiliar. Churches offered assistance to new immigrants with finding housing and employment and offered assistance with language and advice for immigrant parents with American children. Places of worship often also provide space for community activities and language schools. Pastor John Tung of the Chinese Bible Church of Maryland (CBCM) noted in an interview as part of this study the importance of churches, saying that "churches play an outsized role in the lives of immigrants" (Tung 2022).Many Chinese immigrants were not Christian when they arrived in the United States, but later converted to Christianity, likely influenced by Christian texts they read at church-sponsored language schools. Other Asian immigrants experienced a similar conversion. Korean immigrants are predominately Christian, either due to affiliation with a Christian church in Korea prior to immigration or due to conversion to Christianity after immigration. Korean immigrants to the United States were disproportionately from the Christian minority in Korea, which represented approximately one-fifth of the population (Hirschman 2004, 1217). For Korean Americans, churches provided a social network to help new immigrants establish themselves in their new communities. In Montgomery County, approximately 60 percent of Korean Americans were Christian at the turn of the twenty-first century (Kyriakos 1995, E01).

Other Eastern religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism represent a small minority in Montgomery County. According to the Public Religion Research Institute's 2020 data, approximately two percent of the county's residents identify as Hindu, and one percent identify as Buddhist (PRRI 2021). Research suggests this has increased given the number of recent immigrants from countries such as Cambodia, Thailand, and Sri Lanka. Unrest in Myanmar, formerly Burma, led to an increase in immigration in the 2000s. By 2012, approximately 700 Burmese families lived in the Silver Spring area, and many of them were associated with the Burma America Buddhist Association in Silver Spring (Lyford 2012, B2).

Immigrant churches and religious practices in the United States often experienced "Americanization" of their structure and services. Examples include use of the English language, holding weekly services, having sermons as the focal point of a service, and increased role of the laity in church activities (Hirschman 2004, 1211-1215).

By 2003, nearly one-third of Chinese Americans attended church. Many Chinese immigrants have converted to Christianity and were active in attempting to convert others, a trend not previously seen in earlier waves of Chinese immigrants, who were typically less overtly religious. In Maryland, the efforts of evangelical Chinese Christians have resulted in dozens of new churches (Ly 2003, A1).

Trends Associated with the Theme of Religion

Trend: Establishing Purpose-Built and Dedicated Religious Facilities

Early immigrant Christian congregations often were housed in churches owned by English-speaking congregations. As the Asian congregations grew and experienced more economic success, they began to occupy their own buildings. Dedicated Buddhist and Hindu temples were not constructed until the late twentieth century when larger numbers of Southeast Asian immigrants arrived in the state. At the turn of the twenty-first century, as Buddhist and Hindu communities became more financially secure, the congregations constructed purpose-built structures with architectural details inspired by buildings in Southeast Asia. Places of worship, especially churches, were the most plentiful resource associated with Asian Americans identified in this study.

CHURCHES

Asian Americans in Montgomery County attend churches representing several denominations of Christianity. More often than not, churches with a dominant Asian American population were established for the community, such as the Chinese Christian Church of Greater Washington or St. Andrew Kim Catholic Church. Churches documented for this study were attended by those of predominantly Chinese or Korean ancestry. Many churches, such as the Chinese Bible Church of Maryland, used space within other churches or secular buildings before raising enough funds to purchase their own property, either occupying an extant building or constructing their own building.

The Chinese Bible Church of Maryland

The Chinese Bible Church of Maryland (CBCM) began in 1976 at a school in Kensington with 70 former members of the Chinese Christian Church of Greater Washington. In 1982, the church moved into a former Lutheran church in Rockville. The church expanded over the years, building a central portion circa 2000 and a sanctuary hall circa 2008 (Tung 2022).

The church attracts a diverse audience. It holds church services in English, Cantonese, and Mandarin. Early parishioners were originally from Taiwan and spoke Mandarin. However, the church has seen the fastest recent growth in parishioners from Hong Kong and mainland China. The current pastor, John Tung, is from a Taiwanese family who was culturally Buddhist. Tung converted to Christianity at 18. He joined the CBCM because his ability to communicate in both Mandarin and English meant that he could connect with several immigrant groups (Tung 2022).

In 1988, the CBCM helped established a church in College Park and in Tysons. In 1997 it helped establish two more, one in Howard County and the other in North Carolina. These churches, though established by the CBCM in Rockville, are independent entities (Tung 2022).

Sligo Church of Seventh-Day Adventists

The Sligo Church of Seventh-Day Adventists in Takoma Park opened in 1944. Today, the church has over 2,000 members from 78 countries who speak 142 languages and is associated with Washington Adventist University, which has a history of missionary activities in Korea. Prior to legislation banning the practice, the church was segregated, but it had allowed some Asian Americans into the church. It was not until 1962 that the church unanimously voted to desegregate, allowing people of different races to join without issue (The Sligo Story n.d.; Castillo 2020, 19).

Global Mission Church of Greater Washington (originally the First Korean Baptist Church)

A small group of Korean immigrants established the First Korean Baptist Church in 1974 in borrowed space at the Kensington Baptist Church in Kensington, Montgomery County. In 1975, the church moved to its current location after purchasing the Korean Church of Washington at 13421 Georgia Avenue in Silver Spring. A new church building was completed in 1980 (Church History n.d.). Later renamed the Global Mission Church, it draws members from the wider Montgomery County Korean community. Many of the early church members were part of the first wave of Korean immigration to the United States who settled in the Silver Spring area in the early 1970s. The church became a place to congregate with other Korean immigrants, to meet friends, learn about job opportunities, and share personal experiences and challenges. As of the twenty-first century the church was one of the largest Southern Baptist congregations in the Delaware-Maryland Southern Baptist Convention, with more than 2,000 members as of 2011 (Kim 2011, 2-6).

St. Andrew Kim Catholic Church

St. Andrew Kim Catholic Church was formed by a group of Korean Catholic students and residents in the Washington, DC area, who originally met at the National Shrine of The Immaculate Conception. The church was formally established in 1974. In 1981, the church moved to College Park, before building a new church in Olney that opened in 2002. Named for the first Korean priest and martyr, the church remains an important part in the spiritual lives of the greater Korean community in Montgomery County and the surrounding suburbs (St. Andrew Kim Catholic Church n.d.). David Moon, who participated in an oral history for this study, attended services as a child and recalled that services were conducted entirely in Korean (Moon 2022).

Buddhist Temples and Places of Worship

Buildings associated with Buddhism do not appear in central Maryland until the late twentieth century, coinciding with the arrival of large numbers of immigrants from Southeast Asia where Buddhism is more prevalent. Many Buddhist places of worship seen in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, DC, such as Silver Spring, are based in residential homes along or near major thoroughfares. Groups of worshippers would often meet in existing buildings, typically residences, before constructing purpose-built worship spaces such as the Korean worship space Bub Ju Sa in Brookeville and the Chùa Từ Ân, located in a former home that is now owned by the Từ Ân, Buddhist Association.

Examples of Buddhist temples constructed in the 1990s through the 2000s show a trend of architectural themes and elements inspired by architecture in south Asia. These examples are often seen in suburban areas and were built after the 1990s, in part due to the influx of immigrants from countries such as Vietnam, Thailand, Taiwan, and other south Asian countries. A rise in construction of Hindu temples in the suburban areas of Maryland followed similar trends in architectural styles and establishment dates.

Wat Thai Washington DC

Wat Thai Washington DC serves the Washington, DC, metropolitan area. Wat Thai Washington DC was established in 1974, with support from the Thai embassy, to establish a place for Thai Buddhists and for Thai culture to be preserved. The temple follows the Theraveda Buddhist tradition, which is one of three schools of Buddhism (Inthisan 2022).

The first group raised enough funds to rent a house on Wayne Avenue in Silver Spring and bring two monks from Thailand. After outgrowing the space, in 1980 they purchased a residential building at 9033 Georgia Avenue in Silver Spring. They moved to their present location at 13440 Layhill Road in 1986. The property at Layhill Road had an existing house that became a residence for the monks. Now demolished, monks live in a residence built in 2012, named after abbot Luang Ta Chi, who has served at Wat Thai since 1975. Buddha Hall, the main temple building, opened in 1995. The site celebrates traditional Thai holidays, such as Thai New Year and Buddha's Birthday (Visakha Bucha Day), which draw attendees from the regional Thai population (Inthisan 2022).

The monks at Wat Thai are unpaid volunteers who serve the temple full time, but also the larger community. Once a month, Thai embassy staff visit to make an offering to the monks. Dr. Handy Inthisan, a senior Thai Buddhist monk associated with Wat Thai, founded the International Buddhist Association of America and serves as Secretary-General of the Council of Thai Bhikkus in America (Inthisan 2022).

Like many religious communities, the temple has trouble attracting younger members, especially those who do not speak the Thai language. Often, younger members return once they have a family, so their children can be exposed to the religion and Thai culture (Inthisan 2022).

Figure 7: Wat Thai Washington, DC. Image credit: M-NCPPC, 2022.

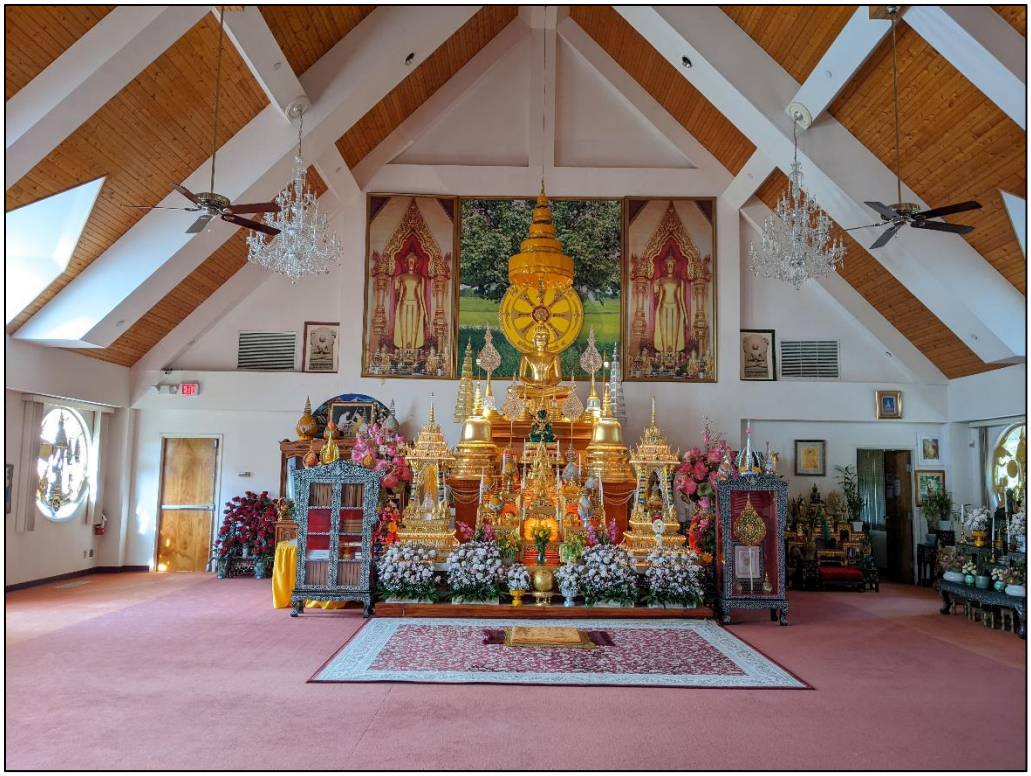

Figure 8: Interior of Buddha Hall, looking toward the altar. Photo credit: M-NCPPC/Kacy Rohn, 2022.

Nichiren Shoshu Myosenji Buddhist Temple

The Nichiren Shoshu Myosenji Buddhist Temple was built in Montgomery County in 1980. It is one of six Nichiren Shoshu Temples in the United States and is likely the first purpose-built temple in the county. Myosenji Temple serves the southeastern portion of the country (Myosenji Temple 2022).

American Zen College

American Zen College was established on a seven-acre agricultural site in Germantown by Zen Master Goshun Shin, who previously served as abbot of three Zen monasteries in South Korea. The college utilized existing farm buildings, renovating them to serve as dormitories. The college is reportedly one of two sites in the country that houses Buddha Sakyamuni's Saria, the cremated remains of the Buddha Sakyamuni (American Zen College n.d.).

INDIAN RELIGIOUS WORSHIP SPACES

Gandhi Memorial Center & Self-Revelation Church of Absolute Monism

The Gandhi Memorial Center and Self-Revelation Church of Absolute Monism comprises a complex of buildings on Western Avenue, on the boundary between Montgomery County and Washington, DC. The buildings include the Gandhi Memorial Center and Library; the Golden Lotus Temple; the original Self-Revelation Fellowship building, which is now a parish house; and several residential buildings. Together the complex provides space for spiritual, cultural, educational, creative, and domestic uses (Karuna 2022). The center is an example of a center for faith-based tradition, rather than a religious institution, and appears to be both very early and

unique in Montgomery County. This is reflected in the use and architecture of the various buildings and landscaping that form the complex.

Brahmachari Jotin (later known as Swami Premananda) founded the Self-Revelation Church after arriving in the DC area from Bengal, India. After renting a space in Adams Morgan, in DC, Jotin built the first purpose-built chapel for the "Self-Revelation Fellowship" at 4748 Western Avenue, on the border of Montgomery County, Maryland, and DC. There he offered services for the philosophy of Absolute Monism, a belief tradition with earlier roots in the United States. Jotin intentionally designed the building using architectural characteristics of Christian churches in the area, so that the building would fit in with its setting. A later building, the Golden Lotus Temple, was constructed in 1952. By that time, Swami Premananda had become a Mason, so the cornerstone of the temple was laid by the local Masons (Karuna 2022). The Golden Lotus Temple was designed to symbolize the spiritual ideals of Absolute Monism. The shape, colors, and characteristics of the design directly represent the spiritual beliefs of the church (Symbology of the Golden Lotus Temple n.d.). It is a very early example of a temple specifically designed to reflect the beliefs of the Self-Revelation fellowship.

Figure 9: The Golden Lotus Temple at the Self-Revelation Church of Absolute Monism, November 2022. Image Credit: Laura van Opstal, RK&K.

Swami Premananda established the Gandhi Memorial Center in 1959 with the purpose of sharing the philosophy, ideals, life, service, and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, and as a place to share the cultural heritage of India. A new building for the center was dedicated in 1976 (Gandhi Memorial Center n.d.). The center serves as a cultural hub and hosts a variety of cultural programs, including art exhibitions for local artists, workshops, and Osher Lifelong Learning sessions (Chandrasekar 2023). The Gandhi Memorial Center retains ties to the Indian embassy and is an important hub for creative expression related to the center's Indian roots.

Guru Nanak Foundation of America (Gurdwara Sahib)

In 1970, a small group of Sikhs incorporated the Guru Nanak Foundation of America. Prior to that time the group met for regular religious services in members' homes throughout the DC metropolitan area. In 1978, the congregation broke ground for their purpose-built *gurdwara* (Sikh temple) in Silver Spring, which was the first gurdwara in Maryland (Guru Nanak Foundation of America, Inc. n.d.).

Jain Society of Metropolitan Washington

The Jain Society of Metropolitan Washington (JSMW) was established in early 1980 with an initial membership totaling 20 families. In 1989, JSMW purchased a 4.35-acre property with a former dwelling to serve as the Jain Temple and Jain Center. JSMW has grown, with recent membership totaling more than 650 families. In 2011, JSMW purchased a new property with the intention of building a new worship space to accommodate the growth. As of 2023, JSMW is continuing fundraising efforts (JSMW 2022).

Shri Mangal Mandir

Shri Mangal Mandir serves the Montgomery County Hindu community, as well as those in Washington, DC, and the Baltimore, Maryland, metropolitan area. The temple was established in 1981. In 1993 a new temple replaced the original one. In addition to celebrating Hindu festivals, the mandir hosts health fairs and a seniors' club. The seniors' club established several support groups that assist members with computer literacy and cooking skills, loneliness and stress management, and developing hobbies and interests for retirees Shri Mangal Mandir n.d.).

E. THEME: POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Many of the people interviewed as part of this study were and continue to be involved with local politics and advocacy. See **Appendix D** and the transcripts of the oral histories conducted as part of this study, which are available as a separate document (see **Section II.C.**). Demographic and political changes, among other factors, in the county prompted some Asian American residents to be more involved politically in their community.

In 1968, Secretary of State Susan Lee's father took her to witness the Poor People's Campaign demonstration in Washington, DC. Her father, a first-generation American, received a degree in social work and assisted veterans and their families in the Veterans Administration, and felt strongly in helping vulnerable members of a community. Both of Lee's parents were active in their local Asian American community and encouraged Lee to enter public service. Two years after graduating from the University of Maryland, Lee moved to San Francisco to study law. When Governor Parris Glendening appointed Lee to the Maryland House of Delegates in 2002, she had developed a relationship with the Asian American community, but also with other groups such as organized labor, Latinos, and women's groups. Lee co-sponsored a bill to establish Asian Lunar New Year as a day of commemoration in Maryland and helped establish the Maryland Legislative Asian-American Pacific Islander Caucus. In 2014, Lee became the first Asian American elected to the state senate (Lee 2023).

David Moon, who grew up in Bethesda, was shaped by his experiences in school, where he had a diverse friend group comprised mainly of Jewish friends and Asian Americans. In college in Massachusetts, Moon and a few of his college friends tried to start a campus chapter of the

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Moon attended law school and eventually moved back to Montgomery County. He started a political blog, "Maryland Juice," that discussed local policy. In 2014, after witnessing people in minority groups win their elections, Moon decided to run for a seat in the House of Delegates, which he won. Moon is also involved in the Maryland Legislative Asian-American Pacific Islander Caucus. Although Moon notes that change feels slow, he acknowledges that there are greater numbers of Asian Americans in Montgomery County politics, which had not always been the case (Moon 2022).

Tony Sarmiento, a Filipino American who mostly grew up in Chevy Chase, DC, and later moved to Montgomery County, was actively involved in DC-area politics as a young adult. While working for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), Sarmiento helped organize the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, which was the first national organization of the AAPI Trade Union that started in 1992 and continues today. The organization brought together activists from around the country, from different unions. The group's makeup comprised of Asian Americans from various ethnicities, waves of immigration, industries, and political affiliations (Sarmiento 2023).

Jon Melegrito became involved in the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship in the 1970s, at the same time he was working as a reporter. This was Melegrito's introduction into activism, and eventually led to his involvement in veterans' affairs, which was heavily influenced by his father's story. Melegrito's father served in the US Armed Forces of the Far East during World War II. He participated in the Bataan Death March, which occurred after Japan invaded the Philippines. Melegrito's father survived and was later discharged honorably from the Army. While Melegrito described his father as very proud of his service, the Recission Act of 1946, which denied Filipino soldiers rights and benefits promised to them by General MacArthur, caused a painful period for Melegrito's father. This prompted Melegrito to turn to activism for veterans' rights. Melegrito worked as executive secretary for the Filipino Veterans Recognition and Education Project, which raises awareness of Filipino World War II veterans. In addition to lobbying on behalf of the Filipino soldiers, Melegrito has marched in the Bataan Memorial Death March in New Mexico, an event that honors the Filipino and American soldiers who died in Bataan. In 2017 Congress passed the Congressional Gold Medal that officially recognized the service of Filipino soldiers. However, the Recission Act was not formally repealed (Melegrito 2023).

Other forms of political involvement were quieter. Lucy Yee's father Louis Ling, who operated the Shanghai restaurant, was the editor and reporter of the *Huaqiao* newspaper, which means "overseas Chinese." Readers of the paper were Chinese interested in knowing not just local news but news occurring in China and overseas (Yee 2022).

F. THEME: CULTURAL PRESERVATION, INTEGRATION, AND ASSIMILATION

The Asian American experience is not uniform, but influenced by innumerable factors, not limited to ethnic, geographic, cultural, religious, socio-economic, and generational differences. These differences, the experiences of Asian immigrants in their native countries, and impetuses for migrating to the United States, all have a profound and lasting effect on their approach to integrating into American life. Asian Americans from different ethnic backgrounds sometimes experienced conflict between the desire to preserve their cultural identity while also wanting to understand and adopt certain US customs. Individual perspectives provided during interviews conducted as part of this study demonstrate various ways that members of different Asian

American backgrounds dealt with maintaining this balance and reinforce that each individual's experience and outlook is unique and influenced by various factors.

Seema Alexander, an Indian American interviewed during this study, noted that this balancing act may be common across second-generation immigrants, particularly if their spouse is of a different cultural or religious background. She observed that second-generation Asian Americans raised in their parents' culture worry about their cultural legacy being continued through their children Alexander 2022).

Another individual experience demonstrates this struggle for balance between maintaining your cultural identity and integrating into American life, particularly regarding language. Lucy Yee, a Chinese American resident, described her parents' desire for her to understand and be immersed in US culture so that she would succeed, but that when she participated in events in the Chinese community, her inability to speak Chinese was seen as a lack of respect for her culture (Yee 2022). David Moon, a second-generation Korean American, had a similar experience. Moon's parents decided not to take him to a Korean language school, so he does not speak or read Korean. His family attended St. Andrew Kim Catholic Church, at which all services were in Korean, so he did not understand most of the services. While his parents felt Moon not learning Korean was to help him better assimilate into American culture, his parents also felt concern that the family was not Korean enough (Moon 2022). Immigrants who learned English had an easier experience integrating into US culture, and also were more successful professionally as their language skills opened up other opportunities. They became leaders in their communities because they could navigate both worlds. One example is Lucy Yee's father, Lee Gim Yang, whose American name was Louis Ling. Because he could read and write in English, and because of his close ties with the small, tight-knit Chinese community in Montgomery County, he was successful in creating partnerships in the restaurant business (Yee 2022).

Karina Hou, a Chinese American resident of Montgomery County grew up in Hong Kong when it was a British Colony. Hou was exposed to eastern and western cultures there, which affected her perspective after moving to the United States as a young adult, and later raising her daughter in Montgomery County. She emphasized the importance of teaching her daughter Chinese and remaining involved with Chinese cultural events and festivals in the community, but also making an effort to learn about other cultures in order to be more open-minded and make cross-cultural connections (Hou 2023).

Tony Sarmiento, a Filipino American born in Fort Campbell, Kentucky, whose family later moved to various places on the east coast due to his father's position in the US military, presented another unique experience. He primarily grew up in Chevy Chase, DC, in the 1960s, which was a predominantly White and Jewish area. Although his parents were active in the Filipino community, he and some of his siblings were raised speaking English because his parents wanted them to be able to communicate in the language of the country in which they resided. It was not until a family trip to the Philippines as a young adult that he realized he had little knowledge of his nationality and cultural history. He enrolled in a Saturday Filipino school established by Filipino American mothers, which was held in the instructor's home, to learn basic Tagalog (Sarmiento 2023).

Jon Melegrito, who spent the first 20 years of his life in the Philippines, learned English starting in first grade, because the Philippines had been a US colony for almost 50 years. Both of his parents had master's degrees in education, and his mother studied English in school. When he moved to

the US, Melegrito already had a good understanding of American culture, movies, and songs, which allowed him to integrate easier than some other immigrants (Melegrito 2023).

Another individual interviewed, Sunil Dasgupta, an Indian American, had a much different perspective and experience after moving from India to the United States in 1996 to pursue a graduate degree at the University of Illinois. He described his experience as different because he made an intentional decision to move to the United States and in doing so accepted that his identity would change and evolve over time (Dasgupta 2023).

A common approach to maintaining cultural identity and ensuring cultural preservation in the United States was to establish language schools and create opportunities for cultural gatherings. Shanthi Chandrasekar and her daughter Aishwariya, who immigrated to Rochester, New York, from India around 1995, emphasized the importance of social gatherings in the Tamil community of North Potomac, where they moved in 2000. The community mostly met at each other's houses for social gatherings, and at the Wesley Community Center[5] because it was a central location. They would rent out space there for special festivals and holidays. On Friday evenings, Sanskrit classes were held at Stone Mill Elementary School. The teachers were Indian Americans who wanted to bring their Indian culture to their children. Children also attended Tamil lessons on Sundays at a family friend's house. These lessons were home-grown efforts, spread by word-of-mouth by individuals who wanted to create that opportunity and that connection for their families. Aishwariya attended with her older brother, Aditya. Shanthi noted that for her, being away from her home country of India, and reflecting upon that gave her the space to realize what she feels is important to carry on about her culture now that she is in the United States. Her daughter, Aishwariya, having grown up in the United States, noted her desire to find ways of carrying forward her Indian culture and traditions in her own way. In particular she wanted to bring visibility of Asian and Asian American art and culture into places that are not specifically centered around an Asian community, such as local Montgomery County libraries (Chandrasekar 2023).

[5] In the interview Shanthi Chandrasekar referenced Wesley Community Center. Research was unable to identify the location of this community center, which may have changed names or was inaccurately named in the interview.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION

This context study lays the groundwork for uncovering a comprehensive history of Asian Americans in Montgomery County. As a first step, this context study addresses themes and trends that stand out as integral to the Asian American community in the county. There are likely ones specific to certain groups that have yet to be uncovered and explored, as the community is not a monolith. It is likely they can fit into themes and trends defined by this context study, but they may also fit into new categories.

Suggestions for further research are listed below; however, this list is not exhaustive.

- Religious festivals appear to play an important role in certain Asian American communities. For example, Montgomery County's Indian American community participates in Navratri and Diwali. Chinese Americans in Baltimore host large celebrations in the city for the Lunar New Year, but more information is needed about this, and other celebrations in Montgomery County.
- The role of the arts, such as art galleries and artistic clubs established by Asian Americans, appears to be important to certain Asian American communities and should be investigated further.
- During the oral history interviews, several individuals expressed the importance of food in maintaining and celebrating their cultural identity. Further research is needed to understand if this is characteristic of many Asian American communities in Montgomery County, and how it fosters fellowship within and among families, and potentially across ethnic groups.
- Many of the oral history interviews note intersections between the Jewish and Asian American communities. This may be merely because Montgomery County has large Jewish and Asian American populations; however, the role the Jewish community played in potentially supporting Asian American immigrants should be investigated.
- A few prominent figures in the county's Asian American community stood out during the research effort, including: Mr. and Mrs. Masaoka, for their political influence; Lee Gim Ling, owner of Shanghai restaurant; and Saurabh Ramanbhai Ponda, owner of Siddhartha restaurant. Additional thought and identification of prominent figures is recommended.
- Information about Muslim Asian Americans in Montgomery County is needed. Although the study identified a Muslim Community Center in Silver Spring that was dedicated in 1981, no information about members of Asian origin was obtained.
- A fuller picture of immigration history, including early twentieth-century Asian immigration into Montgomery County, and the impact on immigrant life and citizenship should be explored.
- Business directories and windshield surveys of commercial areas identified a wide variety of Asian American owned and/or operated businesses; however, additional information, particularly oral histories, is needed to understand the trends associated with businesses such as nail salons, automobile repair shops, and dry cleaners.
- Source information did not always clearly identify the types of jobs held by Asian Americans in Montgomery County. A fuller understanding of the types of employment

can provide a better understanding of any employment trends among Asian Americans in the county.

- A more in-depth analysis of Asian and Asian American residents of Montgomery County who served in federal government jobs, at embassies, and international organizations based in the DC metropolitan region is needed, including factors for choosing Montgomery County, ethnic distribution, and a look at whether this is distinctive of Montgomery County specifically compared to other parts of the region.
- This study identified the trend of Asian American businesses developing near each other. The reasons for this should be further explored.
- In general, ethnic groups from South Asia are not well represented thus far in this research study. More research and oral histories are needed to identify the presence of these groups in Montgomery County, and sites associated with each community. Examples of ethnic groups not represented or sparingly represented include, but are not limited to: Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Japanese, Kashmiri, Taiwanese, and Filipino.
- Sites associated with Asian American communities in Montgomery County are primarily situated in more urban parts of the county and along commercial corridors. Additional research is needed to identify sites in more rural areas, particularly in western and northern Montgomery County.
- Additional research is needed to identify additional commercial corridors with large concentrations of Asian American businesses. Potential areas that should be prioritized are Langley Park and Silver Spring.
- Oral histories and public involvement are a critical component of this type of research study. Additional public involvement in identifying persons to interview and sites to research is needed to obtain a fuller and more accurate representation of Montgomery County's diverse Asian American communities.
- Research identified a small number of social and advocacy groups, though there may be more in Montgomery County with strong associations with Asian American communities.
- Some language schools may have taught classes beyond language instruction, such as learning traditional instruments, or dancing, or other cultural activities. The connection between language schools and other classes taught should be explored further.
- Several Asian American community centers identified during the study offer senior-specific services. Additional understanding of this trend and possible relation to cultural values is needed.
- More insight into the difference between first- and second-generation experiences, and how it might differ within each ethnic group is needed to draw out trends.
- Several oral histories conducted for this study, and secondary sources such as *Filipinos in Washington*, by Rita M. Cacas and Juanita Tamayo Lott, mention instances of racial discrimination against Asian Americans in the Washington, DC region. A more detailed understanding of the types of discrimination (for example, in residential, commercial, or professional settings) and its effects on the lives of Asian Americans in Montgomery County is needed.
- Research conducted during this study uncovered that in 1980, 25 hate violence incidents were recorded in the county. Just two years later, the number had jumped to 150 (Muscatine 1982, A1). In 1981, Maryland became the first state to require the collection

of data on "hate violence," a new term used to describe violence with a racial or religious motive. Southeast Asians were the third likeliest group to face hate violence, after Black and Hispanic people (Uzelac 1991, 1A). An exploration of the larger effect of hate violence should be considered.

- A more detailed review of architectural types, styles, and features of purpose-built and repurposed Asian American religious buildings and spaces is needed. In particular, what are the commonalities and differences of these buildings, and how do the spaces reflect the many needs these congregations filled?

VI. POTENTIAL NRHP-ELIGIBLE SITES

Research thus far has revealed 18 sites that, upon further evaluation and investigation, may be eligible for NRHP listing. The sites comprise four churches, four Buddhist temples, two restaurants, one Hindu temple, one Sikh worship space, one farm, one community center, one grocery store, one residence, one cemetery, and one florist shop. They represent a range of Asian American ethnic groups, including Cambodian, Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Korean, Pan-Asian, South Asian, and Thai. This preliminary list does not exclude other sites identified as part of this study for potential consideration for the NRHP; further research may reveal additional information in support of the NRHP criteria for other identified sites.

Table 3: Potential NRHP-Eligible Sites

Property Name	Address	Property Type	Associated Ethnic Group	Build Date	Date Operating
Park Florist	6921 Laurel Avenue, Takoma Park	Business-Store	Non-specific		1935-present
Parklawn Memorial Park	12800 Veirs Mill Road, Rockville	Cemetery	Pan-Asian	1916	1951
Chinese Christian Church of Greater Washington DC	7716 Piney Branch Road, Silver Spring	Church	Chinese	1971	1958-present
Aspen Hill Korean Methodist Church	4410 Renn Street, Rockville	Church	Korean	1948	Ca. 1970
Global Mission Church	13421 Georgia Avenue, Silver Spring	Church	Korean	1980	1974-present
Maryland Central Korean Seventh-Day Adventist Church	20101 Woodfield Road, Gaithersburg	Church	Korean	1956	
CCACC/Evergreen Club	6300 Tilden Lane, Rockville	Community Center	Chinese		1998
Head Waters Farm (Ickes Farm)	11 Shallow Brook Court, Olney	Farm	Japanese	1938	1943?
Korean Korner International Grocery	12207 Veirs Mill Road, Silver Spring	Grocery Store	Korean		1966-present

Property Name	Address	Property Type	Associated Ethnic Group	Build Date	Date Operating
Masaoka House	5406 Uppingham Street, Chevy Chase	Residence	Japanese	1955	1956-present
Far East Restaurant	5055 Nicholson Lane, Rockville	Restaurant	Chinese	1973	
Donut King	3727 University Boulevard West, Kensington	Restaurant	Korean		1979-present
Cambodian Buddhist Society	13800 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring	Temple-Buddhist	Cambodian	1986	1986-present
Nichiren Shoshu Myosenji Buddhist Temple	310 University Boulevard West, Silver Spring	Temple-Buddhist	Japanese	1980	1980-present
American Zen College (Korea Temple)	16815 Germantown Road, Germantown	Temple-Buddhist	Korean	1981	
Wat Thai Washington, DC	13440 Layhill Road, Silver Spring	Temple-Buddhist	Thai	1986	1986-present
Shri Mangal Mandir	17110 New Hampshire Avenue, Ashton	Temple-Hindu	South Asian	1993	1981-present
Guru Nanak Foundation of America (Gurdwara Sahib)	12917 Old Columbia Pike, Silver Spring	Worship Space-Sikh	Indian	1963	1978-present

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF IDENTIFIED SITES ASSOCIATED WITH MONTGOMERY COUNTY'S ASIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

List of Identified Sites Associated with Montgomery County's Asian American Community

All sites are extant.

Prioritize for Future Research	Property type	Associated Ethnic Group	Property Name	Street Address	City	Zip Code	Date Constructed	Date Operating
	Business-Athletic	Korean	King Tiger Martial Arts	13401 New Hampshire Avenue	Silver Spring	20904		
	Business-Athletic	Chinese	Tai Yim Kung Fu	4961 Nicholson Court	Kensington	20895		
	Business-Athletic	Korean	World Taekwondo Academy	3460 Olney-Laytonsville Road, Suite 218 A	Olney	20832		
	Business-Auto	Chinese	A & J	1319 Rockville Pike	Rockville	20852		
	Business-Auto	Chinese	A Quality Auto Body Services	2325 Perkins Place	Silver Spring	20910		
	Business-Financial	Chinese	Abacus Accounting & Tax Services	966 Hungerford Drive, Suite 17A	Rockville	20850		1999
	Business-Newspaper	Chinese	Washington Chinese Newspaper	5848 Hubbard Drive	North Bethesda	20852		? - present
	Business-Salon	Unknown	Salon EFX	1610 Elton Road	Silver Spring	20903		
Priority	Business-Store	Non-specific	Park Florist	6921 Laurel Avenue	Takoma Park	20912		
	Business-Store	Chinese	Lulu Florist	4801 St. Elmo Avenue	Bethesda	20814		
	Business-Store	Chinese	Maxim Watch and Gift Shop	307 N. Washington Street	Rockville			
	Business-Store	Chinese	Ten Ren's Tea & Ginseng	825-G Rockville Pike	Rockville			
Priority	Cemetery	Pan-Asian	Parklawn Memorial Park	12800 Veirs Mill Road	Rockville	20853	1916	1951
	Church	Chinese	Cabin John American-Chinese UMC	7703 Macarthur Boulevard	Cabin John	20818		
	Church	Chinese	Capital Chinese Seventh-day Adventist Church	810 University Boulevard (West)	Silver Spring	20901		
	Church	Chinese	Chinese Bible Church of Maryland	4414 Muncaster Mill Road	Rockville	20853		
	Church	Chinese	Chinese Bible Church of Maryland, Gaithersburg Campus	18757 N. Frederick Road	Gaithersburg	20879		
	Church	Chinese	Chinese Christian Church	15915 Germantown Road	Germantown	20874		
	Church	Chinese	Chinese Christian Church of Germantown	15915 Germantown Road	Germantown	20874		2002
Priority	Church	Chinese	Chinese Christian Church of Greater Washington DC	7716 Piney Branch Road	Silver Spring	20910	1971	1958-present
	Church	Chinese	Chinese Christian Church of Maryland	311 Norwood Road	Silver Spring	20905		
	Church	Chinese	Gaitherburg Chinese Alliance Church	13101 Darnestown Road	Gaithersburg	20878		
	Church	Chinese	Montgomery Chinese Baptist Church	12221 Veirs Mill Road	Silver Spring	20906		
	Church	Chinese	Mustard Seed Chinese Baptist Church	8501 Postoak Road	Potomac	20854		
	Church	Chinese	Washington Adventist Academy	7600 Flower Avenue	Takoma Park	20912		
	Church	Indian	Asian Indian Christian Church	1200 Swingingdale Drive	Silver Spring	20905		
	Church	Indian/Multicultural	Memorial First India United Methodist Church	9226 Colesville Road	Silver Spring	20910		1998 (or earlier?)
	Church	Indonesian	Grace Indonesian Church	1501 Arcola Avenue	Silver Spring	20902		
	Church	Indonesian	Indonesian Christian Fellowship Church	1605 Veirs Mill Road	Rockville	20850		
	Church	Japanese	Washington Japanese Christian Church	1635 Martha Terrace	Rockville	20852		1986
Priority	Church	Korean	Aspen Hill Korean Methodist Church	4410 Renn Street	Rockville	20853		1970?
	Church	Korean	Eun Sam Evangelical Church of Washington	13707 New Hampshire Avenue	Silver Spring	20904		1993?
Priority	Church	Korean	Global Mission Church (originally the First Korean Baptist Church)	13421 Georgia Avenue	Silver Spring	20906	1928	
	Church	Korean	Grace Korean Church	12901 Georgia Avenue	Glenmont	20906		
	Church	Korean	Hahnuri Baptist Church	800 Randolph Road	Silver Spring	20904		
	Church	Korean	Ichthus Mission Church	4601 Muncaster Mill Road	Rockville	20853		
	Church	Korean	Indonesian American Presbyterian Church (at Wheaton Community Church)	3211 Paul Drive	Silver Spring	20902		
	Church	Korean	Korean Baptist Church of Washington	310 Randolph Road	Silver Spring	20904		
	Church	Korean	Korean Presbyterian Church of Rockville	800 Hurley Avenue	Rockville	20850		
Priority	Church	Korean	Maryland Central Korean Seventh Day Adventist Church	20101 Woodfield Road	Gaithersburg	20882		
	Church	Korean	National Korean United Methodist Church	2181 Baltimore Road	Rockville	20851		
	Church	Korean	New Hope Korean Church/Burning Bush United Methodist Church	1611 Briggs Chaney Road	Silver Spring	20905		
	Church	Korean	Se Me Hahn Presbyterian Church	6325 Griffith Road	Laytonsville	20882		1990
	Church	Korean	Silver Spring Korean Baptist Church/New Life Baptist Church	841 Norwood Road	Silver Spring	20905		
	Church	Korean	St. Andrew Kim Catholic Church	17615 Old Baltimore Road	Olney	20832		
	Church	Korean	United Korean Presbyterian Church	7009 Wilson Lane	Bethesda	20817		
	Church	Korean	Washington Baptist Church	5144 Massachusetts Avenue	Bethesda	20816		
	Church	Korean	Washington-Spencerville Korean Adventist Community Center	15930 Good Hope Road	Silver Spring	20905		
	Church	South Asian	Southern Asian Seventh-Day Adventist Church	2001 E. Randolph Road	Silver Spring	20904	2006	1988
	Church	South Asian	St. Cammilus Parish	1600 St. Camillus Drive	Silver Spring	20903		
	Church	Taiwanese	Evangelical Formosan Church of Washington, DC	900 Wind River Lane, Suites 103-105	Gaithersburg	20878		
	Church	Vietnamese	Our Lady of Vietnam Parish	11812 New Hampshire Avenue	Silver Spring	20904		
	Church	Korean	Chinese Bible Church of Montgomery County	11821 Becket Street	Potomac	20854		
Priority	Community Center	Chinese	CCACC/Evergreen Club	6300 Tilden Lane	Rockville			
	Community Center	Chinese	Chinese Culture and Community Center	16039 Comprint Circle	Gaithersburg	20877		

List of Identified Sites Associated with Montgomery County's Asian American Community

All sites are extant.

Prioritize for Future Research	Property type	Associated Ethnic Group	Property Name	Street Address	City	Zip Code	Date Constructed	Date Operating
	Community Center	Chinese	Chinese Culture and Community Service Center	9318 Gaither Road	Gaithersburg	20877		
	Community Center	Chinese	Our Lady of China	1001 Grandin Avenue	Rockville	20851		
	Community Center	Korean	Korean Community Service Center of Greater Washington, Gaithersburg Branch	847 J Quince Orchard Boulevard	Gaithersburg	20878		
	Community Center	Korean	Korean Community Service Center of Greater Washington, Silver Spring Branch	700 Buckingham Drive	Silver Spring	20901		
	Community Center	South Asian	Muslim Community Center	15200 New Hampshire Avenue	Silver Spring	20905		
	Community Center	Vietnamese	Maryland Vietnamese Mutual Association	10770 Columbia Pike	Silver Spring	20901		
Priority	Farm	Japanese	Head Waters Farm (Ickes Farm)	11 Shallow Brook Court	Olney	20832	1938	1943?
	Grocery Store	Chinese	Asian Foods Inc.	2229 University W Blvd	Wheaton	20902		ca. 1983-?
	Grocery Store	Chinese	Great Wall Supermarket	700 Hungerford Drive	Rockville	20850		
	Grocery Store	Chinese	Kam Sam Supermarket	300 N. Washington Street	Rockville	20850		? - 2015
	Grocery Store	Chinese	Meixin (Maxim) Supermarket	460 Hungerford Drive	Rockville			1985-2021
	Grocery Store	Chinese	Oriental Market	891 Rockville Pike	Rockville	20852		ca. 1983-?
	Grocery Store	Japanese	Fumie Oriental Mart	11301 Grandview Avenue	Wheaton			
	Grocery Store	Japanese	Maruichi Supermarket	1047 Rockville Pike	Rockville	20852		
	Grocery Store	Japanese	The Jade Tree	350 Fortune Terrace	Rockville	20854		
	Grocery Store	Korean	Arirang House	7918 Georgia Avenue	Silver Spring			ca. 1983? -ca. 2009
	Grocery Store	Korean	H-Mart	12015 Georgia Avenue	Wheaton	20902		
Priority	Grocery Store	Korean	Korean Korner International Grocery	12207 Veirs Mill Road	Silver Spring	20906		1966-present
	Grocery Store	Korean	Lotte Plaza Market (Rockville, new location)	1902 Veirs Mill Road	Rockville			2016-present
	Grocery Store	Pan-Asian	99 Ranch Market	110 Odendhal Avenue	Gaitherburg	20877		
	Grocery Store	Pan-Asian	Great Wall Supermarket	19712 N. Frederick Road	Germantown	20876		
	Grocery Store	Pan-Asian	H-Mart (formerly Han Ah Reum)	12015 Georgia Avenue	Wheaton			
	Grocery Store	Pan-Asian	Lotte Asian Gourmet (Rockville, old location)	11790 Parklawn Drive	Rockville			
	Grocery Store	Pan-Asian	Lotte Plaza Market (Germantown)	13069 Wisteria Drive	Germantown	20874		2007-present
	Grocery Store	Pan-Asian	Lotte Plaza Market (Silver Spring)	13625-A Georgia Avenue	Silver Spring	20906		1999-present
	Grocery Store	Pan-Asian	New Seoul	1555 Rockville Pike	Rockville	20852		
	Grocery Store	Pan-Asian	Oriental Food-Town	11236 Georgia AVenue	Wheaton	20902		
	Grocery Store	Thai	Hung Phat Grocery Store	11315 Fern Street	Wheaton	20902		
	Language School	Chinese	Kuang-Chi Chinese School at St. Mary's School, Rockville	600 Veirs Mill Road	Rockville	20850		
	Language School	Chinese	Potomac Chinese School (at Herbert Hoover Middle School)	8810 Postoak Road	Rockville	20854		1976-present
	Language School	Chinese (Taiwanese)	Li-Ming Chinese Academy	250 Richard Montgomery Drive	Rockville	20852		1995-present
	Language School	Korean	The United Korean School of Greater Washington (at Herbert Hoover Middle School?)	8810 Postoak Road	Rockville	20854		
	Residence	Chinese	Pao-Chi & Yu Ming Pien (Hu) House	7205 MacArthur Blvd	Bethesda	20816		
Priority	Residence	Japanese	Masaoka House	4506 Uppingham Street	Chevy Chase	20815		
	Residence	Korean	Rock Creek Terrace Apartments	12630 Veirs Mill Road	Rockville		1971	
	Residence	Korean	University Gardens (Senior Living Apartments)	440 University Boulevard East	Silver Spring	20902		
	Residence	Korean	University Gardens I & II	440 University East Blvd	Silver Spring (Montgomery Knolls)		1991 (I) & 2013 (II)	
Priority	Restaurant	Chinese	Far East Restaurant	5055 Nicholson Lane	Rockville			
	Restaurant	Chinese	Fortune Cookie	1749 Rockville Pike	Rockville	20852		
	Restaurant	Chinese	Full Key Restaurant	2227 University W Blvd	Wheaton	20902		
	Restaurant	Chinese	Lee's Tea Garden (in Silver Spring Shopping Center)	8571 Georgia Avenue	Silver Spring	20910		1938-1950
	Restaurant	Chinese	New Kam Fong Restaurant	2400 University W Blvd	Wheaton	20902		
	Restaurant	Chinese	Paul Kee Restaurant	11305 Georgia Avenue	Silver Spring	20902		
	Restaurant	Chinese	Shanghai Restaurant	1201 Fidler Lane	Silver Spring	20910		1950-2000
	Restaurant	Chinese	Sichuan Jin River	410 Hungerford Drive	Rockville			
	Restaurant	Chinese	Silver Fountain	13533 Connecticut Avenue	Silver Spring	20906		
	Restaurant	Chinese	Smiling Buddha	7026 Wisconsin Avenue	Bethesda	20815		ca. 1941-c. 1975
	Restaurant	Chinese	Smiling Buddha Restaurant	7026 Wisconsin Avenue	Bethesda	20815		
	Restaurant	Chinese	Szechuan Garden	7945 Tuckerman Lane	Potomac	20854		
	Restaurant	Chinese	Wong Gee Restaurant	2417 University W Blvd	Wheaton	20902		
	Restaurant	Filipino	Filipino Market and Café	759 Hungerford Drive	Rockville	20850		
	Restaurant	Filipino	KC Filipino Restaurant	15108 Frederick Road, Suite A	Rockville	20850		2019?
	Restaurant	Filipino	Kuya Ja	5268-H Nicholson Lane	Rockville	20895		2018
	Restaurant	Indian	Metro Dhaba	8941 N. Westland Drive	Gaithersburg			
	Restaurant	Indian	Siddhartha	8241 Georgia Avenue	Silver Spring	20910		late 1970s-late 1990s

List of Identified Sites Associated with Montgomery County's Asian American Community

All sites are extant.

Prioritize for Future Research	Property type	Associated Ethnic Group	Property Name	Street Address	City	Zip Code	Date Constructed	Date Operating
	Restaurant	Japanese	Ren's Ramen	11403 Amherst Avenue	Silver Spring	20902		
Priority	Restaurant	Korean	Donut King	3727 University Boulevard West	Kensington	20895		1979
	Restaurant	Korean	hwa gae jang tuh restaurant	2104 Veirs Mill Road	Rockville	20851		
	Restaurant	Korean	Lighthouse Tofu	12710 Twinbrook Parkway	Rockville			
	Restaurant	Pan-Asian	Diskor	8467 Piney Branch Avenue	Takoma Park	20912		ca. 1972-?
	Restaurant	South Indian	Bombay Bistro	98 W. Montgomery Avenue	Rockville	20850		
	restaurant	Thai	Nava Thai	11301 Fern Street	Wheaton	20902		
	Restaurant	Thai	Thai House	8369 Snouffer School Road	Gaithersburg	20879		
	Restaurant	Thai	Thai Palace (now Sala Thai Restaurant)	4828 Cordell Avenue	Bethesda	20814		
	Restaurant	Vietnamese	Bambu Cafe	12242 Rockville Pike	Rockville			
	Temple-Buddhist	Asian/Multiethnic/Taiwanese	US Zen Institute Buddhist Temple	19225 Liberty Mill Road	Germantown	20876	2001	1988-present
	Temple-Buddhist	Burmese	Burma-America Buddhist Association/Minglarama Temple	1708 Powder Mill Road	Silver Spring	20903		1980-present
Priority	Temple-Buddhist	Cambodian	Cambodian Buddhist Society	13800 New Hampshire Avenue	Silver Spring	20904		1986-present
	Temple-Buddhist	Chinese	Avatamsaka Vihara Buddhist Monastery/Dharma Realm Buddhist Association	9601 Seven Locks Road	Bethesda	20817		2003-present
	Temple-Buddhist	Chinese	Lei Zang Temple (True Buddha Temple Maryland)	3200 Norbeck Road	Silver Spring	20906		
Priority	Temple-Buddhist	Japanese	Nichiren Shoshu Myosenji Buddhist Temple	310 University Boulevard West	Silver Spring	20901		
Priority	Temple-Buddhist	Korean	American Zen College (Korea Temple)	16815 Germantown Road	Germantown	20874		
	Temple-Buddhist	Korean	Bub Ju Sa	19712 Golden Valley Lane	Brookeville	20833		
	Temple-Buddhist	Korean	Won Buddhism Meditation Center	4257 Muncaster Mill Road	Rockville	20853		
	Temple-Buddhist	Thai	Wat Thai Washington, DC (Buddhist Temple)--first location	706 Wayne Avenue	Silver Spring	20910		1974-1980
	Temple-Buddhist	Thai	Wat Thai Washington, DC (Buddhist Temple)--second location	9033 Georgia Avenue	Silver Spring	20910		1980-1986
Priority	Temple-Buddhist	Thai	Wat Thai Washington, DC (Buddhist Temple)--third location	13440 Layhill Road	Silver Spring	20906	1986	1986-present
	Temple-Buddhist	Vietnamese	Kunzang Palyul Choling Tibetan Buddhist Temple	18400 River Road	Poolesville	20837		
	Temple-Hindu	South Asian	Asa Mai Hindu Temple	230 Awkard Lane	Silver Spring	20905		
Priority	Temple-Hindu	South Asian	Shri Mangal Mandir	17110 New Hampshire Avenue	Ashton	20861		
	Temple-Jain	Indian	Jain Society of Metropolitan Washington	1021 Briggs Chaney Road	Silver Spring	20905		1980
	Worship Space-Bahai'i	Non-specific	Bahai'i Community of Takoma Park	7208 13th Place	Takoma Park	20912		
	Worship Space-Buddhist	Korean	International Buddhist Center/Maryland Buddhist Viharaya	2600 Elmont Street	Silver Spring	20902		
	Worship Space-Buddhist	Non-specific	US Zen Institute Amat Meditation Center	15511 Barnesville Road	Boyds	20841	2022	2022-
	Worship Space-Buddhist	Tibetan	Sakya Phuntsok Ling Center for Tibetan Buddhist Study and Meditation	608 Ray Drive	Silver Spring	20910	1993?	
	Worship Space-Buddhist	Vietnamese	Chùa Từ Ân	2419 Briggs Chaney Road	Silver Spring	20905		
	Worship Space-Buddhist	Vietnamese	Hoa Hao Buddhism Congregational Church	585 University Boulevard East	Silver Spring	20901		
	Worship Space-Buddhist	Vietnamese	Vien An Buddhist Association	3007 Lindell Street	Silver Spring	20902	2021	2002?-present
	Worship Space-Hindu	Indian	Chinmaya Mission Washington Regional Center (CMWRC)	46 Norwood Road	Silver Spring	20905		
	Worship Space-Hindu	Indian	ISKCON of DC	10310 Oaklyn Drive	Potomac	20854		2012?-present
	Worship Space-Hindu	Indian	Vedanta Center of Greater Washington, DC	3001 Bel Pre Road	Silver Spring	20906	2013	1997
	Worship Space-Indian	South Asian	Self-Revelation Church of Absolute Monism/ Golden Lotus Temple	4748 Western Avenue	Bethesda	20816		
	Worship Space--Sikh	Indian	Gurdwara Washington Sikh Center	7500 Warfield Road	Gaithersburg	20882		
	Worship Space--Sikh	Indian	Guru Gobind Singh Foundation	13814 Travilah Road	Rockville	20850		
Priority	Worship Space--Sikh	Indian	Guru Nanak Foundation of America (Gurdwara Sahib)	12917 Old Columbia Pike	Silver Spring	20904		1978-present

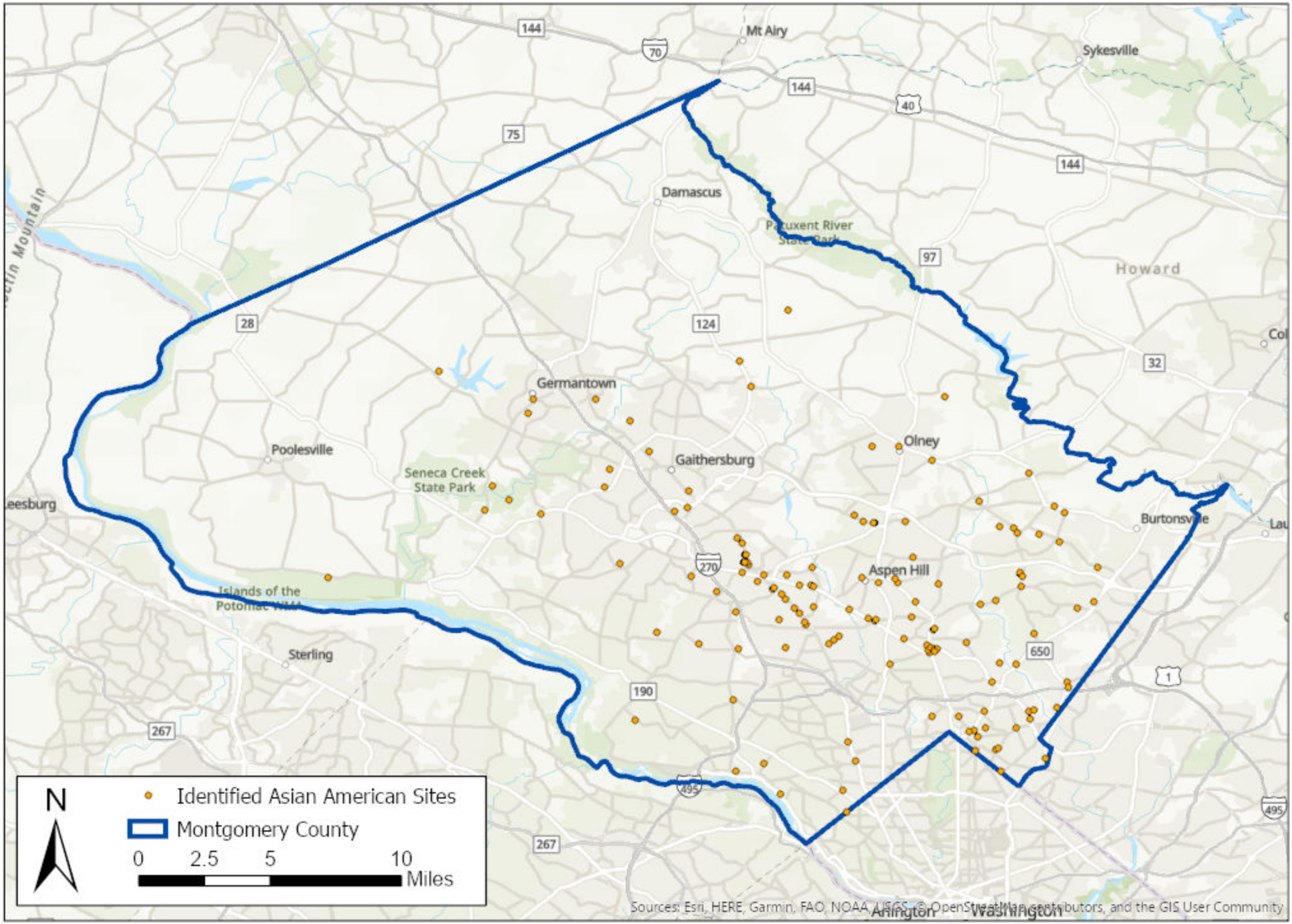
APPENDIX B: TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF IDENTIFIED SITES ASSOCIATED WITH MONTGOMERY COUNTY'S ASIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Table Showing Distribution of Identified Sites Associated with Montgomery County's Asian American Community

Property Type	Total Number of Properties	Burmese	Cambodian	Chinese	Filipino	Indian	Indonesian	Japanese	Korean	Pan-Asian	South Asian	Taiwanese	Thai	Tibetan	Vietnamese	Unspecified Ethnic Group or Unknown
Business	12	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Cemetery	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Church	40	0	0	12	0	2	2	1	19	0	2	1	0	0	1	0
Community Center	8	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Farm	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grocery Store	21	0	0	5	0	0	0	3	4	8	0	0	1	0	0	0
Language School	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Residence	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Restaurant	28	0	0	13	3	3	0	1	3	1	0	0	3	0	1	0
Temple: Buddhist	13	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	3	0	1	0
Temple: Hindu	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Temple: Jain	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worship Space: Bahai'i	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Worship Space: Buddhist	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	1
Worship Space: Hindu	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worship Space: Indian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Worship Space: Sikh	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Number of Properties	**150**	**1**	**1**	**47**	**3**	**12**	**2**	**8**	**38**	**10**	**6**	**3**	**7**	**1**	**7**	**4**

APPENDIX C: MAP OF IDENTIFIED SITES ASSOCIATED WITH MONTGOMERY COUNTY'S ASIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Identified Sites Associated with Montgomery County's Asian American Community



APPENDIX D: ORAL HISTORY ABSTRACTS

Asian American Pacific Islander Heritage Project Abstracts

Seema Alexander:
In this oral history, entrepreneur Seema Alexander discusses the history and significance of her family's Siddhartha restaurant, the first Indian vegetarian restaurant in Washington, D.C. The daughter of Indian immigrants, Alexander speaks of her parents' settling in Silver Spring, Maryland, by way of New Jersey in the early 1970s. Alexander picked up her entrepreneurial spirit from her father Saurabh Ponda, who opened and operated Bharat Dharshan grocery store, the travel agency A1 Travels, and Siddhartha restaurant in the mid-1970s. Alexander charts the moves and expansions of the restaurant, speaks to Siddhartha's cuisine, and to the important role that the restaurant played as a place of gathering for the Indian community and beyond, attracting the likes of D.C. politicians and boxing great Muhammad Ali, among many others. Alexander also shares about growing up in Silver Spring, from her days attending local public schools to her experiences of Indian culture, including language learning, dance, religion, and holidays. Taking her oral history full circle, she ends by speaking of her own career, which took her from business strategy and marketing roles in New York City to founding and leading her own company, Disruptive CEO.

Michelle Amano:
In this oral history, Montgomery County resident Michelle Amano discusses the legacy of her family, including maternal grandfather Mike Masaoka, a lobbyist, leader of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), and a veteran of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a highly decorated World War II regiment comprised of Americans of Japanese descent. A fourth-generation or *yonsei* Japanese American, Amano speaks to her early family history, including the immigration of her great-grandparents and the experiences of family members sent to incarceration camps during World War II. Amano also discusses her youth in Montgomery County, from recollections of the art-filled Chevy Chase home of her grandfather Masaoka and grandmother Etsu Mineta Masaoki to memories of her grandmother's brother, Congressman Norman Mineta, known to Amano as "Uncle Norm." Amano reflects on the work and achievements of her family members and, continuing the legacy of activism within her family, shares about her own work with the JACL and the Japanese American Youth Group (JAYS).

Shanthi and Aishwariya Chandrasekar:
In this oral history, mother and daughter Shanthi and Aishwariya Chandrasekar share about their family history and Indian cultural heritage; their paths to, and the influences on, their work as artists; and their drive to bring Asian art and culture out into Montgomery County and beyond. A celebrated multidisciplinary artist, Shanthi Chandrasekar was trained in the traditional Indian art forms of Thanjavur and Kolam. In her work, the traditional melds with the scientific, as Shanthi's background in physics, and her interests in cosmology and neuroscience, have influenced her art. Surrounded by art from the start, Aishwariya Chandrasekar began drawing at an early age. She speaks to her youth in Montgomery County, exploration of the Kolam art form, and her realization that Indian traditions could be part of her future. Similar to her mother's experience, Aishwariya's own studies and interests, in psychology and neuroscience, reflect through in her art, which combines the traditional with the novel. Together, Shanthi and Aishwariya reflect on the connections and juxtapositions of their artwork, their teaching and

sharing of Kolams, and the experience of finding artistic community and opportunity through Montgomery County organizations, such as the Gandhi Memorial Center and the Arts and Humanities Council of Montgomery County.

Alan Cheung:
In this oral history, Dr. Alan Cheung, the first Asian American to serve on the Montgomery County Board of Education, speaks to an extraordinary career spanning pharmacology, healthcare management, and education. Cheung charts his path from Hong Kong to the United States, where studies in California ultimately brought Cheung to new opportunities on the East Coast. Cheung came to the Washington, D.C., area in 1977 to take part in a Veterans Affairs (VA) leadership program aimed at training scholars in multi-institutional management, an experience that led to management posts with the VA. Cheung and his family later moved to Rockville, where he was surprised to find few Asian American teachers and staff, and no administrators, within the Montgomery County Public Schools system. Those who Cheung lobbied encouraged Cheung himself to run and be part of the change he wanted to see. After a successful campaign, Cheung was elected to the Montgomery County Board of Education in 1990, serving two terms through 1998. Cheung speaks to some of the initiatives he has been most proud of, including promoting individualized student learning and increasing science and technology teaching. Cheung also speaks to his pride in his Chinese heritage, and his efforts to support Chinese cultural and language learning through after-school programming, for which he has helped to attain federal grants.

Sunil Dasgupta:
In this oral history, Sunil Dasgupta, Director of the University of Maryland Baltimore County's Political Science Program at the Universities at Shady Grove (USG), discusses his life and work in Montgomery County, including his efforts to increase local civic and political engagement. After coming to the United States from India in the mid-1990s, Dasgupta received his doctorate in Political Science from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and then embarked on a career in academia. In his oral history, Dasgupta speaks to USG as a unique model of higher education and reveals how a student's seemingly simple query influenced the future direction of Dasgupta's work, which shifted to what Dasgupta calls "hyper-local politics,"—local political economics, the politics of development, and local political engagement. The creator and host of the "I Hate Politics" podcast, Dasgupta discusses his 2020 run for the Montgomery County Public Schools Board of Education and the birth of his podcast out of that attempt. Dasgupta further reflects on demographic and development changes in Montgomery County, and ends his oral history with a strong message focused on Montgomery County youth.

Karina Hou:
In this oral history, artist, musician, educator, and all-around connector Karina Hou speaks about her formative life, her experience teaching music in Montgomery County, and her active post-retirement work uniting individuals and communities around shared interests, passions, and causes. The daughter to ethnic Chinese parents born and raised in Indonesia, Hou describes the pressures that brought her parents to Hong Kong, shares about her youth in the city prior to the British handover to China, and describes her own immigration experience from Hong Kong to Canada and then to the United States. After completing her studies in music education at the University of Maryland, Hou taught music within a Montgomery County studio, and then opened

two studios of her own, first Fantasia Music Studio and then Kentlands Music Studio, both in Gaithersburg. After retiring from teaching, Hou embarked on an active life of volunteerism and social activism. Hou speaks about her role as chairman and co-founder of the Montgomery International Film Festival, President of both the Chinese American Chamber of Commerce of Greater Washington and the Organization of Chinese American Women Maryland Chapter, and her work with International Forum, among other nonprofit organizations.

Susan Lee:
In this oral history, Susan Lee, appointed Maryland's 72nd Secretary of State by Governor Wes Moore shortly after her interview, discusses her family history, her youth in Montgomery County, and her career in law and politics. Lee speaks about her mother's immigration from China and the life of service of her father, born in Texas to Chinese immigrants. Lee shares about a formative experience accompanying her father to the 1968 Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C., and the inspiration she found in seeing so many come together to demonstrate against poverty. Lee also speaks about her early education in Montgomery County Public Schools, including experiences of discrimination. Her ongoing pride in being Chinese American and her feelings on the necessity of change around discrimination and biases motivated her entry into the practice of law. Lee charts the breadth of her career, for her early experiences as a law clerk for the Asian Law Caucus in Northern California to her entry into the political arena. At the time of this interview, Lee had served in the Maryland legislature for over 20 years as a Senator and Senate Majority Whip and as a Delegate in the House of Delegates. Lee speaks to her work in the legislature and a life dedicated to service, touching upon her leadership roles in such groups as the Maryland Legislative Asian American and Pacific Islander Caucus, the Women's Caucus, and the Coalition of Asian Pacific American Democrats of Maryland.

Jon Melegrito
In this oral history, activist, journalist, and longtime Montgomery County resident Jon Melegrito discusses the history of his family, his youth in the Philippines, and the people and experiences that have influenced his life's work. Melegrito's father was one of some 260,000 Filipino soldiers recruited into the United States Armed Forces of the Far East during World War II. Serving under General Douglas MacArthur, he fought at the Battles of Corregidor and Bataan, and survived the Bataan Death March. Melegrito speaks to his own work as a journalist and how reporting on veterans' stories brought him a new awareness of the service of his father and other Filipino veterans, as well as what was taken from them via the Rescission Act of 1946. The realization sparked Melegrito's ongoing fight for veterans' rights, including his advocacy for the restoration of benefits for Filipinos who fought under the American flag. In his interview, Melegrito also discusses Filipino immigration to the Washington, D.C. area and local community building and gathering in Montgomery County. Among the messages Melegrito shares is the imperative to celebrate not only diversity but also shared interests in what America stands for, a message well represented in Melegrito's life and work.

Long Nguyen:
In this oral history, Long Nguyen, a longtime Silver Spring resident born in Vietnam, describes his service during the Vietnam War, his path to the United States, and the important work of local Vietnamese organizations offering community and support services in Montgomery County. As a young man, Nguyen enlisted in the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN),

also known as the South Vietnamese Army. Supported by the United States, the ARVN fought against the communist government of North Vietnam. Nguyen speaks of training at Lackland Air Force Base in Texas and then in Kentucky, where he took part in a Special Officer Leadership course. He shares recollections around the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam in 1973 and the fall of Saigon in 1975. Nguyen immigrated to the United States that same year, joining family in the Washington, D.C., area, and then settling in Silver Spring, in 1976. Nguyen explains that he and his wife Lan quickly found community in Silver Spring through organizations such as the Maryland Vietnamese Mutual Association and later Vietnamese American Services. Nguyen speaks to the role that these organizations play in providing connection, cultural continuity, and a bevy of services, including job search assistance, English language learning opportunities, translation, and elderly support.

David Moon:
In this oral history, Maryland State Delegate David Moon reflects on his youth in Montgomery County and the formative experiences that brought him to a career in politics. The son of Korean immigrants, Moon discusses his early life in Takoma Park and then Bethesda, where he attended public schools and grew up on a suburban cul-de-sac. Moon recalls tagging along with his realtor father on showings and open houses, speaks about his father's ongoing quest for the best in local schools, and the impact of those experiences on him. Moon discusses cultural heritage, including recollections around language learning, church, and Korean gatherings. As a high school student, Moon and his friends began an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) chapter at Walter Whitman High School, and then Moon continued to explore activism and take a leadership role in student government as student body president at Tufts University. After receiving his law degree from American University, Moon made what was originally a hesitant entry into politics but one that has become a passionate career, especially around issues of transit and criminal justice reform. In addition to documenting his career in politics, Moon's oral history also speaks to the active and changing face of Asian American participation in local and state politics.

Anthony Sarmiento:
In this oral history, Anthony "Tony" Sarmiento, the son of a veteran of the Philippine Scouts and the U.S. Army, shares about his family history, his youth in Washington, D.C., and his later life in Montgomery County. Sarmiento speaks to his father's 32-year military service, including his experience in the Battle of Bataan, the Bataan Death March, and joining the broader United States Army. The latter brought the family to posts in the United States and Europe before a final assignment in Fort Meade, Maryland. Tony, the first American-born child in the Sarmiento family, speaks to the push and pull he felt between Filipino and American culture, recollections on the Jim Crow era in Maryland, and his parents' active participation in local Filipino organizations. Sarmiento also discusses his work in community activism, engagement, and labor, beginning with the formative experience of working in D.C. Mayor Walter Washington's Youth Office. A longtime leader within the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations), Sarmiento speaks to his work and volunteerism in the areas of education and senior services, including post-retirement service activities in Silver Spring.

Lucy Yee:
In this oral history, longtime Montgomery County resident and teacher Lucy Yee reflects on her experiences growing up in the county and the significance of her family's Silver Spring

restaurants, Lee's Tea Garden and the Shanghai Restaurant. Notable as the first Chinese restaurant in Montgomery County, Lee's Tea Garden opened in 1938, offering primarily traditional American dishes, but introducing its patrons also to Chinese meals. The family's second restaurant, the Shanghai, opened in 1950 and was dedicated to Chinese cuisine. Yee shares her memories of working at the Shanghai, from recollections about the staff and patrons to the Cantonese food. The daughter of a first-generation Chinese immigrant father and second-generation Chinese American mother, Yee shares her family history, including the role her father played in labor activism within the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance in New York City. Yee also reflects on her youth in Montgomery County, from attending local schools and taking part in social activities to feeling the push and pull between family work obligations and teenage social life. Yee speaks to cultural heritage, her family's approach to cultural integration, and shares her observations about development and demographic changes in Montgomery County over the years.

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