

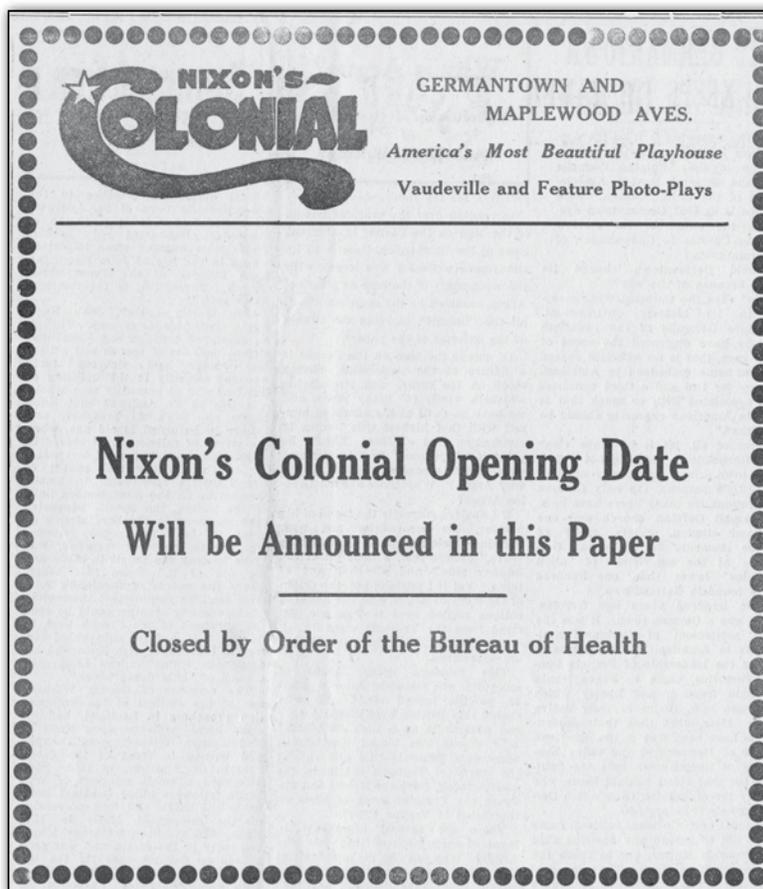
GERMANTOWN CRIER



HISTORIC
GERMANTOWN
Freedom's Backyard

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THE 1918 INFLUENZA PANDEMIC, AS DOCUMENTED BY THE GERMANTOWN
INDEPENDENT-GAZETTE

LEST WE FORGET MUSEUM OF SLAVERY

GERMANTOWN CRIER



Volume 70
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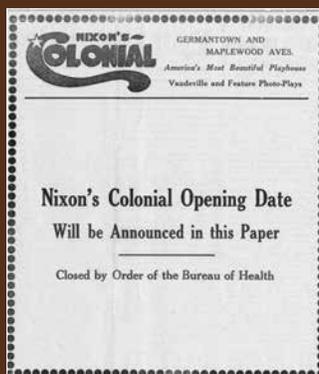
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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Historic Germantown tells the stories of American liberty and the everyday people who fought for it, reflecting a neighborhood of independence seekers and community builders. Historic Germantown is where one of Philadelphia's Revolutionary War battles was fought, where the first-ever American protest against slavery was written, and where one of the few remaining houses on the Underground Railroad still stands. Historic Germantown's mission is underpinned by the idea that the organization is ultimately only as strong as the community in which it resides, and that a vibrant organization can help contribute to the vitality of the old German Township.

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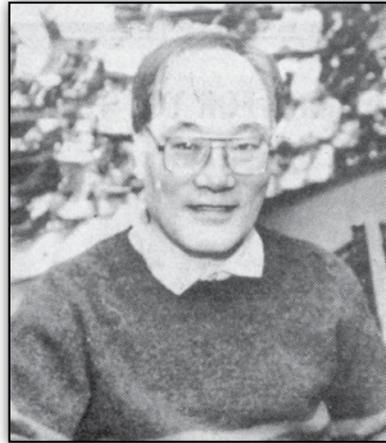
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Nixon's Colonial Theater was one of several theaters closing in Germantown in response to the arrival of the 1918 influenza pandemic, as announced in this advertisement placed in the October 17, 1918, *Germantown Independent-Gazette*. Germantown Historical Society.

Migration and Immigration Trends in Germantown from 1970-2018

By Alisa Ghura and Margarita Ortiz



This photograph originally published in the *Germantown Courier* in 1991 is that of Henry Chi, who in 1978 immigrated to the United States from South Korea and opened his shoe store, New Ace Shoes, at 111 West Chelton Avenue three years later. He became an integral part of the Germantown community by helping to support various community activities.

Germantown Historical Society.

Introduction

Like many neighborhoods across the United States, Germantown, Philadelphia, has residents who hail from near and far. Who are they and where do they come from? To answer this question, we sought to fill a gap in population data collected over the last 50 years in Germantown and examine immigration and migration to the area. We compiled our research into a full report (including methodology) which is available at the Germantown Historical Society and has been condensed into a shorter version in this article. This article includes Germantown's immigration and migration data from 1970 to 2018, historic accounts retrieved from the local newspaper, the *Germantown Courier*, and discussions of historic trends to contextualize our data. This article provides a picture of German-

town's immigration and migration, and shows how the population has changed in this regard.

Overview of Germantown

Germantown is a neighborhood located in Northwest Philadelphia. The indigenous inhabitants, Lenni Lenape, were victimized and displaced through their negotiations with William Penn and other European colonists.¹ By the end of the 17th century, the Lenape had been replaced by Europeans of several religious backgrounds. Founded in 1683, Germantown Township comprises present-day Germantown, Mount Airy, and Chestnut Hill. The township is noted for its abolitionist movements and religious tolerance which were present during the colonial period.² In 1854, Germantown Township was incorporated into the City of Philadelphia.

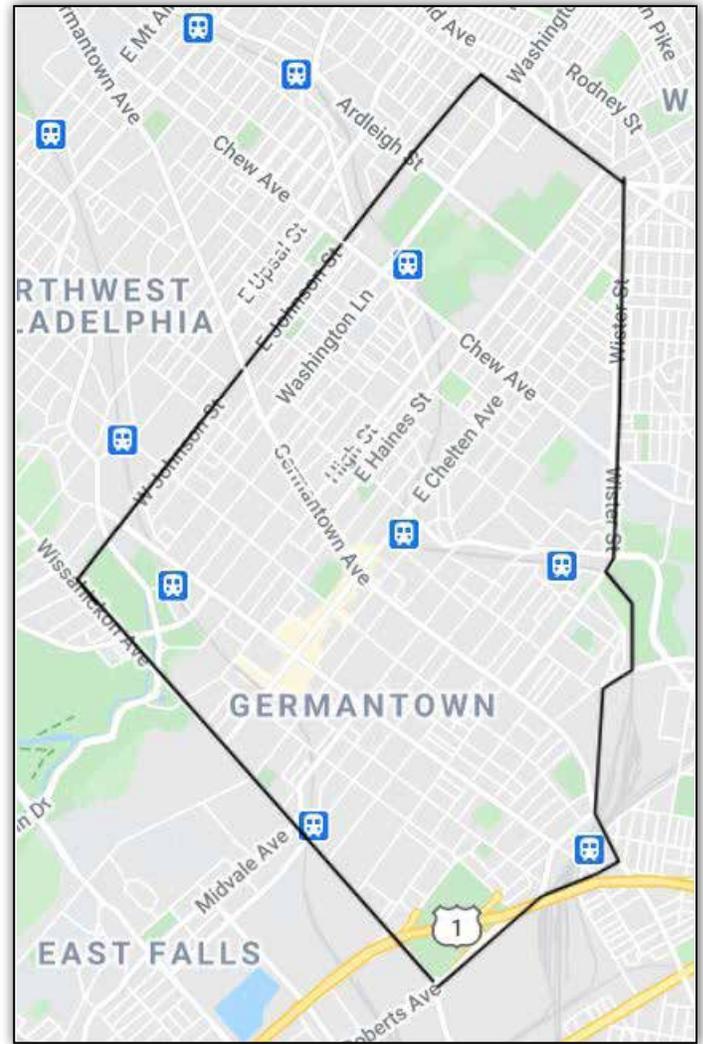
- 1 Jean R. Soderlund. "Negotiating Penn's Colony, 1681-1715," *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, p.168, <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.proxy.library.upenn.edu/lib/upenn-ebooks/reader.action?docID=3442436&ppg=177> (Accessed July 15, 2020).
- 2 David Young. "Historic Germantown: New Knowledge in a Very Old Neighborhood." Last modified 2009. <https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/historic-germantown-new-knowledge-in-a-very-old-neighborhood-2/> (Accessed July 13, 2020).

Although Germantown and its environs have a history of abolitionism, they were also home to several slave owners, such as the Chew family. While Africans were forcibly brought to the area during the slavery era, there were also two waves of African American migration from the South to the North, between circa 1910 and 1930, and from circa 1940 to 1970³. The 20th century migrations of African Americans and European groups (Czech, German, Hungarian, Italian, Irish, Polish, and Scottish) led to a racially diverse and integrated population⁴. However, Germantown was affected by “white flight,” in which the white middle-class moved to the outskirts of the city and nearby suburbs. Thus, the majority of Germantown residents are currently Black.⁵

We define the boundaries of Germantown by its cultural and historic borders- those of the old Township, and community consensus. Today, the majority of the community defines Germantown by these borders. While generally accepted, these borders are contested in some areas, particularly along the northern border. The borders used in this report are Johnson Street to the North, Wissahickon Avenue to the West, Stenton Avenue to the East, and Wayne Junction, the railroad tracks, and Wister Street to the South. The exact borders used in this report are displayed in the image to the right.

Defining Terms

Immigration refers to the movement of people from outside of the United States and its territories to the United States. Migration refers to the movement of people within the United States and its territories. Internal migrants refer to those who are born in the United States and its territories who move within the United States’ borders. When referring to both migration and immigration, we abbreviate to (im)migration.



The boundaries of Germantown, as used in the analysis of immigration data, with the western boundary of Wissahickon Avenue running diagonally, at lower left. Google Maps.

When describing census data, we use “census tracts” and “block groups” (BG), which are different geographic units. We shorten “census tract” to “tract” in some cases.

Methodology and Discussion of Accuracy of Data

Data from the Census and American Community Survey (ACS) from 1970-2018 provide insight into

3 Abigail Perkiss. “Northwest Philadelphia.” Last modified 2013. <https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/northwest-philadelphia-essay/> (Accessed July 15, 2020).

4 Katie Day. *Faith on the Avenue*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp.188-189, hereafter “Day.”

5 Day, p.13.

(im)migration and support demographic data that gives a better sense of the population.

The “My Maps” application of *Google Maps* was used to create maps of the Germantown area. *Social Explorer* and *Policy Maps*, two data accessing and mapping online tools, were used to collect the data. The focus was on gathering decennial data for 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 from the Census and supplementing it when possible with data in between the years of 2005-2018 from the ACS.

Data is evaluated primarily at the census tract level and is supplemented with block group data when available and accurate. In 2000, the census tract maps were redrawn and therefore the geographic areas we collected data for differ slightly depending on the year the data was collected for. Though we were unable to exactly match the borders we defined with the data found, we were able to get a fairly accurate representation of Germantown’s geographic area and the data for it.

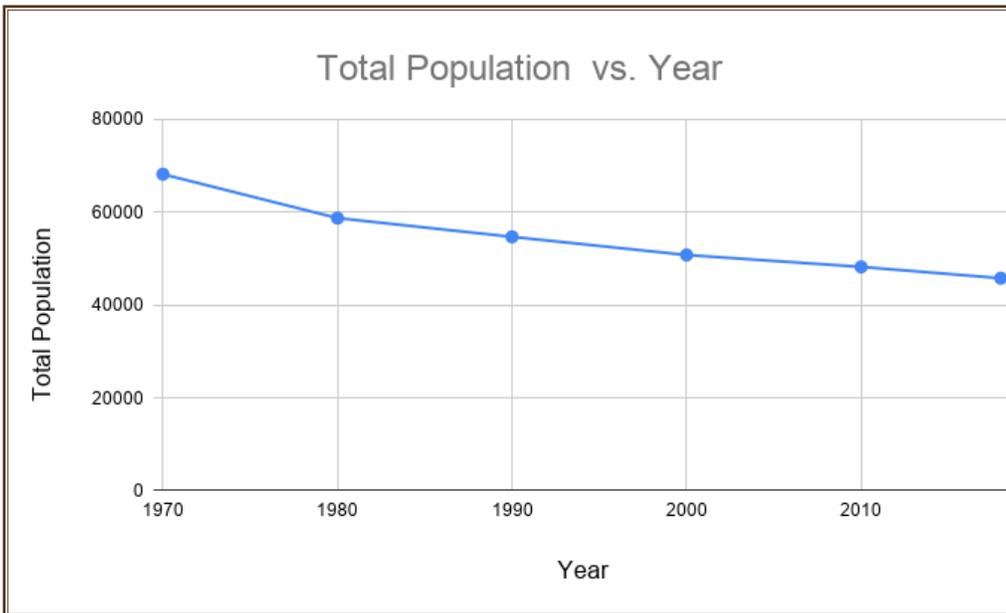
To add a narrative to our data, we conducted a brief study of a local newspaper, the *Germantown Courier*,

with copies available at the Germantown Historical Society. We sampled the *Courier* by reviewing the first edition of every month for 1976, 1981, and 1991. The majority of the news covered local economic, social and political issues such as mayoral elections, housing, and crime. The *Courier* also included uplifting stories about residents’ accomplishments or community organizations striving to improve the neighborhood. The final section details our findings from the *Courier*.

Total Population

Germantown’s population has been declining since 1970, as can be seen in Chart 1. However, the rate of decline has been decreasing with each decade. In Table 1, the total population is listed for each decade.

For comparison, in 2018, Philadelphia’s population was measured to be just over 1.58 million people. This means Germantown comprises around 2.9% of Philadelphia’s population.



Year	Total Population
1970	68213
1980	58754
1990	54716
2000	50803
2010	48239
2018	45802

Table 1: Total Population vs. Year.

Chart 1: Total Population vs. Year.

Deindustrialization

The population decline present in Germantown is indicative of larger historical trends that faced cities and their neighborhoods: deindustrialization. By the mid-1970s, many cities in America particularly in the East and Midwest Rust Belt were facing serious challenges of high crime rates, high unemployment, and population decline. The crisis had roots in the decline of the manufacturing industry and “white flight,” discussed in a later section. Also associated with deindustrialization were damages of the 1960s rioting, financial collapse, and increasing housing vacancies. Deindustrialization continued into the 1980s and was worsened by the crack cocaine epidemic in the late 1980s. Violence was rampant in many American cities throughout the 1990s.⁶

A consideration of deindustrialization helps to explain the decline of Germantown’s population from 1970-2000. In some cities, like New York City and Boston, the crisis abated, but in others, like Detroit and St. Louis, it has had a lingering effect.⁷ Philadelphia is also a city that has struggled with the impact of deindustrialization. Starting in the 1970s, Philadelphia underwent nearly 30 years of continuous population loss. In the last decade or so, Philadelphia has seen moderate to slow resurgence in its population.⁸ However, not all parts of Philadelphia have experienced this new resurgence in population. It appears that Germantown is one such place that has struggled to bounce back from the impact of deindustrialization, explaining why the population has continued to decline even now.

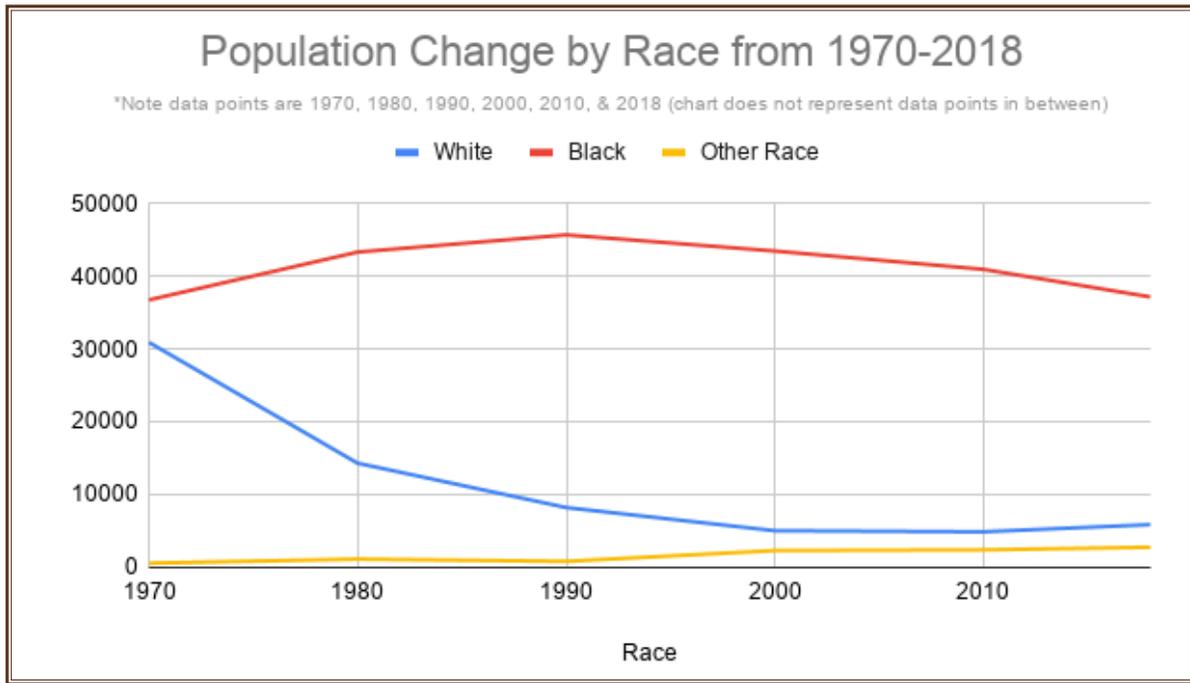


Chart 2: Population Change by Race from 1970-2018.

Race	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2018
White	30898	14320	8228	5050	4902	5886
Black	36719	43282	45639	43427	40914	37131
Other Race	596	1152	849	2326	2423	2785

Table 2: Population Change by Race from 1970-2018.

6 Robert J. Sampson. “Immigration and America’s Urban Revival,” *The American Prospect Magazine*, July 7, 2015, p.9, <https://prospect.org/labor/immigration-america-s-urban-revival/> (Accessed July 20, 2020), hereafter “Sampson.”

7 Sampson.

8 Michaëlle Bond and John Duchneskie. “Slow, but Steady,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 18, 2019. <https://www.inquirer.com/news/a/philadelphia-population-growth-census-south-jersey-20190418.html> (Accessed July 10, 2020).

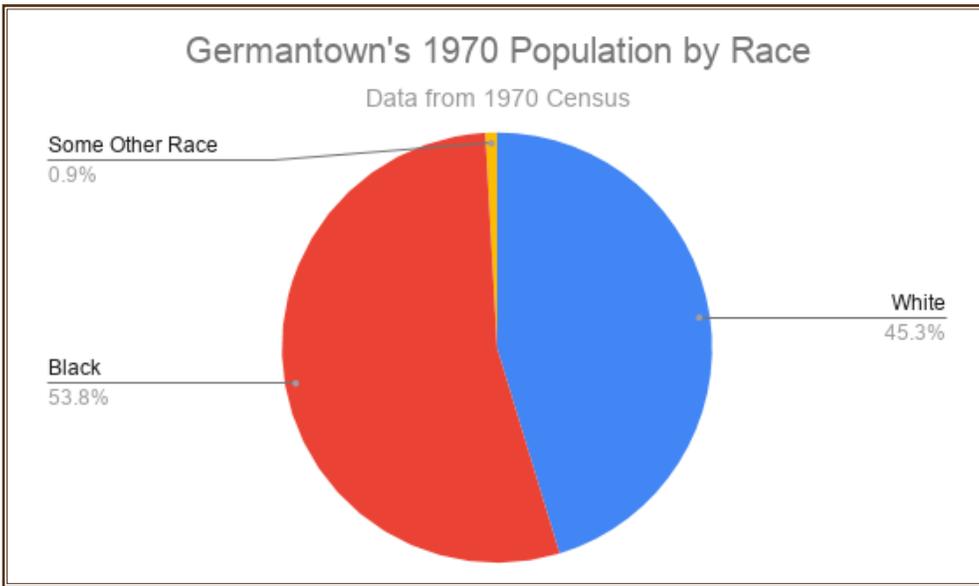


Chart 3: Germantown's 1970 Population by Race.

Total Population	68213
Black	36719
White	30898
Some Other Race	596

Table 3: Germantown's 1970 Population by Race.

Migration and Race

RACE

The data we compiled regarding race reaffirms that Germantown is home to many people of color. Blacks have been the majority in the neighborhood from 1970-2018. The Black community went from 53.8% of Germantown's population in 1970 to 81% of Germantown's population in 2018. Interestingly, Germantown's Black population was 36,719 people in 1970 and increased slightly to 37,131 people in 2018. On the other hand, the white population in 1970 was 30,898 people or 45.3% of the population, and in 2018, it had decreased to 5,886 people or 12.9% of the population. Chart 2, below, reflects the correlation between overall population and racial groups. This shows that the overall population decrease was in large part because of the decrease in Germantown's white population.

The white population decreased from 1970-2010, but then increased slightly from 2010 to 2018. Based on the data points in the line graph, the Black population appears to peak at 1990 and then decrease slightly with each data point onwards. The "non-Black and non-white" population (or "Some Other

Race" as designated by the 1970 Census) has increased overall, although there was a slight decrease in 1990.

It is important to note the choice in race terminology for the line graph illustrated in Chart 2. Race terminology and racial categories have changed over time, which makes race data difficult to compare from decade to decade. For example, options associated with race on the 2010 and 2000 censuses were: Black, white, Asian, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, some other race, and two or more races. Before 2000, there were many fewer options to select for the race category. For example, in 1970, the only race options were: white, Black, or some other race. As a result, we had to use the categories Black, white, and other races to match the 1970 categories. Below, we will include samples from different years.

The lack of choices associated with race in the 1970 census most likely caused multiracial people to select a category that did not fully represent their racial background. Chart 3 illustrates the race categories for 1970, with an almost 55:45 split between the Black and white populations in 1970.

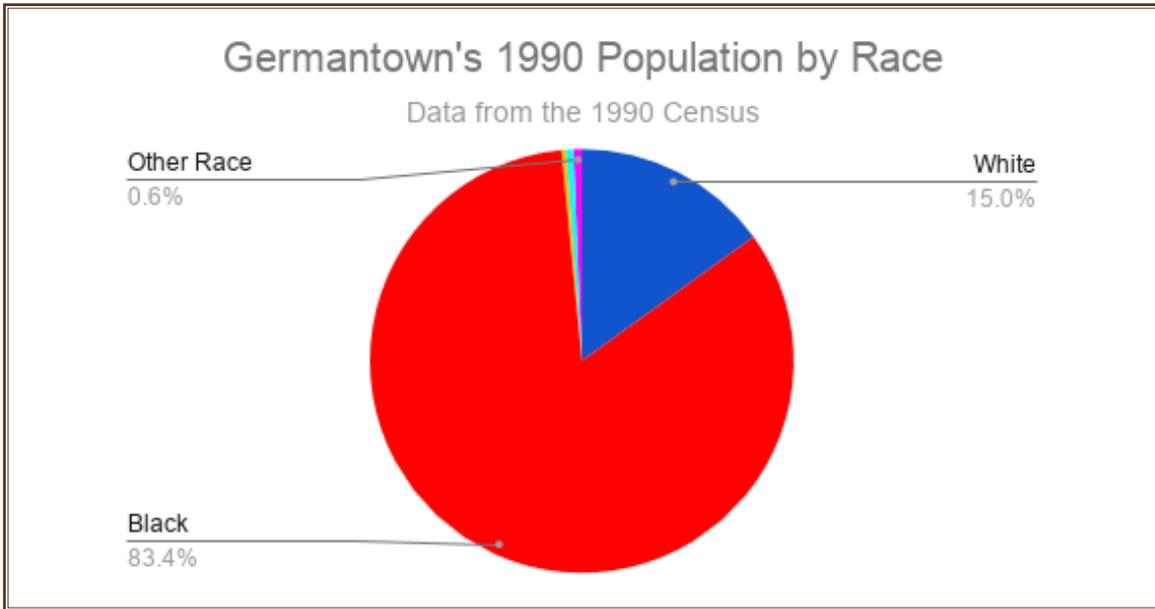


Chart 4: Germantown's 1990 Population by Race.

<u>Race</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% per population</u>
White	8228	15.04%
Black	45639	83.41%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	194	0.35%
Asian or Pacific Islander	308	0.56%
Other Race	347	0.63%

Table 4: Germantown's 1990 Population by Race.

This ratio changed drastically in the next decades. As seen in Chart 2, Germantown's Black population peaked in 1990. At this time, the Black population constituted 83.4% of Germantown's population as demonstrated in Chart 4.

In 1990, Germantown's white population made up 15% of the population. American Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts, Asians and Pacific Islanders, and those of other races (as defined by the Census) made up less than 2% of the population. The number of people from these races increased to around to 5% of

the population in 2018, excluding those who identify as two or more races.

In 2018, 81.1% of Germantown's population was Black, while 12.9% was white, illustrated in Chart 5 and Table 5.

Asians, American Indians and Alaskan Natives, Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, those of two or more races, and those of another race made up less than 10% of Germantown's population in 2018.

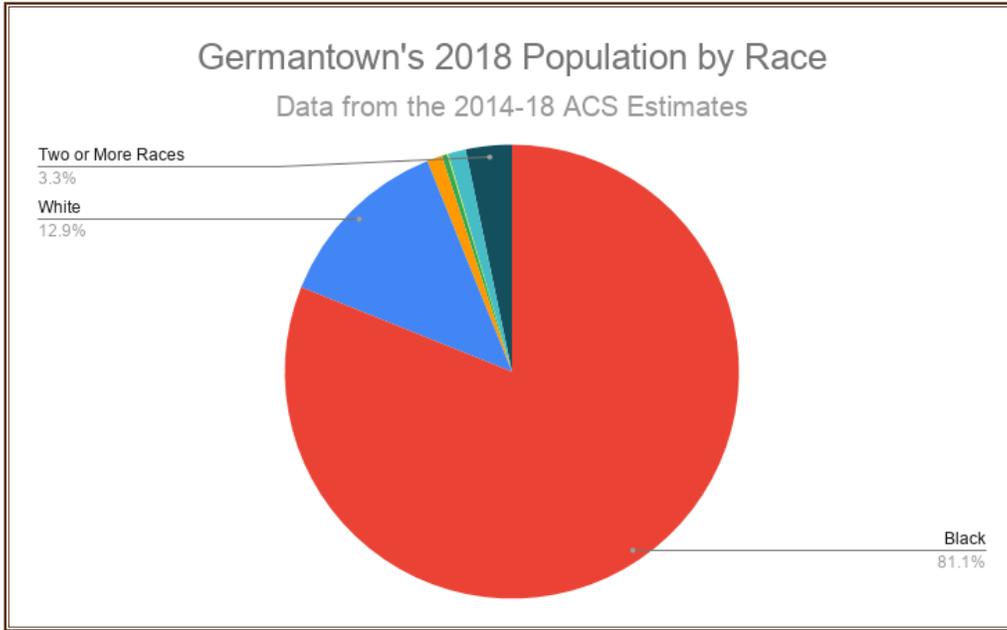


Chart 5: Germantown's 2018 Population by Race.

2018 Germantown Population by Race		
Race	Population	% of population
Black	37131	81.07%
White	5886	12.85%
Asian	497	1.09%
American Indian or Alaskan Native	179	0.39%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Island	27	0.06%
Some Other Race	582	1.27%
Two or More Races	1500	3.27%

Table 5: Germantown's 2018 Population by Race.

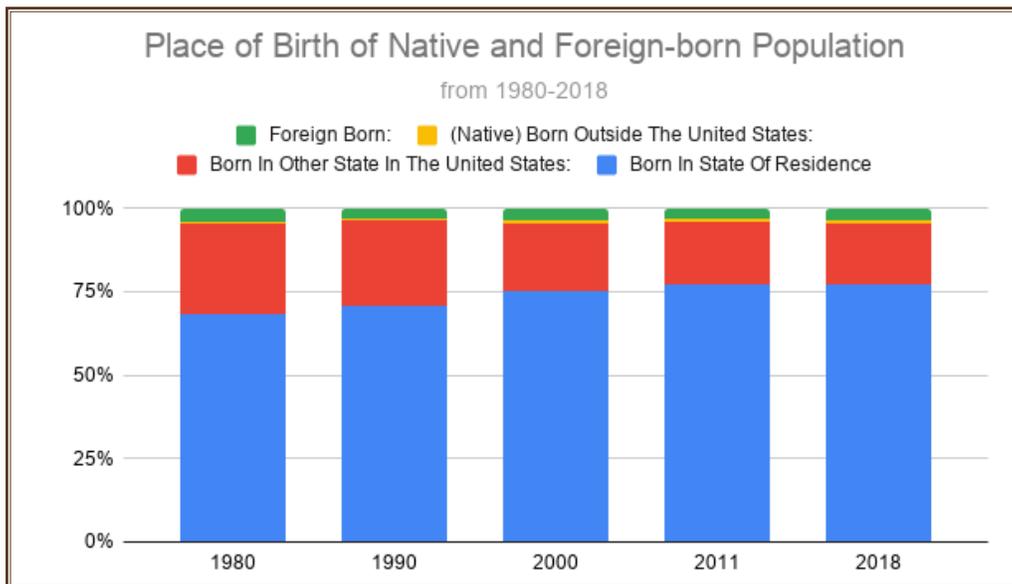


Chart 6: Place of Birth of Native and Foreign-born Population.

1980		1990		2000		2011		2018	
Number	% of pop.	Estimates	% of pop.						
58754		54716		52829		50409		47541	
56386	95.97%	53063	96.98%	50941	96.40%	48844	96.90%	45862	96.50%
40254	68.51%	38837	70.98%	39636	75.00%	38856	77.10%	36661	77.10%
15853	26.98%	13802	25.22%	10910	20.70%	9532	18.90%	8794	18.50%
279	0.47%	424	0.77%	395	0.80%	456	1%	407	0.90%
2368	4.03%	1653	3.02%	1888	3.60%	1565	3.10%	1679	3.50%

Table 6: Place of Birth of Native and Foreign-born Population.

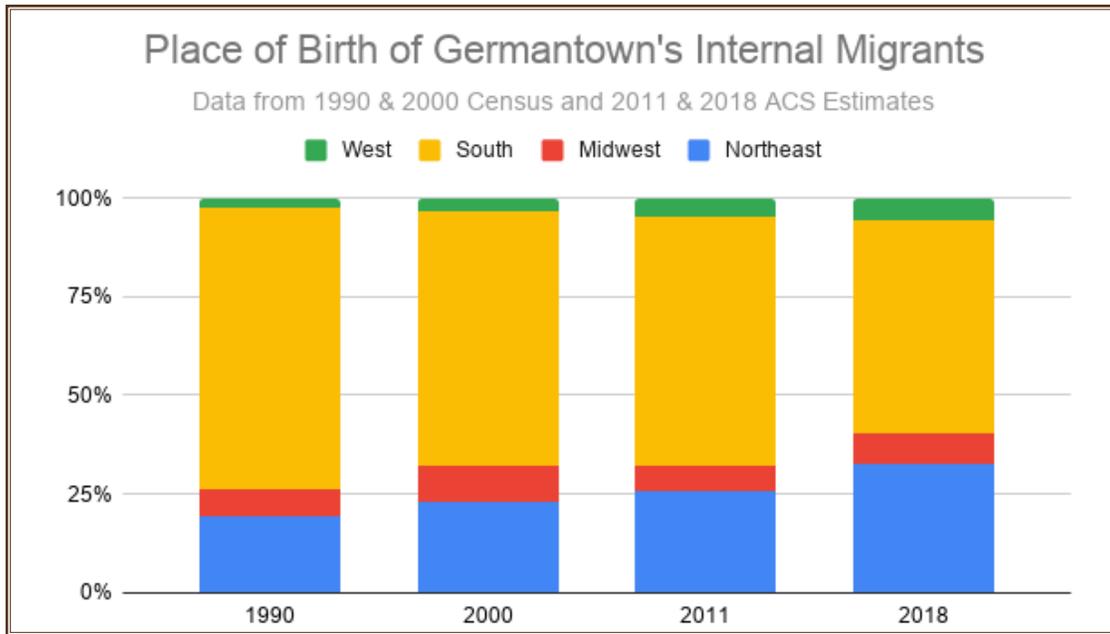


Chart 7: Place of Birth of Germantown's Internal Migrants.

	1990	2000	2011	2018
Northeast	2691	2534	2445	2869
Midwest	948	977	613	684
South	9792	7021	6026	4724
West	371	378	448	517

Table 7: Place of Birth of Germantown's Internal Migrants.

Migration

The majority of Germantown's population from 1970 to 2018 consists of people born in Pennsylvania. In 1970, 63.7% of Germantown's population was born in Pennsylvania. In 2018, 77.1% of Germantown's population was born in-state (Table 6). This suggests that in the last 50 years, Germantown specifically—not Philadelphia—has been neither a

major destination for internal U.S. migration nor for immigration to the U.S. Nonetheless, Germantown was more of a destination for internal migrants than its current population.

In the late 20th century, internal migrants represented around one in every four residents. The number of internal migrants decreased to everyone

in five residents in 2000 and has stayed around that level, decreasing slightly in 2018.

Chart 7 shows where people born out-of-state, residing in Germantown, were born. The exact numbers are listed in Table 7.

As shown in Chart 7, the majority of internal migrants were born in the South. However, this majority has been decreasing as people born in the South decreased from 71.0% of Germantown’s internal migrant population in 1990 to 53.7% in 2018. In

recent years, the number of internal migrants from other parts of the Northeast has increased.

1970’s data cannot be compared to the other data points in Chart 7 because a significant number of people did not report what region they were born in. The majority of Germantown’s internal migrants were born in the South, as shown in Chart 9, below. This higher proportion of migrants from the South makes sense in broader United States history, reflecting the second wave of the Great Migration of African Americans from the South to other parts of the country.

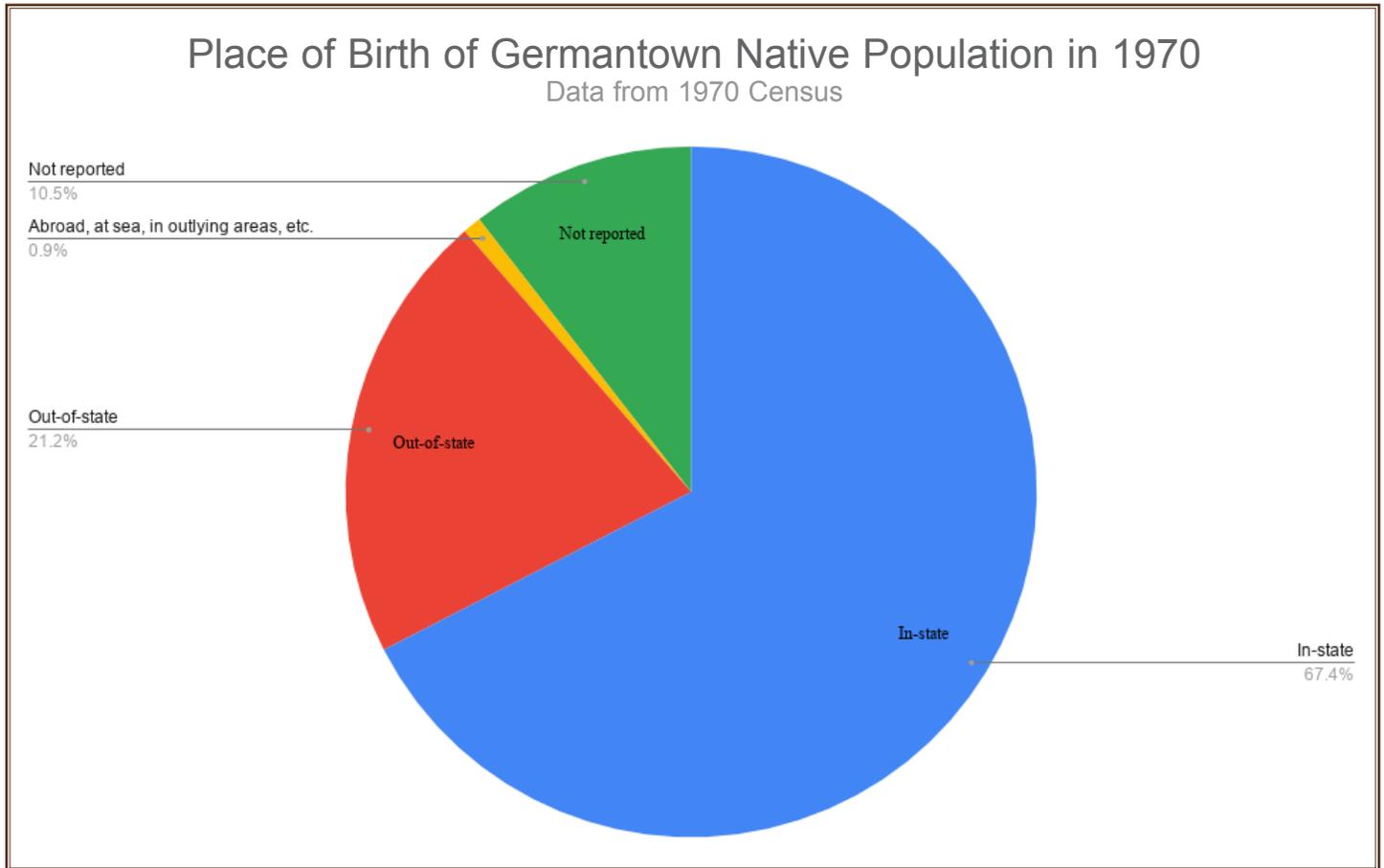


Chart 8: Place of Birth of Germantown Native Population in 1970.

Native Population:	64397
Born in State of residence	43431
Born outside State of residence:	13637
Born abroad, at sea, in outlying areas, etc.	558
State of birth not reported	6771

Table 8: Place of Birth of Germantown Native Population in 1970.

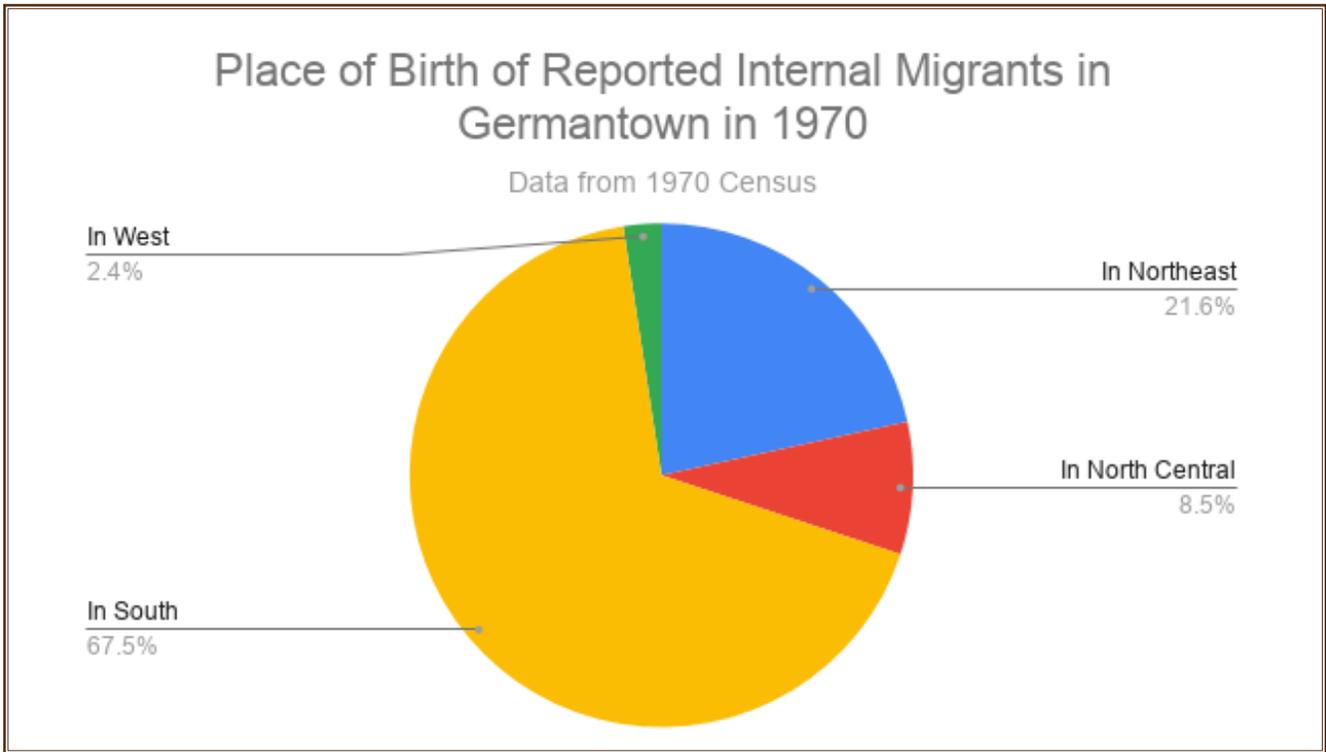


Chart 9: Place of Birth of Reported Internal Migrants in Germantown in 1970.

Native Population:	64397
Born in State of residence	43431
Born outside State of residence:	13637
In Northeast	2944
In North Central	1158
In South	9204
In West	331
Born abroad, at sea, in outlying areas, etc.	558
State of birth not reported	6771

Table 9: Place of Birth of Reported Internal Migrants in Germantown in 1970.

As seen in Chart 8, a significant portion —10.5%— of people did not report whether they were born in-state of residence, out-of-state of residence, or abroad, at sea, or in a United States territory. As a result, the breakdown of the origin of where internal migrants came from in 1970 is not completely accurate. However, an observer can still get a sense of the internal migrant population in Germantown by looking at the internal migrants who did report where they were born, which can be seen in Chart 9.

With 67.5% of internal migrants reporting being born in the South, it is clear that people originally from the South made up a significant portion of internal migrants to Germantown in 1970. The exact breakdown of numbers is in Table 9.

Great Migration and “White Flight”

Germantown’s large Black community and high proportion of internal migrants from the South are

representative of larger migration trends in the United States. The Great Migration and “white flight” were both historical phenomena across the Northeast in the 20th century and greatly shaped the racial make-up of cities. The impact of the Great Migration and “white flight” contextualizes Germantown’s large Black population and small white population. This also explains why many migrants in Northern cities are originally from the South.

Starting around World War I, a steady flow of African Americans began to move from the South to the North, as well as to the West; this movement is referred to as the First Great Migration. This was the first time the United States had seen such a large internal migration of Blacks. There were a variety of reasons African Americans left the South such as poverty, segregation, discrimination, racism, as well as a lack of educational, employment, and other opportunities.⁹ The Great Migration had a second resurgence around World War II called the Second Great Migration.

From 1910 to 1970, roughly five million African Americans moved from the South to the North. This caused a massive shift in the geographic areas where the American Black population lived. In the words of the Schomburg Center, “the dramatic exodus of African Americans from the countryside to city and from South to North during World War I and the decade that followed changed forever Black America’s economic, political, social, and cultural lives.”¹⁰ Not only did this mass migration cause more Blacks to live in the North, it also caused many more to live in cities. Generally, many Blacks left rural areas of the South and moved to cities in the North.¹¹

This mass migration of Blacks to northern cities was accompanied by another migration: whites moved out of the cities and into the suburbs. The passage of the GI Bill, highway expansion, and affordable mortgages from the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration allowed whites to move out of the inner city in great numbers but still continue to work in the city. The

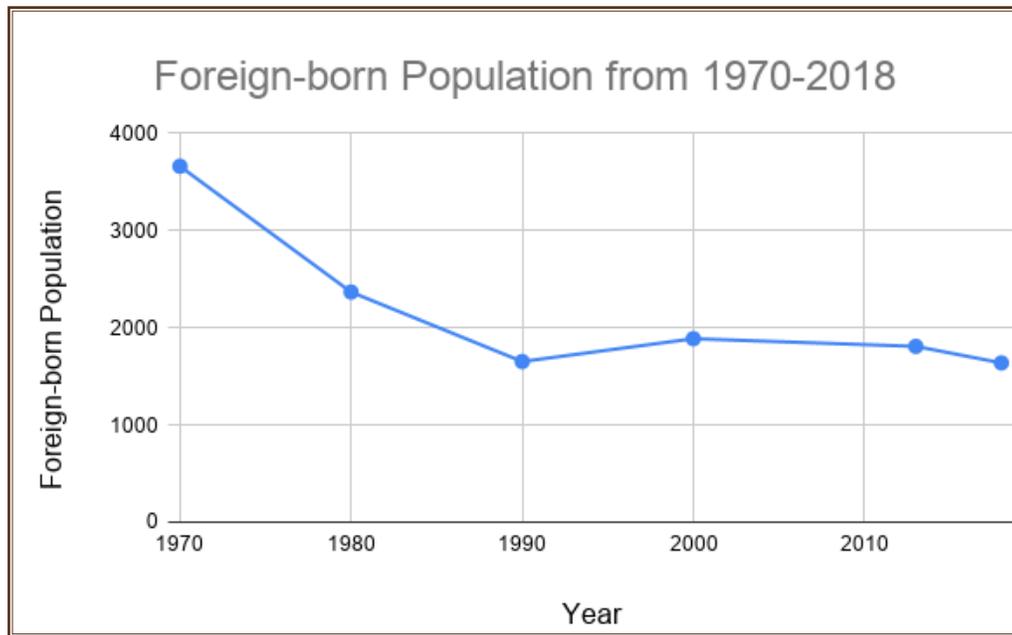


Chart 10: Foreign-born Population from 1970-2018.

9 Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. “The Second Great Migration,” <https://docs.google.com/document/d/18mj-QDocjezzceM4caE1ad189O4CWQbPUbtOfQ2N3gs/edit#> (Accessed August 12, 2020), hereafter “Schomburg.”

10 Schomburg.

11 Ibid.

Year	Foreign Born Population	% of population	Total
1970	3663	5.37	68213
1980	2368	4.03	58754
1990	1653	3.02	54716
2000	1888	3.72	50803
2018	1639	3.58	45802

Table10: Foreign-born Population from 1970-2018.

end result was a massive flight of white people from the cities, often referred to as “white flight.”¹²

As a neighborhood in Philadelphia, Germantown was impacted by the Great Migration and “white flight.” These historic migrations are represented in Germantown’s racial makeup, particularly in the decline in the white population from 1970 to 1990. In addition, the Great Migration helps explain why the majority of internal migrants to Germantown came from the South.

Immigration and Ethnicity

IMMIGRATION

Germantown is not only home to those native to the United States. As illustrated in Chart 6, “Place of Birth of Native and Foreign-born Population,” Germantown has a small population of immigrants. Chart 10 shows Germantown’s foreign-born population over the last 50 years.

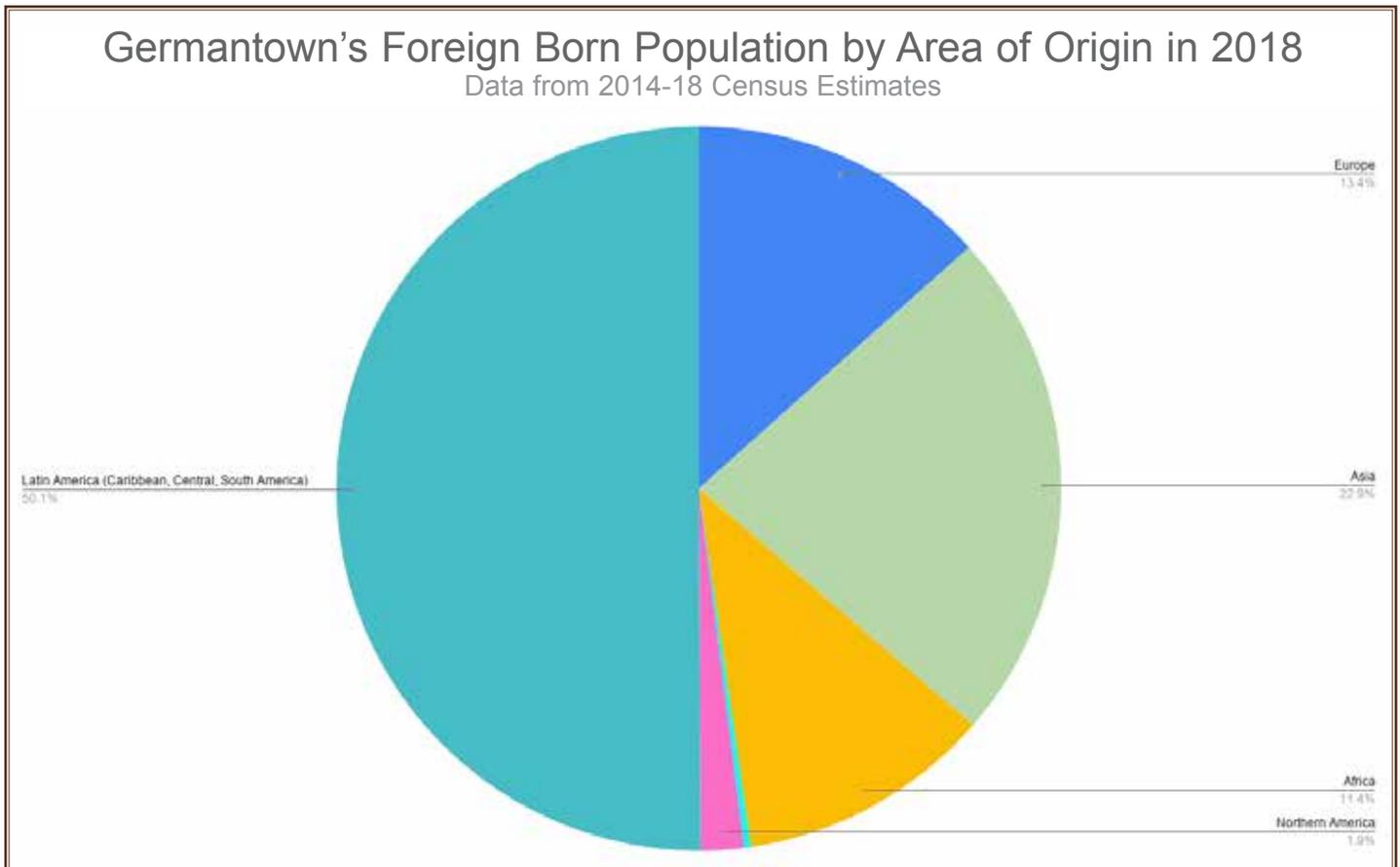


Chart 11: Germantown's Foreign-born Population by Area of Origin in 2018.

12 Stewart E. Tolnay. “The African American “great migration” and beyond,” Annual Review of Sociology 29, no. 1 (2003): p.222.

The foreign-born population decreased from 1970 to 1990, but then increased going into 2000. Since then, the foreign-born population has leveled off, having decreased slightly in 2013 and 2018. Data for 2018 represented the smallest the foreign-born population has been since 1970. As illustrated in Table 10, the foreign-born population has comprised a relatively small portion of the overall population, consistently representing less than 6% of Germantown’s population.

In 2018, the foreign-born population made up less than 4% of Germantown’s total population. It is important to note that this only includes people who were born outside the United States and not their children born inside the United States. Chart 11 illustrates the continental and regional origins of the foreign-born population in Germantown in 2018.

As shown in Chart 11, immigrants from Latin America made up the slim majority of the for-

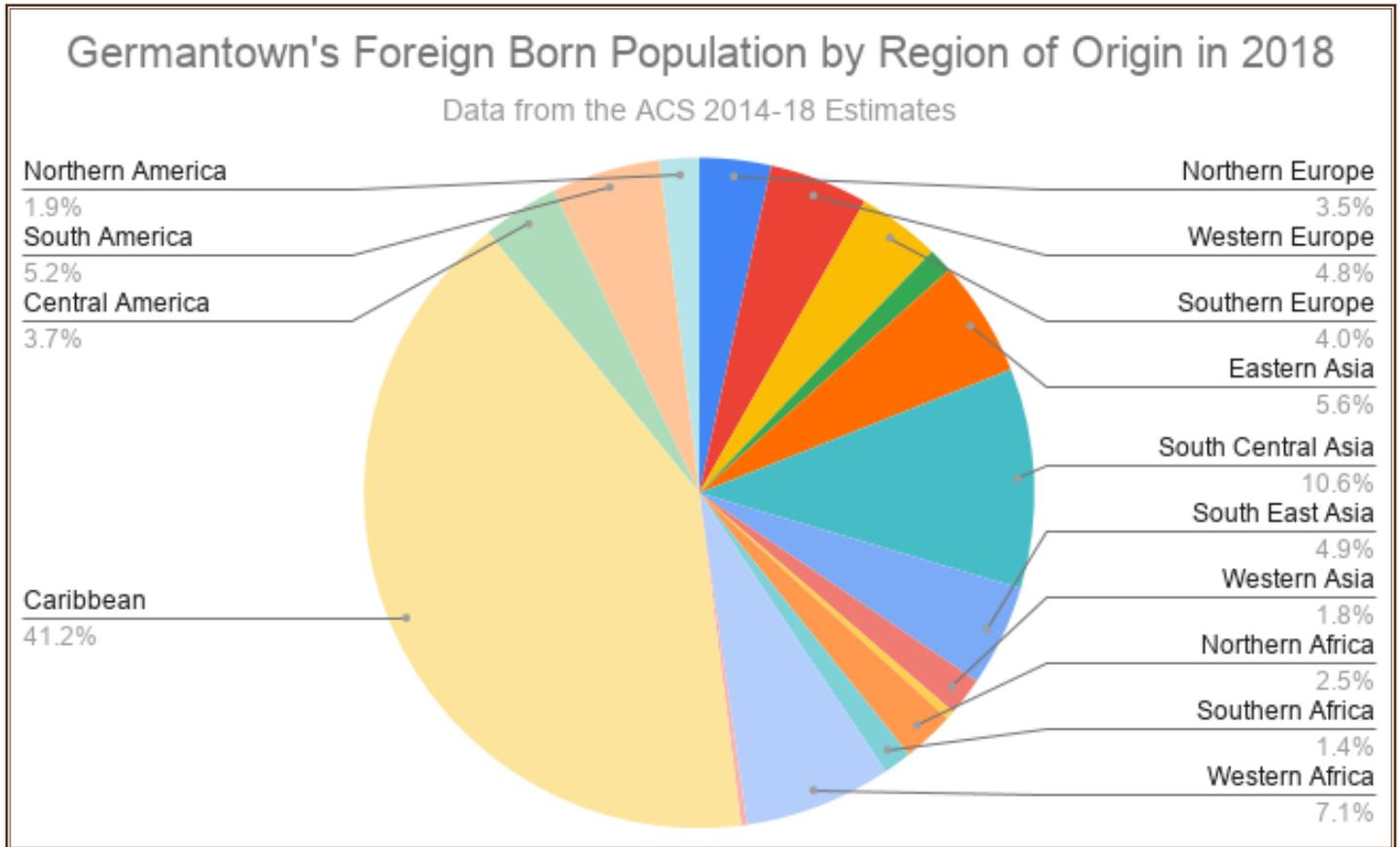


Chart 12: Germantown's Foreign-born Population by Region of Origin in 2018.

eign-born population, comprising 50.1% of the foreign-born population in 2018. This falls in line with the number of people in Germantown who identified as Hispanic, when considering immigrants’ potential children. The next largest area of origin was Asia.

Further breaking down the place of origin of the foreign-born population, it can be seen in Chart 12

that the plurality of Germantown’s foreign-born population 41.2% came from the Caribbean. The next largest group was from South Central Asia, representing 10.6% of the foreign-born population.

Many of the immigrants residing in Germantown in 2018 came from parts of Latin America and Asia. For 1970, the breakdown of Germantown’s foreign-born population looked quite different. Chart 13

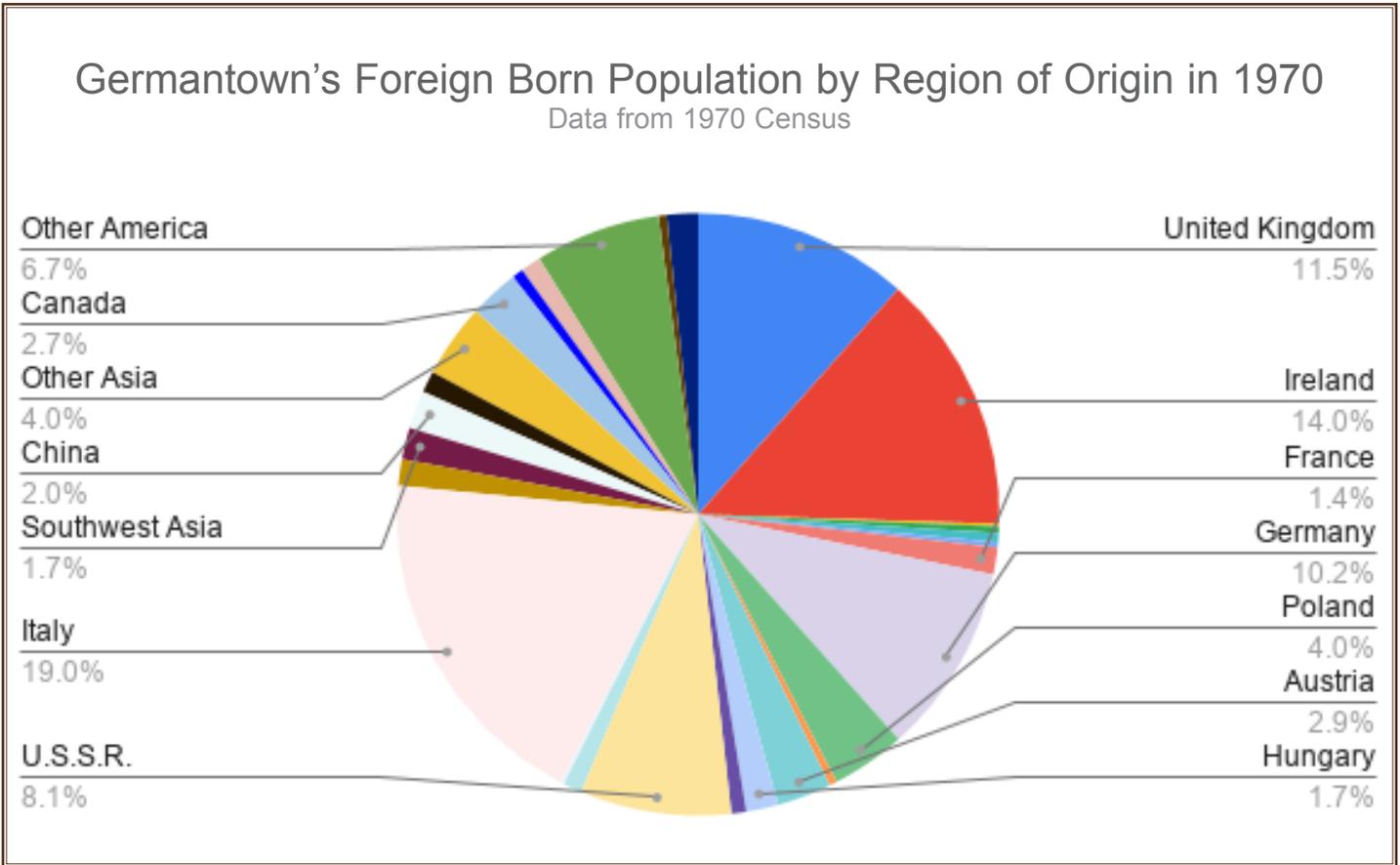


Chart 13 Germantown's Foreign-born Population by Region of Origin in 1970.

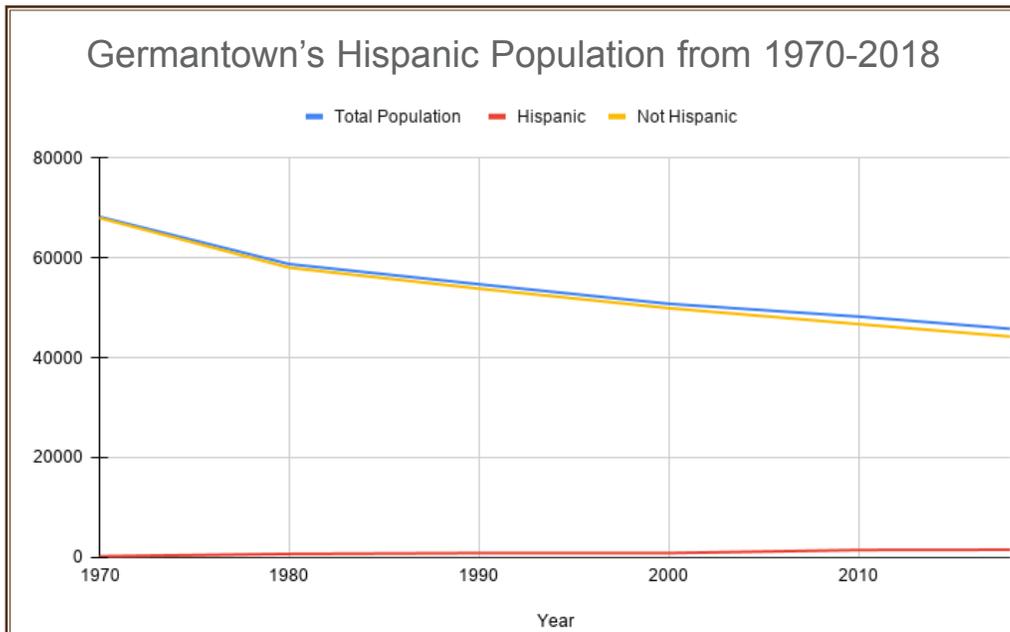


Chart 14: Germantown's Hispanic Population from 1970-2018.

Year	Total Population	Hispanic	% of population	Not Hispanic	% of population
1970	68,213	235	0.34%	67,978	99.66%
1980	58,754	721	1.23%	58,033	98.77%
1990	54,716	884	1.62%	53,832	98.38%
2000	50,803	878	1.73%	49,925	98.27%
2010	48,239	1,502	3.11%	46,737	96.89%
2018	45,802	1556	3.40%	44,246	96.60%

Table 11: Germantown's Hispanic Population from 1970-2018.

indicates the major countries and areas of origin of immigrants in 1970.

As shown in Chart 13, the majority of immigrants in Germantown in 1970 came from different parts of Europe, notably from Italy, Ireland, the United Kingdom, and Germany. This reflects the broader U.S. immigration policy in the 20th century. Starting in 1924 with the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act, the United States limited immigration to that primarily from Europe. This act was lifted in 1965 with

the passage of the Hart-Cellar Act which opened immigration up again to most of the world.¹³ Data associated with Germantown's 1970 foreign-born population appears to reflect the impact of the 1924 Immigration Act.

Ethnicity

While Germantown's Hispanic population has remained small at less than 4% of Germantown's

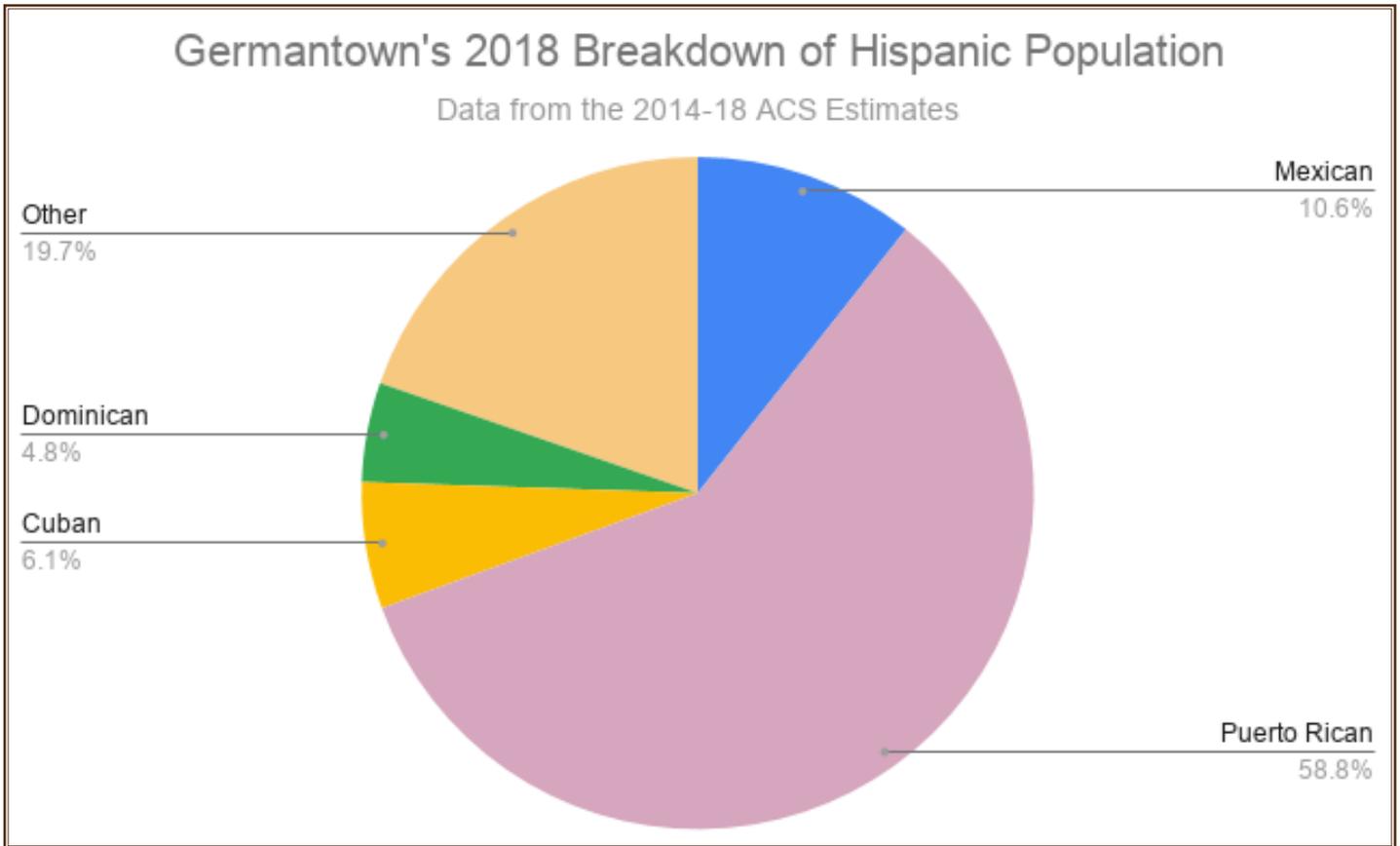


Chart 15 Germantown's 2018 Breakdown of Hispanic Population.

13 Xiaojian Zhao. "Immigration to the United States after 1945," *Oxford Research Encyclopedias* (July 2016): <https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-72> (Accessed August 20, 2020).

population, it has been slowly increasing since 1970. In 1970, only 235 people identified as Hispanic in Germantown, comprising less than 0.5% of the overall population (Chart 14, Table 11). However, it must be noted that the 1970 Census did not use the term “Hispanic” but rather, “Spanish Origin.” Ethnicity, like race, is another example of a category that has changing terminology.

In 2018, there were 1,556 people who identified as Hispanic residing in Germantown; they made up 3.4% of Germantown’s population. These Hispanic people included immigrants as well as the children and relatives of recent immigrants. The breakdown of the origins of Germantown’s 2018 Hispanic population is represented in Chart 15, below.

The majority of Germantown’s 2018 Hispanic population had origins in Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans are migrants, not immigrants, as they come from a United States territory and are granted United States citizenship at birth. Puerto Ricans comprised 58.8% of Germantown’s 2018 Hispanic population, followed by those from Mexico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic.

National Trends

In 2010, the Census Bureau reported that 12.9% of the total U.S. population was foreign born. This number increased steadily from 1970, demonstrating the liberalization of United States immigration policy. Currently, the three largest foreign-born groups are from Europe, Asia, and Latin America (including the Caribbean, but not United States territories). The European foreign-born population remained around 5 million, while Asia and Latin America and Caribbean increased to about 10 million and 20 million, respectively.¹⁴

The 1952 and 1965 Immigration and Nationality Acts paved the way for current United States im-

migration policies. In 1952, race was removed as a provision for exclusion. The Act increased the number of visas given to those of Asian nationalities, but the data demonstrated an increase in immigrants from the UK, Germany, and Ireland. The 1965 Act created a tiered preference system in lieu of the national origins quota. The system was designed to give preference to families and skilled immigrants. Over the course of the last 70 years, several acts have been passed to protect refugees (1953, 1961, 1975), with a focus on those from Cuba and Vietnam. In the late 20th and early 21st century, the United States laws began to focus more on Latin America. The 1986 and 1990 Acts allowed unauthorized workers to seek citizenship and created visas for seasonal and highly skilled workers. The consecutive acts restricted the flow of Latin American immigrants to the United States. The 1996 and 2002 Acts attempted to strengthen and secure the United States-Mexico border. The policing of immigrants was enforced by new government agencies such as the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Immigrant and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and Customs and Border Protection (CBP) (2002). Under President Obama, DACA and DAPA were created to protect children and parents of unauthorized immigrants by delaying deportation and providing work permits (2012, 2014). While immigration policies have become more liberal over time, there are certainly restrictive policies in place.¹⁵

Trends and Policies in Philadelphia

Similar to the United States’ population, Philadelphia’s foreign-born population has increased in the past few decades. While Philadelphia’s immigrant population decreased from 1920 to 1990, the subsequent increase led to the city having a slightly higher percentage of immigrants than the country.¹⁶ In 2016, Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants constituted the largest foreign-born groups

14 United States Census Bureau. “The Foreign Born Population in the United States,” December 2, 2011, https://www.census.gov/newsroom/pdf/cspan_fb_slides.pdf (Accessed August 15, 2020).

15 D’Vera Cohn. “How U.S. immigration laws and rules have changed through history,” last modified September 30, 2015, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/09/30/how-u-s-immigration-laws-and-rules-have-changed-through-history/> (Accessed August 20, 2020)

16 Lexey Swall. “Philadelphia’s Immigrants,” June 7, 2018, Figure 2, <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/reports/2018/06/07/philadelphias-immigrantsFigure> (Accessed August 15, 2020), hereafter “Swall.”

in Philadelphia. Indian immigrants were fourth. Immigrants from the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, and Jamaica were the third, fifth, sixth and seventh most numerous. Thus, the majority of the 2016 foreign-born population came from Asia or Latin America. Compared to 2000, the Latin American population increased significantly.¹⁷

Philadelphia has benefitted in multiple ways from its immigrant population. As a city that struggled as a result of deindustrialization, with population loss and housing vacancies, immigrants had a positive effect on regenerating population, lowering the number of abandoned properties, and decreasing crime.¹⁸ One of the recent developments in Philadelphia's immigrant policies is its self-appointed Sanctuary City status. Philadelphia has been designated a sanctuary city by its two most recent mayors, Michael Nutter and Jim Kenney. Sanctuary City is not a legal term: it means that the city will protect undocumented immigrants from being arrested or detained by federal agencies (e.g. ICE) because of their immigration status. However, this does not mean undocumented immigrants are unconditionally protected. The website of the City of Philadelphia Office of Immigrant Affairs states, "Philadelphia's Prison System only responds to ICE requests to hold a detainee if ICE has a judicial, criminal warrant. We have this policy because federal courts have said it is unconstitutional for us to do otherwise."¹⁹

While the urban immigrant population has increased over time, so has that of the suburban population.²⁰ Until 2000, the majority of immigrants moved to urban areas. After 2000, wealthier foreign-born groups moved to the suburbs, while poorer foreign-born groups lived in urban areas. By 2006, immigrants settled in neighborhoods based on their

economic status.²¹ Even though the suburbs experienced this influx of immigrants, white native-born residents still comprise the majority population in the suburbs. The city and suburbs of Philadelphia reflect this trend, as stated by a study of Census data from 1970 to 2006.²² In 2018, the number of immigrants living in Philadelphia's suburbs was twice the amount living within the city.²³ While our data does not account for the foreign-born population that emigrates from Germantown nor population's economic or educational status, we can look at the overall trend of foreign-born racial and ethnic groups.

While our article so far has focused on data and historical background, we wanted to include some local narratives. In examining the *Germantown Courier*, we hoped to find evidence of the foreign-born population. Rather than referring to Germantown's immigrants in terms of trends or numbers, the following section will provide individuals' stories.

Germantown Courier

There were few news articles that explicitly covered immigrants in the neighborhood. "It's Not Just Chatter for Dinh Van Vo," published in 1976, reported on English classes for Vietnamese immigrants. The 30 students of various ages wanted to improve their English to apply for college, improve their housing and employment opportunities, and decrease dependence on their Philadelphian sponsors.²⁴ Another 1976 article, "Refuge Help," promoted a gathering for Vietnamese refugees and sponsors at a local church.²⁵ The arrival of Russian immigrants was also the topic of a *Courier* article; "Families Sought to Help Russian Jews Adapt," which called for local Jewish families to assist Russian immi-

17 Swall.

18 Sampson.

19 Stephanie Waters. "City of Philadelphia Action Guide: Immigration policies," City of Philadelphia Office of Immigrant Affairs, January 8, 2018, <https://www.phila.gov/2018-01-08-immigration-policies/> (Accessed August 5, 2020).

20 Michael B. Katz, et al. "Immigration and the New Metropolitan Geography," *Journal of Urban Affairs* vol. 32 no. 5 (2010): p.537, hereafter "Katz."

21 Katz, p.531.

22 Katz, pp.541-542.

23 Swall.

24 M. Gregory O'Neill. "It's Not Just Chatter For Dinh Van Vo," *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, March 4, 1976.

25 "Refuge Help," *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, May 6, 1976.

Families Sought To Help Russian Jews Adapt

Because of the recent increase in the number of Soviet-Jewish immigrants arriving in the Philadelphia area, the Jewish Family Service "Adopt-a-Russian Family" program is seeking additional volunteers.

Charlotte Bernstein explained that, under the program, American-Jewish families help recently arrived Russian-Jewish families adjust to life in a new society by providing social contacts and assistance with problems of everyday living.

"We are urgently in need of new volunteer families for this very worthwhile endeavor," Bernstein said. "Experience has shown that the program has benefited not only the Russians, who are faced with a completely different life-style, but the Americans as well. A wonderful spirit of friendship and cooperation develops which enriches the lives of both groups."

Families are matched for mutual interests, backgrounds, number and ages of children and other similarities. The Americans assist the Soviets with shopping for food and furniture, with opening social security accounts, in locating convenient public transportation and with other daily concerns.

Volunteers for the project are needed from all over the Delaware Valley area. Those interested in joining should contact Bernstein at ME 5-4737.

Jewish Family Service maintains Center City Philadelphia headquarters at 1610 Spruce St., with offices in Northeast Philadelphia at 6501 Bustleton Ave. and 6445 Castor Ave.; in the Northwest suburbs at the Benjamin Fox Pavilion, Jenkintown and the Lynnewood Gardens Leisure Lounge, Elkins Park; on the Main Line at 9 E. Athens Ave., Ardmore and in South Philadelphia at the Multi-Service Center, Marshall and Porter Sts.

JFS is a constituent of the Federation of Jewish Agencies and the United Way.

This article, "Families Sought to Help Russian Jews Adapt," was published in the August 5, 1976 issue of the Germantown Courier. It called for local Jewish families to assist Russian immigrants in their transition to living in Philadelphia.

Germantown Historical Society.

Profile

Henry Chi:

A Germantown business owner who works toward community understanding



Henry Chi

By JUDY HARTEIMER
Associate Editor

As a shop owner in the heart of the Germantown business district, Henry Chi believes that giving back to the community is an important part of operating a business. Chi, 53, is the owner of New Ace Shoes, at 111 W. Chelton Avenue.

Chi, who emigrated to the United States in 1978 from South Korea, is also active in helping other Korean business owners to overcome the language and cultural barriers he thinks have sometimes prevented them from understanding how to cooperate with the communities in which they are located.

From 1965-86, Chi served as secretary of the Korean Association of Greater Philadelphia. For the past seven years, he has also been active with the Korean Community Development Service Center. That group is involved in a variety of services, including English courses and legal help, to Korean and other ethnic oriental minorities, as well as outreach to disadvantaged people in the Philadelphia community as a whole, says Chi.

Before Thanksgiving each year, says Chi, the group goes door to door among Korean businesses collecting money for turkey baskets to be distributed to needy families all over Philadelphia. This year, he says, the German-

town Korean business community also contributed \$640 toward the Christmas party for community children at the 14th Police District.

"We started this business in 1981," says Chi of his shoe store. "It is a family business." His wife, Hyo Chung, and sons, Paul, 15, and James, 17, also help out in the store during busy times.

He was born in Seoul, Korea in 1938. As a young boy, he and his family suffered through the Korean War. Although his close family survived intact, other relatives were kidnapped by Communist North Korean troops, Chi says.

"During the war we were starving for food," says Chi. The summer of 1950 was the worst, he says. The city was under occupation by North Korea. "We were suffering not only starvation but aerial bombing."

After the war, Chi finished school, eventually graduating from Yonsei University with a masters degree in business administration. He went to work for a

textile company, serving as export manager for 15 years. During that time he married Hyo Chung, and their two sons were born.

Initially, says Chi, he had no ambition to come to the United States, until family obligations intervened. His father died while he was still a child, and as the oldest son, Korean tradition dictated that he be responsible for the welfare of his mother, four brothers and three sisters.

A younger brother had already come to Philadelphia and established a thriving veterinary practice. The brother invited the rest of the family to join him in Philadelphia, Chi says, and when they accepted, asked Chi to come also to help them get settled.

In his work as export manager, says Chi, he had become fluent in English, and would be able to ease the way for family members who were not. In 1978, he and his wife and two sons, then ages four and six, arrived in Philadelphia.

Chi's first venture into business was a food market. In 1981, he

opened his shoe store at 7th and Girard, and moved to Germantown three years ago. "This is a neat and good community," he says. "We have to keep it this way and work to improve it more."

He is very conscious of the poor image some Korean business owners have had in the communities they serve, particularly the African American community.

Some Korean store owners, he says, "didn't know the details of how to cooperate with the community because of the language barrier."

Now, he says, Korean and African American community leaders are establishing more dialogue. "We will work together to reach out," he says. Korean and African American ministers recently demonstrated that commitment by holding a joint choir concert, says Chi.

"We not only have to help each other but we have to work hard to understand the cultural background of each other."

Profile

Mohammed Latif: Peace activist has family on both sides of Gulf war

By HOPE McNELIS
Associate Editor

Although Mohammed Latif has been active in peace and civil rights issues ever since he can remember, never before has his life been as disrupted as it is now that American and allied troops have declared war with Iraq.

Latif, with all of his heart, he says, wants the war to stop.

He has stakes on both sides. Born in Iraq, Latif has lived in the United States for 30 years, including 15 years in Germantown. He works as an industrial physicist for the Environmental Health and Safety Office at Temple University.

Latif came to Philadelphia when he was 20, but most of his family remained in the Middle East.

"I have family on both sides (of the war)," Latif says.

His brother and sister live near Kuwait, along with seven nephews and six nieces. Latif says one week before the war broke out, his sister was crying on the telephone because all seven nephews were drafted to fight in the war with the Iraqi army.

That was the last time he spoke to her, or any member of his family. Normally, Latif is in touch regularly. He visited his family in 1989.

Since the war started, Latif says, "I lost all contact. The lines were cut off ... I don't know when I'll talk to them again. It may be months."

And Latif has family fighting on the American side as well. One of his nieces lives near Qatar, a country bordering the Persian Gulf, and her husband is in the military. Her husband "will fight on the American side," Latif says.

Latif watches every news report on the war with fear. "I know all of the streets they show. I know where they are. I grew up in the Kuwait area, between Kuwait and Iraq. When I see the bomb falling, I know where it is."

His brother lives near Basra in Iraq where B-52s have been bombing. "He is being bombed. It so

beautiful there, so historic, 5,000 years of history."

"It is where Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves and Sinbad the Sailor came from. I can't imagine the destruction of the city. The buildings go back to the period of Babylonian times. There is a long history of science and medicine," he says.

With each piece of news, he wonders if his family is safe. "It's my brothers and sisters. They love life like we do. The children like to do things like the children here."

After the war between Iraq and Iraq, Latif says the people were "looking forward to enjoying life now. It's a nightmare for them. They wake up from one nightmare to another."

In his head, he imagines what it's like for them every day. "I watch the Israeli children and mothers running around ... I envision what it's like for Iraqi families. I imagine my nieces and nephews."

Latif says his family cannot flee because no one is allowed to leave the country.

When asked if Iraqi people like Saddam Hussein as a leader, Latif responded, "On a grass roots level, a majority of the people love him."

"He has provided them food. He has filled their needs, of the common people. There are no street people. Education and medical care are free. Food is distributed," Latif explains.

Hussein keeps strict controls on the leaders who manage food distribution to make sure none of it is confiscated. "The way he controls it is, he can drop in anytime in someone's home. The leaders are afraid of him. They never know when he is going to check up on them."

Latif says the "anti-West feeling is so strong" because the country is "unified."

He says the people there have "been oppressed and suffered under British colonialism." As a result they see any Western culture as a form of oppression.

More than half of the population



Mohammed Latif (center) with his family in Basra, Iraq, which is currently under attack. From left to right is Latif's grand nephew Khalid, nephew Salim, niece Samiri, grand nephew Mahedi, nephew Samir, niece Salima and nephew Nasim.

works for the oil industry, he says. The people think the United States is trying to take their jobs and territory and "control that part of the world," he says.

Latif wishes the war would "stop immediately."

Recently, he has participated in two peace demonstrations in Washington. Locally, he is active with The Coalition to Stop the War in the Middle East and Act For Peace in the Middle East.

He will do whatever he can for peace, he says, just as he has done for decades.

In the 1950s and '60s, Latif was active in the civil rights movement. He was inspired by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and worked with Fellowship House Farm. The organization marched for peace and helped students with

anti-draft training during the Vietnam War. Latif and members helped "draft-dodgers" find places to live in Canada.

"We taught them about civil rights disobedience and how to protect yourself when you go to demonstrations. How to protect yourself from being beaten up," Latif says.

Latif went to "whites only" counters, including several Woolworths in Philadelphia, with a group of peace activists and asked to be served. "The whites were accepted, the blacks weren't, and I was in between," he says.

He says one of his most "moving experiences" was when he met Dr. King during the '60s. He spoke with him alone for 20 minutes.

"He was a prophet in his time. His appeal and approach is what I

followed, I inherited," Latif says. He says being active in the civil rights movement was "natural" for him because at a young age he was "involved in union organizing" and "anti-British" movements in Iraq.

For the past several years he has spoken at teach-ins about peace-making efforts for the Palestinian and Israeli conflict and the Central American revolution. He has also worked for peace in South Africa.

"I have been in every movement," he smiles.

But recently his time has been devoted to peace in the Middle East.

"I don't know what's going to happen. I am against war. If only the Americans would take their nose out. It would have been solved by the Arab League."

The Germantown Courier gave the local immigrant population a great deal of coverage in 1991, including these two articles documenting the lives of Henry Chi and Mohammed Latif, two immigrants to the area. Germantown Historical Society.

grants in their transition to living in Philadelphia. This assistance included “shopping for food and furniture, opening social security accounts, in locating convenient public transportation, and with other daily concerns.”²⁶ These articles demonstrate the willingness of Germantown residents to support their immigrant neighbors with their knowledge of English, finances, and American culture.

One *Courier* article reported on a lesson given by a Cambodian refugee at Germantown Friends School. Kassie S. Neou shared details about the violence he experienced at the hands of the Khmer Rouge. His traumatic story inspired the students to be more involved in the school’s Amnesty International chapter.²⁷ The author does not elaborate on the political nature of Cambodia; however, it would be remiss not to mention the impact of international politics, in this case the Cold War, on United States residents. Implicit or explicit references to these events remind the reader of the anti-Communist sentiment propagated by the United States at the time. Thus, articles from the *Courier* not only reflect immigration patterns, but also the political tensions of the late 20th century.

The 1991 editions of the *Courier* included weekly profiles on Germantown residents. Two of the twelve profiles examined from this year featured foreign-born residents. Henry Chi, a Korean immigrant, shared his thoughts on being a local business owner, giving back to the community, and encouraging collaboration between residents.²⁸ Chi’s profile was brief and uplifting. On the opposite end of the spectrum was Mohammed Latif’s somber story. The profile of the Iraqi native was written on February 6, 1991, during the U.S. invasion of Kuwait. The Gulf War had a profound impact on Latif — he watched

news footage anxiously because he was unable to contact family members still living in Iraq. Latif expressed that the Iraqi people were generally satisfied with Saddam Hussein and had a negative disposition towards the West due to the British colonization of their country. In both Iraq and the United States, he was very involved in peaceful activism. Hence, while Latif was pro-United States, he did not approve of the Gulf War.²⁹

About a month later, after the U.S. invasion ended, Latif was interviewed again. He still had no contact with his family as of the article’s publication on March 13, 1991. Latif had a feeling that the conflict in the Middle East was not over. He predicted “A lot of people are going to die... I am preparing for the worst.”³⁰ His sentiment was echoed by a separate Opinion article, in which the author warned that the Gulf War would set a precedent for future United States intervention in the Middle East.³¹ Publishing an emotional story like Latif’s was very rare for the *Courier*, and was a great discovery during our study. These occasional profiles were the most overt immigrant-related content.

Other articles mentioned immigrants either implicitly or in passing. One of the most common references to immigration was the descriptions of a resident’s national origin. The newspaper frequently featured interviews from residents on important issues facing the community. Topics included the creation of anti-crime block associations and the clearing of street vendors. In these examples, interviewees were mentioned by name, “Gabe Mehreteab and Kim Jung Sou,” followed by “native of Ethiopia”³² and “a recent immigrant from Korea.”³³

26 “Families Sought to Help Russian Jews Adapt,” *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, Aug. 5, 1976.

27 Hope McNelis. “Torture, Fear Scars Cambodian Refugee,” *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, January 2, 1991.

28 Judy Hartheimer. “Henry Chi: A Germantown Business Owner Who Works Toward Community Understanding,” *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, December 11, 1991.

29 Hope McNelis. “Mohammed Latif: Peace Activist Has Family on Both Sides of Gulf War,” *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, February 6, 1991.

30 Hope McNelis. “Iraqi Native Awaits Word From His Family,” *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, March 13, 1991.

31 Richard R. Fernandez. “Opinion: New World Order: No Iraqs” *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, April 3, 1991.

32 Edward Rogan. “Gabe Gets Block Plan Rolling in Mount Airy,” *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, December 24, 1975.

33 Greg R. McCoy. “City Clears Area Vendors From Streets,” *Germantown Courier* (Philadelphia, PA), September 2, 1976.

The *Courier* also made reference to the history of Germantown's immigration. An article titled "Hermit Sang Palms" recounts the story of a German immigrant devoted to Pietism, Johannes Kelpius. While Kelpius and his followers resided in the Wissahickon, their introduction of string instruments to the New World influenced local religious communities in Mount Airy.³⁴ 1976 was the bicentennial year of United States independence. As Germantown was home to immigrants since its founding in 1683, the bicentennial celebration included the recognition of German Americans. As reported by the *Courier*, an educational forum on "'German-Americans in the Growth of the United States'" was held by the German-American National Congress and the LaSalle College German Club.³⁵

While there weren't many advertisements that seemed to target immigrants directly, there were two that indicated that immigration was affecting the neighborhood. Frequent advertisements from the Germantown Y.M.C.A listed classes offered to members; on several occasions, foreign language classes were among those offered. One edition of the Y.M.C.A's advertisements encouraged residents to take Spanish classes by writing, "Be able to talk with your Spanish-neighbors."³⁶ Lawyers were also featured in the *Courier's* advertisements. Otis L. Lee, Jr. and Associates lists "Immigration/Green Card" as one of their services.³⁷ Civil rights and discrimination cases were common in law firms' advertisements,³⁸ but the inclusion of immigrants within those advertisements was less common. Thus, while references to immigrants were often missing in headlines, immigrants were occasionally referenced in articles unrelated to immigration and advertisements.

The Mount Airy Learning Tree (MALT) is a community organization that offers courses of every variety for their neighbors. Similar to the Y.M.C.A advertisements, the *Courier* published MALT's sea-

sonal courses in their newspaper. Two of the courses in the 1991 MALT advertisements were taught by Zebiya Rigby, a Ugandan immigrant. The advertisement states "[Rigby] is interested in the preservation of African crafts and in introducing them to the American people." Because Rigby taught multiple classes in 1991, including African basket making and African storytelling, it is clear that there was a demand for her expertise.

The *Courier* was also used to advertise potential employment opportunities, several of which were addressed to those speaking languages other than English. The U.S. Army, who claimed to be "An Equal Opportunity Employer,"³⁹ featured the following notice in the *Courier*:

If there is anyone out there who has always dreamed of becoming an atomic demolitions munitions specialist, here's your big break. The U.S. Army announced last week that it was offering an enlistment bonus of \$1,500 for people interested in learning this exciting new trade... It is offering a \$2,500 bonus to recruits who want to become a "voice interceptor" for Arabic, Syrian, Czechoslovakian, and Polish.⁴⁰

The Einstein Medical Center also attempted to recruit employees through the *Courier*. The article asked for a Russian translator to contact the hospital to assist in the treatment of Russian immigrant families. While those who speak languages other than English are not always foreign-born, they may have learned these languages from immigrant parents or grandparents. It is clear that translators were in demand at the time. However, this does not mean that immigrants were unaffected by employment issues.

Like native-born residents, immigrants were victims of closing businesses and layoffs. In 1976, the

34 "Hermit Sang Psalms," *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, January 8, 1976.

35 "German-Americans," *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, February 5, 1976.

36 YMCA advertisement, *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, January 15, 1976.

37 Otis L. Lee Jr. and Associates advertisement, *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, November 6, 1991.

38 Kivitz and Kivitz advertisement, *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, September 4, 1991.

39 U.S. Army advertisement, *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, January 1, 1976.

40 "Calling Dr. Strangelove," *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, October 7, 1976.

Courier covered a story on the possible closure of a local steel mill. Many workers were laid off, including a Polish immigrant named Zygmunt Cymerman. While Cymerman's firing was unfortunate, the fact that he worked at the plant for 16 years indicates that there were long-term jobs available to immigrants. Additionally, Cymerman's foreign-born status did not seem to affect his position at the plant nor cause his subsequent layoff.⁴¹

Thus, whether Germantown residents were foreign or native-born, they experienced similar difficulties. Of course, the immigrant population may have experienced workplace discrimination more frequently or more severely, but it was not reported in the newspaper. The lack of coverage on tensions between native and foreign-born populations in the neighborhood suggests that immigrants were viewed in a neutral or favorable light by other residents. We did not come across any articles that created or perpetuated discriminatory sentiments towards immigrants. As mentioned earlier, the *Courier* generally mentioned when a resident was of foreign-born background. Because articles about racial and ethnic issues did not specify that the subjects were of foreign-born status, it can be inferred that the *Courier* writers were mainly or exclusively discussing native-born subjects. This claim is supported, but not proven, by investigating the behavior of the *Germantown Courier* itself.

In the classified advertisements, the *Courier* made the reader aware that these sections do not discriminate on "race, color, religion, sex or national origin." Specifically, for the housing advertisements, this was required by the Federal Fair Housing Act of 1968.⁴² Additionally, the *Courier* included a notice from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development that warned readers about housing discrimination. It showed an example of a housing advertisement that read, "No Blacks, Hispanics, Disabled or Families with Children need apply." The notice then stated, "Acts of housing discrimination are



SMALL BUSINESS
The Backbone Of America

The free enterprise system thrives on small businesses. We at the Germantown Courier would like to take this opportunity to salute small business owners and their employees everywhere! Know that you are both needed and appreciated. Small business — the backbone of America!

Germantown Courier
Classified Advertising Department
649-7600

An example of an advertisement placed in a 1991 issue of the *Germantown Courier*, advocating the small businesses in Germantown, some of which were owned and operated by members of the local immigrant population. *Germantown Historical Society*.

not this obvious," and implored readers to call their phone number if they suspected discrimination.⁴³

Apart from its compliance with anti-discrimination laws, the *Courier* demonstrated its support for the community. An advertisement from the *Courier's* Classified Advertising Department read "The free enterprise system thrives on small businesses. We at the *Germantown Courier* would like to take this opportunity to salute small business owners and their employees everywhere! Know that you are both needed and appreciated. Small businesses — the

41 Michael Lefkowitz. "Midvale Steelworkers Get Month's Reprieve," *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, April 1, 1976.

42 Houses for Sale, classified advertisements, *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, December 24, 1975.

43 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development advertisement, *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, December 11, 1991.

backbone of America!”⁴⁴ This rhetoric is consistent with the *Courier’s* frequent advertisements for local businesses.

The *Courier* also interacted with community members directly. On April 27, 1991, the *Courier* hosted community members for its second annual Coffee with the Editor. Among other suggestions, residents encouraged the *Courier* to include more articles on ethnic diversity within the community.⁴⁵ While it is not clear how the *Courier* responded to all of the issues raised, it is worth noting that the staff was willing to take constructive criticism from its readers. Thus, the *Courier* seems to have been supportive of members of the community, regardless of their descent. Further investigation of other Germantown publications or Philadelphia news would help to elaborate on the general sentiment towards immigrants in the late-20th century.

Conclusion

Through census data, we’ve documented that Germantown’s population has decreased over the last 50 years. The white population is the racial group that decreased in population the most, going from about 31,000 people in 1970 to 6,000 people in 2018. The Black population increased from about 37,000 in 1970 to 46,000 in 1990, but then decreased to 38,000 in 2018. We attribute these changes to “white flight” and deindustrialization. However, it is difficult to track the ratio of new to old residents over time because our data only shows the total population.

At about 3.6%, the Germantown foreign-born population is significantly smaller than both the city and the country’s average. We were able to track a couple decades of continent, the largest immigrant group came from Latin America, followed by those from Asia, Europe, and Africa. The low percentage of foreign-born residents indicates that immigrants are not drawn to Germantown specifically, although they may be more populous in other areas of the city. However, the foreign-born residents in Germantown

do reflect similar ethnic and racial trends. That is, both Germantown and Philadelphia as a whole, and the United States, have seen an increase in Latin American and Asian immigrants over the last 50 years. While Germantown reflects the racial and ethnic makeup of Philadelphia’s immigrants, the neighborhood certainly does not reflect the same proportion of foreign-born residents.

We encourage future researchers to look beyond the correlations of (im)migration patterns and population data. Future work could examine characteristics of the neighborhood that attract or prevent immigrants from moving there. For example, Katie Day’s book, *Faith on the Avenue*, discussed the prevalence of places of worship on Germantown Avenue. For Puerto Rican migrants living in Fair Hill and Kensington, church was a place where they felt more connected to their heritage. Additionally, in reading the *Germantown Courier*, we found there to be a strong sense of community. It would be interesting to see how community culture, in addition to local institutions and businesses, plays into patterns of immigration.

About the Authors

Alisa Ghura and Margarita Ortiz were the Germantown Historical Society and Historic Germantown’s 2020 summer interns. While studying at the University of Pennsylvania, they applied to Historic Germantown through the school’s Summer Humanities Internship Program (SHIP) at the Center for Undergraduate Research and Fellowships (CURF).

Ghura, Class of 2023, is pursuing her double major in Political Science and Urban Studies. She is originally from Washington D.C. She is this year’s Historic Germantown SHIP recipient. Much of her family, including her parents, emigrated from Mauritius to different parts of the world, contributing to her academic interest in (im)migration.

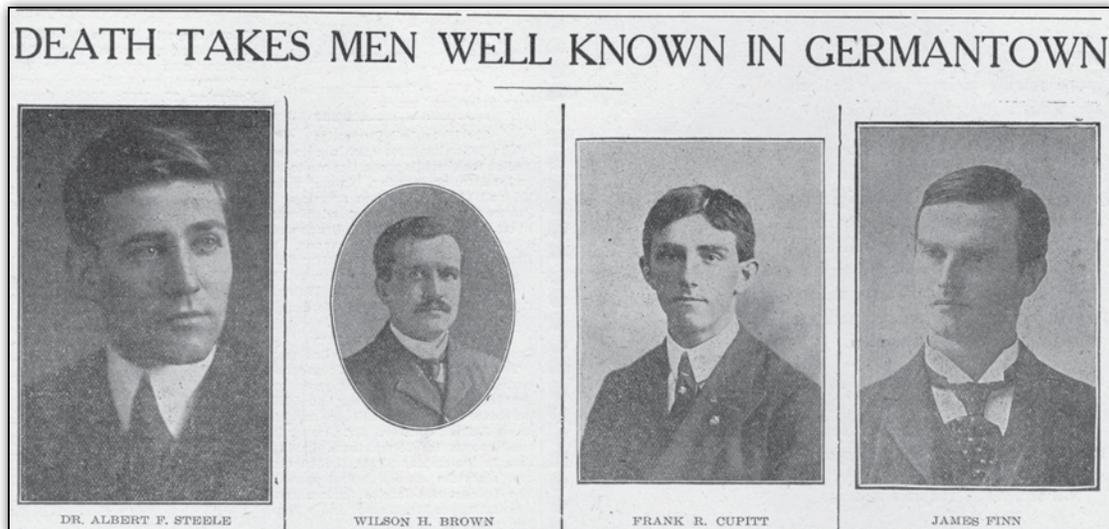
Ortiz, Class of 2021, is pursuing her major in History with minors in Latino and Latin American Studies, and Psychology. She is from Roxborough, Philadelphia, a neighborhood that borders Germantown. While Ortiz was the SHIP recipient in 2019, she was eager to return for a second summer. Because her grandparents migrated from Puerto Rico in the mid-20th century, she was especially interested in the growing Latinx population in Germantown.

44 Advertisement, *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, February 6, 1991.

45 Donna Ursillo. “Community Residents Contribute to Courier Content at Editor’s Coffee,” *Germantown Courier*. Philadelphia, PA, May 1, 1991.

The 1918 Influenza Pandemic, as Documented by the *Germantown Independent-Gazette*

By Alex Bartlett



These photographs of four Germantown businessmen were published along with their obituaries in the October 17, 1918, *Germantown Independent-Gazette*; all were victims of the influenza pandemic that year. If can be judged by the contents of the *Gazette*, photographs were only published in association with obituaries of white, upper-class Germantown males. Germantown Historical Society.

In October 1918, the influenza pandemic hit the United States hard, and the City of Philadelphia and Germantown in particular were no exceptions. The outbreak of the 1918 pandemic occurred against the backdrop of World War I, and much of the press coverage in the local papers including the *Germantown Independent-Gazette* were initially focused on activities associated with the war. In 1918, the pandemic occurred in two waves: a smaller wave occurred that spring, with a much larger and deadlier outbreak occurring in October. The *Independent-Gazette* barely mentioned the spring outbreak, but gave that occurring in the fall much more attention. The following consists of articles from the *Independent-Gazette* documenting the pandemic and its devastating effects on the citizens of Germantown, Mount Airy, and Chestnut Hill, some of which are strikingly similar in tone and subject matter to the coverage we have witnessed during the COVID-19 pandemic which began in the United States late this winter.

The 1918 Pandemic as covered by the *Germantown Independent-Gazette*

The *Independent-Gazette* was published each Thursday; in October 1918, the influenza pandemic did not receive coverage until Thursday, October 10. The newspaper's October 3, 1918, issue remained silent, in terms of the return of the epidemic that fall. However, on October 10, the *Independent-Gazette* proclaimed "MANY DEATHS DUE TO INFLUENZA: Epidemic is Severe Throughout Germantown, Though it Now Seems to be Waning." This conclusion was quite premature, as the epidemic ravaged the community through the rest of the month of October.

An immediate response to the arrival of the 1918 influenza epidemic was to prohibit large groups of people from assembling, in a similar fashion practiced during the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic. For example, the Germantown Y.M.C.A. suspended its

gym and night classes. The Germantown Boys' Club suspended all indoor activities, but established a series of hikes to keep the boys occupied. However, not all organizations immediately closed their doors. The Site and Relic Society, later to be renamed the Germantown Historical Society, remained open at its home which was then at the Wister House in Vernon Park. Smaller businesses remained open to the public; however, larger stores began to close in response to the arrival of the pandemic.

By the publication of the following issue of the *Independent-Gazette* on October 17, the epidemic was raging in the communities of Germantown, Mount Airy, and Chestnut Hill. A headline in the October 17 *Independent-Gazette* proclaimed "GRUESOME SCENES IN CEMETERIES," with Holy Sepulchre Cemetery barely able to keep up with the high numbers of victims of the 1918 pandemic. An average of 13 residents of Germantown, Mount Airy, and Chestnut Hill had died from influenza or pneumonia each day during the period October 10-15, for a total of 79 influenza-related deaths during this period. Those in the service economy were particularly vulnerable as a result of exposure, much in the same way that delivery and public transportation workers were at high risk of exposure during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. To help bury the dead, the cemetery used students from the Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo in Overbook. Larger businesses continued to close, including the Colonial Theater, which placed such an announcement in the October 17 *Independent-Gazette* and published with this article. On the front lines of the pandemic, the Germantown branch of the National League for Women's Service on West Cheltenham Avenue began a transport system to distribute food to needy area families, with "motor girls" making the rounds. The League's Overseas Committee also "plunged into the works and made 900 influenza masks, the greater part for the Germantown Hospital and the rest for the workers and for those connected with the sick." These responses to the 1918 pandemic are much the same as with the current pandemic.

MANY DEATHS DUE TO INFLUENZA

Epidemic is Severe Throughout Germantown, Though It Now Seems to be Waning.

SOME FAMILIES LOSE TWO

In common with the rest of the city, Germantown has suffered severely from the influenza epidemic.

In the absence of official figures, so far as can be determined from other reports, the height of the epidemic in Germantown was attained early this week.

The *Independent-Gazette* has information of eighty-seven deaths in Germantown, Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill the past week. Of these sixty are known to be due to influenza or pneumonia.

The report day by day is as follows:

	Total Influenza deaths	or pneumonia
Thursday, October 3	10	6
Friday, October 4	10	6
Saturday, October 5	18	13
Sunday, October 6	16	10
Monday, October 7	13	12
Tuesday, October 8	16	11

According to reports received at the bureau of health in the City Hall there were 366 new cases of influenza on Monday in the Germantown and Oak Lane district, and 238 on Tuesday.

Many business places and industries are crippled because of the sickness of employes.

Frequently when the disease has entered a family every member of the family has been stricken and in several cases two deaths have occurred in the same family.

Physicians Afflicted

Stricken families have been subjected to additional suffering because they have not only been unable to engage nurses but even ordinary household help has been unavailable. In some instances the conditions have been aggravated because the family physician himself was suffering from influenza and other physicians were so busy they could take no additional cases.

Among the physicians who were stricken with the disease are: Dr. George Lewis Smith, 5538 Wayne avenue; Dr. I. F. Stover, 7932 Germantown avenue, outside physician of the Germantown Almshouse; Dr. Louis Weinstock, 130 East Price street; Dr. J. M. Rosenthal, 700 East Cheltenham avenue; Dr. James H. Closson, 53 West Cheltenham avenue, and Dr. B. J. Murray, 48 West Johnson street.

Families Doubly Stricken

Louis Wannier, who was engaged in engineering work for the government, died last Saturday at his home, 440 East Walnut lane. His brother, Alfred, a soldier at Camp Lee, Va., died the previous Saturday, and Louis was too

An excerpt from an article from the October 10, 1918, issue of the *Germantown Independent-Gazette*. Note that the deaths due to influenza or pneumonia were still quite small as of the publication of the October 3d issue and that they had more than doubled between October 4th and October 5th. This may explain why the *Independent-Gazette* didn't cover the pandemic until October 10. As occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic, healthcare providers were also afflicted during the 1918 pandemic, which exacerbated problems associated with recovery.

Germantown Historical Society.

GRUESOME SCENES IN CEMETERIES

Graves Cannot be Dug Rapidly Enough to Receive Bodies at Catholic Burial Ground.

75 FUNERALS IN ONE DAY

Scenes like those witnessed in cemeteries round about Germantown the past week were never before known in this community.

Undertakers and gravediggers found themselves taxed to the utmost in endeavoring to care for the corpses of the many victims of the influenza epidemic.

Owing to the fact that members of the Catholic churches of a large territory in northwestern Philadelphia bury at Holy Sepulcher Cemetery, great congestion prevailed at that burial ground. It is situated on the Germantown and Willow Grove pike, a continuation of Mount Airy avenue, east of the city line, in Montgomery County.

On Monday seventy-five funerals came to Holy Sepulcher Cemetery. On every other day lately the number has been almost as large. It was impossible to dig graves fast enough to receive the caskets, and therefore some caskets were left standing upon the ground to await the digging of a grave. Other caskets to the number of a dozen were stacked in an open shed.

Students Help

Twenty-five students from the Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Overbrook, came to the cemeteries

MORE MEN FALL ON FRENCH FIELDS

Names of Several Officers Appear in the Lists of Killed, Wounded and Missing.

HAMMILL BROTHERS HURT

The Twenty-second Ward is again represented in the lists of killed, wounded and missing sent from France the past week.

Major B. Franklin Pepper, Sunset and Crefeld avenues, Chestnut Hill, died on September 26 of wounds received in action in France. Major Pepper won his commission at the first Fort Niagara training camp. He served in Battery A in the war with Spain in 1898.

Official lists report that Lieutenant Harold A. Fahr, 155 East Duval street, was killed in action on September 6, but his wife has received a letter dated September 10 saying that he had been gassed but is recovering in a hospital.

Carl B. Chamberlain, aged 23 years, 36 East Seymour street, is reported wounded. He enlisted in the Third New Jersey Regiment while on a visit to Asbury Park in 1917, and later was attached to the 114th Regiment, going overseas last June.

Peter Kelly, aged 35 years, 6050 Bellfield avenue, was wounded in the capture of Cambrai. He is a native of Scotland, and enlisted in 1917 in a Canadian command, being assigned to a machine gun battalion.

Excerpts from two columns published in the October 17, 1918 *Independent-Gazette*. Note the juxtaposition of this article with one detailing the loss of life due to the United States' involvement during World War I, at right. Unlike during the COVID-19 pandemic, in 1918 our nation was dealing with two worldwide crises resulting in the loss of life. Germantown Historical Society.

NIXON'S COLONIAL GERMANTOWN AND MAPLEWOOD AVES.
America's Most Beautiful Playhouse
Vaudeville and Feature Photo-Plays

**Nixon's Colonial Opening Date
Will be Announced in this Paper**

Closed by Order of the Bureau of Health

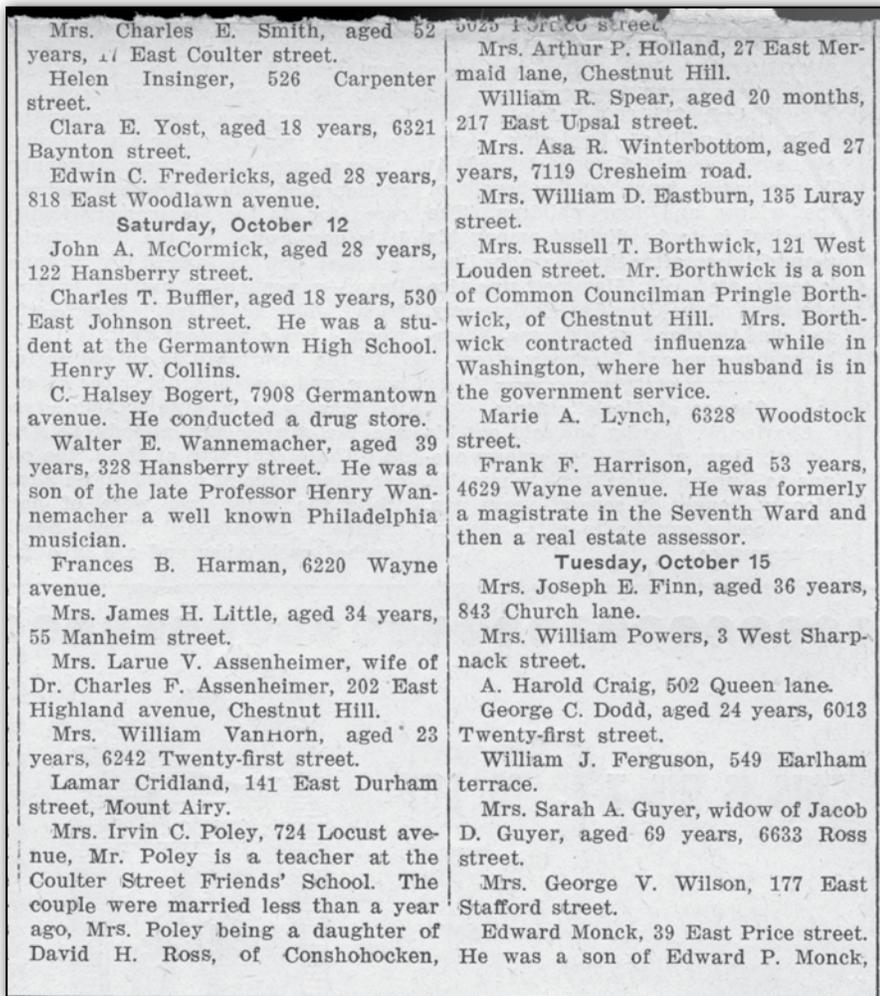
Nixon's Colonial Theater was one of several theaters closing in Germantown in response to the arrival of the 1918 influenza pandemic, as announced in this advertisement placed in the October 17, 1918, *Germantown Independent-Gazette*. Germantown Historical Society.

Obituaries

Of course, the loss of so many lives during October 1918 meant that the *Germantown Independent-Gazette* was full of obituaries. Some consisted of highly-elaborate tributes, while others were quite impersonal, consisting of only the names, ages and addresses associated with the deceased. A sample of the obituaries published in the October 17, 1918 *Independent-Gazette* is shown below.

According to the October 24, 1918, issue of the *Independent-Gazette*, the influenza pandemic was abating, with the headline of one of its front-page articles proclaiming "EPIDEMIC IS NOW RAPIDLY SUBSIDING: Number of Deaths in Germantown and Vicinity Far Less Than Last Week." This conclu-

sion was based in part on the number of patients at Germantown Hospital. The newspaper noted that while the hospital would normally house about 100 patients on any given day, it housed 172 patients "within its walls" at the height of the epidemic, which in Germantown was apparently on October 11. Germantown Hospital played a particularly important role in the 1918 pandemic in Northwest Philadelphia, as one of the October 24 articles noted "The Germantown Hospital was the only public institution receiving patients in Germantown and Mount Airy. The nearest other hospitals were at Chestnut Hill, Roxborough and Nicetown, emergency hospitals having been opened in the former Nicetown Public Library building and in the Nicetown Boys' Club."



On October 31, the *Germantown Independent-Gazette* claimed in a headline that the influenza pandemic had largely passed, noting that the "Epidemic has Passed and Health Conditions in Germantown Are Again Nearly Normal." Church services were again held (previous issues of the *Independent-Gazette* had not mentioned they were suspended), and public schools had reopened the previous Monday, October 21st. Theaters and saloons reopened on Wednesday October 23rd; it is assumed this included the Colonial Theater, previously mentioned. Obituaries for the week were also listed and of these, only a few deaths were attributed to the pandemic. The issue of November 7, 1918, made scarcely any reference to the influenza pandemic, and life in Germantown, Mount Airy, and Chestnut Hill slowly returned to normal, though progressively smaller spikes in new cases of influenza would occur in each year between 1919 and 1922.

Excerpts from two columns published in the October 17, 1918 *Independent-Gazette*. Note the juxtaposition of this article with one detailing the loss of life due to the United States' involvement during World War I, at right. Unlike during the COVID-19 pandemic, in 1918 our nation was dealing with two worldwide crises resulting in the loss of life.
Germantown Historical Society.

The review of the *Germantown Independent-Gazette's* coverage of the 1918 influenza pandemic was particularly striking in terms of the differences between the 1918 pandemic and the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic. One of most striking contrasts between the coverage of the two pandemics is that the *Independent-Gazette* made no mention of the economic impacts of the 1918 pandemic, whereas the impacts on our nation's economy took center stage during that of 2020. This difference in coverage may in part be a result of our involvement in World War I during the 1918 pandemic. This created a booming economy, one full of employment opportunities geared towards wartime production, as compared to the economy of 2020, which, while strong, did not occur against the backdrop of war and the economic opportunities available during 1918.

Another difference concerns the coverage of the wearing of masks. As is the case with our current pandemic, the wearing of masks to help slow the spread of disease became quite contentious during the 1918 pandemic. Anti-mask wearing groups were

established in protest, including the Anti-Mask League of San Francisco, which was founded in 1919 in response to an ordinance passed by the City of San Francisco which made mask wearing mandatory during the pandemic, enacted after another spike occurred in early 1919. Despite the coverage that these groups received in larger papers, the *Germantown Independent-Gazette* made no mention of them. On a more general level, the *Independent-Gazette* tended to steer clear of controversial topics associated with the 1918 pandemic. This is in stark contrast to our current pandemic, about which much of the news is concerned with politics, the economy, and the roles of mask wearing and social distancing in combating the pandemic.

We can only hope that the 2020 pandemic will also differ from that of 1918 in one great respect that unlike the influenza pandemic of 1918, that of 2020 not "reverberate" for the next couple of years; that it will hopefully never return and that if it does, we will draw from the lessons of what our ancestors learned in 1918 and not make the same mistakes again.

The Lest We Forget Museum of Slavery

By Gwen Ragsdale



The Lest We Forget Museum of Slavery is located at 5501 Germantown Avenue, in the lower level of the Germantown Historical Society and headquarters of Historic Germantown (Church Lane entrance). The Museum was originally located in the Lower Northeast where it was in operation for 12 years before relocating to Germantown in 2018. “Being in Germantown and joining the Consortium of Germantown Museums and Institutions has proven to be a wise decision,” says Gwen Ragsdale, Executive Director. As the only slavery museum in Philadelphia and the only one with an extensive collection of slave artifacts makes Germantown a perfect location amongst the other related history museums.

Guided tours include a review of slavery from “Capture to Emancipation and Beyond.” The ability to view up close and in some cases touch actual items from the transatlantic slave trade brings history alive. The rare Ragsdale Collection includes numerous iron slave shackles used to restrain captured Africans, Bill of Sale documents that identify how enslaved Africans were bought and sold like chattel property, objects from the Jim Crow era that negatively depict Blacks, segregation signs that demonstrate separate and unequal areas for Blacks, and so much more.

Lest we Forget Museum of Slavery “goes there.” Diverse visitors get to learn and or relearn aspects of American history (not just Black History) that continues to have an impact on society overall, sometimes subtle, and at other times outright racist. Revealing a correlation between past events and current ones often organically results in open and

honest conversations about race and race relations that might not otherwise occur.

OPEN BY APPOINTMENT ONLY: Tuesday – Saturday 10a-5p, Sunday 12p-5p. To Schedule an Appointment Call/Text 215-205-4324 or Book-A-Tour-Online www.lwfsm.com. You can also reach us at info@lwfsm.com.

Admission is \$12 (Cash or Charge). **MASKS and SOCIAL DISTANCING ARE REQUIRED.** We hope to see you soon.

About the Author:

Gwen Ragsdale is the Executive Director of the Lest We Forget Museum of Slavery.



This shackle was put on black men who were arrested, usually on trumped-up charges like vagrancy or reckless-eyeballing (looking at a white man directly in the eye) and forced to provide free labor for long periods of time. Lest We Forget Slavery Museum.