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The Greek people in America

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THE GREEK PEOPLE IN AMERICA

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I lived in a peasant home. Look into the faces of my hostesses and tell me that those happy, hectic days at Delphi were in vain! Where the Oracle had uttered ambiguities, the living folk were positive in their friendliness (see Color Plate XV). It is this friendliness which remains as my most vivid impression of Greece. I know the curiosity, the familiarity, the insistence of the Greek. A hundred times I have inwardly fumed at seemingly senseless irritations; but from the returned Greek-American to the upcountry peasants or Vlach shepherds, who know no other land, the living residents give the Greece of to-day such appeal for the modern guest as classic Greece had for the scholar.

The glory of Greece has not departed. No child of Hellas is called Ichabod. On motor road and mountain trail even the hurried traveler still senses that Hellas is a land set apart, that something blessed still permeates the atmosphere of this rocky little land whose life to-day, as yesterday, is so intimately connected with our own.
THE GREEK PEOPLE IN AMERICA

PART I
CHAPTER I

CHARACTERISTICS AND THE ORIGIN OF GREEKS

Somatic Characteristics

The Greek people do not belong to any single tribe or race, and therefore have different somatic characteristics. A view, recently put forward is that an early dark-haired Mediterranean race occupied the islands and the coast of Greece. Judging from their language, the Greeks belong to a branch of Aryan stock, called Indo-European. They seem to have come from Asia Minor and North Africa and to have assimilated with other tribes already found in Greece at the time of their arrival. In Mani, the central peninsula of Peloponnesus, the purest descendants of Dorian Greeks are found, the dominant type being the Alpine. In Crete, the people are tall and to a considerable proportion blonde. In other islands people are shorter and brunette. The proportion of the brunette type increases from north to south on the peninsula. The statures of Greek people are shorter than those of the Venetians, and less purely brachycephalic than the people in western Europe. Thus, the Greeks, although predominantly of the last mentioned type, have suffered many blood admixtures. However, the racial characteristics, as eagerness for liberty, courage, national pride, in-

1. Smith History of Greece p.13-14
2. Dixon Racial History of Man p.94-96
tellectual self-restrain, and creative genius still alive! Two quotations which follow, may indicate the relation of modern Greeks to their ancestors. T. D. Seymour, comments on the question as follows: "Living in the midst of the same occupations, the Greeks have retained many of the peculiarities of their ancestors. The foreign blood, which runs in their veins, has been thoroughly assimilated." Charles Williams in Fortnightly Review, 67:959, on the other hand, states: "I am unable, for one, to accept the theory that the modern Greeks are in any real sense either the true representatives of the ancient Greek race, or the repository of its tradition."

There has been some discussion as to whether the modern Greeks are the true descendants of the ancient Greeks, in regard to Professor Thumb's experiment. He measured some modern Greek skulls and other skulls of Slavic people to compare them with the measurements of ancient Greek skulls. His investigation revealed the fact that in contrast to ancient Greek skulls, which measured 28% dolichocephalic, 52% mesocephalic and 20% brachycephalic, the modern Greek skulls showed a difference of 17%, 33% and 50% respectively, while the Slavic skulls showed 3%, 25% and 72%. The ancient Hellenes were partly dark and partly fair in complexion because the race was a mixture of a Germanic and a dark Mediterranean tribe. As the dark complexion is dominant many Greeks have become dark through the course of time. "The Greeks have mixed with foreign elements like all nations which have a history, but they possessed and possess such

1. Stobart, The Glory that was Greece p.8
2. Scribner's 4:46
a wonderful intensive and extensive elasticity, that in spite of the most contrary fate, they were able to absorb foreign culture and foreign races without having their nationality or national characteristics extinguished."

As it has been shown above, there were races—not one single race in ancient Greece. In the light of the present phenomenal characteristics of Greek people, I am inclined to agree with Seymour.

The Origin of the Greeks

The Greek people have a continuous history of three or four thousand years. The land which is called "Hellas", was inhabited, about two thousand years B. C., by a savage race called "Ελλοι" or "Σέλλοι". This tribe, originally inhabiting a small country in Epeiros, came down to Greece and spread over the land, conquering the other tribes. From the above name, "Ελλοι" or "Σέλλοι", the land was called Hellas and the inhabitants of it, Hellenes, which is the official name of the Greeks. These two tribes, the Pelasgians and the Sellians, are generally believed to be the ancestors of the Greek people. The history of the Greeks, however, is all a matter of tradition, since narration was the only means of transmitting the culture at those early years, consequently, there is some doubt as to the accuracy of these beliefs. Furthermore, as Smith argues, the Pelasgians were not a distinct race which once overspread Greece, but "were, some of them, earlier Greek settlers, whose dialect varied a

1. Professor Thumb in Ahepa Magazine, Feb. 1932
good deal from that of the later Greeks, and some of them,
(were) alien races."

These early settlers of Greece, wanting to assume power
for self-protection against other tribes from northern and
western Europe, organized themselves under the leadership of
their strongest men, (the first one called "Hellenas"), and,
up to the historic age of Pericles and Philippus of Macedonia,
tried to keep their Greek blood pure. Later, however, evi-
dently other people, as the Romans, the Venetians, the Egyp-
tians and the Turks, alternately remain, for a while, in Greece.
In the light of these facts, one may assume that the present
Greeks may not have the pure blood of the Pelasgians or the
Sellians, in the same sense that no other people have a pure
racial strain. It is obvious, nevertheless, that due to the
higher civilization of the Hellenes, with their inspiring myth-
ology and invigorating traditions, any race or individual who
lived in that part of the world or somehow came into this group,
was proud to carry the name of "Hellenes" and to merge his own
with the ideals and beliefs of the group. These people, later
migrating to other parts of the world known at that time, as
Asia Minor and lands on the coast of the Ionian and Black Seas,
always kept their identity, always carried the name HELLENES
with them, and always named their new possessions "HELLAS",
thus extending the boundaries of ancient Greece. The American
Greeks, then, although coming from different countries in Asia
Minor and Europe, belong to a common stock; yet they vary in
culture according to the place they happened to be born.

"THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE"

BY ALEXANDER WILBOURNE WEDDELL
FORMERLY AMERICAN CONSUL GENERAL AT ATHENS

AFTER some six years spent in Greece, after learning to love that land of "cloudless climes and starry skies" with something of the affection which I feel for my own country, I am fain to try to convey to those who may read these pages some of the enthusiasm and interest and affection for that soil which life there kindles.

In attempting this I am following a well-worn path, for the compelling charm of Hellas has been the theme of poets, philosophers, artists, historians, and travelers from the earliest days. Foremost among travelers must be named Pausanias, the Baedeker of the second century after Christ, whose minute work is a basis on which our archeologists commence to build to their sometimes startling conclusions. Since his time, save for that long period following the reign of Justinian at Constantinople, when a veil seems drawn over the Balkan Peninsula, through which invasions, internecine strife, massacres, and cruelties are dimly felt and seen, there have not lacked men of the stamp of Pausanias to penetrate the country and leave their impressions.

In those days such voyages required strength, fortitude, and courage of the highest order. How different, how very different, from the luxury now surrounding a voyage to Greece!

APPROACHING ATTICA BY SEA

Fate, working through my Government, decided me to go by water. Three days over summer seas from Sicily, three nights under starry skies, a fairy glimpse of Cerigo—the Cythera of the poets, near to which Venus rose from the sea—then a long line of low-lying islands echeloned toward the coast, and there lay before my eyes the Plain of Attica, surrounded by hills, with "Athens, the eye of Greece," as its center (see map, page 574).

To every one sensitive to historical suggestion, to every one to whom beauty makes the supreme appeal, the first sight of this immortal city becomes the moment of a lifetime.

To the right rose Hymettus, famed now, as in ancient days, for the honey which the bees rifle from its flowers; to the left, and nearer, the island of Salamis, with its deathless memories; a bowshot away, Psyttalia, where Aristides and his band cut down the flower of Persian chivalry, after the naval battle of Salamis; still farther to the left, the ranges of Parnes, extending in a full, voluptuous curve toward the east.

Sweeping this panorama with powerful glasses, the city revealed itself more clearly, wearing "like a garment the beauty of the morning," and, outtopping all, the Acropolis, with the Parthenon as its diadem.

In its still beauty, its majesty and its tenderness, the scene had a vague unreality. I thought of the spirit hand "clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful," which rose from the lake in the poet's vision and sank again.

THE AREA OF MODERN GREECE APPROXIMATES THAT OF NEW YORK STATE

In the centenary year of its independence, Greece has a population exceeding six millions, with nearly one-sixth of that number concentrated in the capital city of Athens and its environs. The inset, showing one of the Centenary postage stamps (actual size), illustrates the territorial expansion of the nation since its independence was established.
CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND OF GREEKS

Social Heritage

It is quite natural for a people to be proud of its origin; this is the germ of Nationalism whose intensity and strength partly depends upon the common traditions of the group. The Greeks, with wonderful traditions and inspiring history, are apt to be willing to consider themselves different from the rest of the people. The ancient unsurpassed philosophers, as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; the conquests of a few Greeks in the wars with Persians; the brave sayings of Leonidas in Thermopylae; the writings of Homer and the songs of Sappho; and even the last wars of a few Greeks for their independence against the Turkish Empire are a few Greek achievements which make these people proud of their origin. This pride has expressed itself in many different circumstances, again and again, in spite of the difficulties under which the Greeks have lived. They have shown their intellectual keeness in Venizeilos, a recognized leading statesman in the Balkans; in George Dilboy, the hero in the world war; and in the person of a crippled Greek, making the round of the world on crutches. The universally accepted contribution of ancient Greeks to modern civilization, in general, (see p. 7), is a kind of social heritage to modern Greeks, and gives them a sense of proudness of their origin as Hellenes.

1. Atlantis daily.
THE PRINCIPALS OF "PROMETHEUS BOUND"

Power and Force hold Prometheus, whom bare-armed Hephaestus is about to chain to the rock. The Aeschyan tragedy shows the hero protesting against the injustice of capricious gods.

HOW SHIELD AND SWORD WERE USED IN THE DAYS OF ALEXANDER

Gladiatorial combats, peculiar to Rome, were never held at Delphi, home of the Pythian games, where these modern Macedonians staged this battle scene.
The high civilization of ancient Greeks, (not being foreign) to modern Greeks, had a double effect upon their behavior. On one hand, they remained conservative in their ideals and beliefs, while on the other hand, due to their discontent from the present orders, they developed an opposing attitude. Due to the fact that Socrates taught of an unknown God, five centuries before He was discovered to be Jehovah, to the fact that Christianity was first taught in the Greek language and spread first through Greece, the Greek people became conservative in religion. They became religious people, because religion was another banner under which Greeks were united to fight for their independence. The religious leaders, at one time, were also the politicians, teaching the Greek Orthodox dogma and liberty with equal zest. They advocated the revolution of 1821, and Bishop Germanos raised the flag of independence, because Christianity could not exist under the heavy yoke of dependence. Thus, Greek Nationalism and Greek Orthodox religion coincided in the minds of the average Greeks. These two elements were interdependent for their existence.

"It will never pass into nothingness, but still will keep bower quiet for us, and a sleep full of sweet dreams, and health and quiet breathing."  

Keats.

Economic Conditions in Greece

Greece, after eight years of persistent fight against the Turkish Empire which was the dread of all Balkan nations at

1. Keats in Stobart "The Glory that was Greece" p.3
that time, became free in 1828. But she passed now under the control of the benign Powers of Europe, which sent her a tactless boy king, Otho, who retarded for forty years, the progress of the kingdom. This fact aroused the discontent of the people and developed a tendency to frequent political changes, which was another retarding factor in the social and economic development of the country. It took decades of years to build up the country, which was utterly despoiled by the ravages of Turks, before and during the war for independence. In addition to the above retarding factors, another natural handicap of the land must be added to complete the picture of backwardness.

Looking at the map of Greece, one is inclined to think of the wonderful location of the country. Indeed, Hellas is within a sub-tropical invigorating and mild climate, as a result of which, in ancient time the most active civilization was found there. The rainfall, however, is scarce, and in many districts, mosquitoes are found; in such districts malaria is a predominant disease. The country, as a whole, is very mountainous, broken up in small districts by these mountains, and communication between these isolated cities and villages is costly. As a result of these phenomena, the people remained isolated and their social development was retarded until recently, when railroads were built and other more effective means of communication thru water, were established. The interchange of social ideals and other social forces were handi-
capped for many years, and are still not very easily achieved. The Greeks, however, were spread along the seashores of Asia Minor and Constantinople, where economic conditions have been always more favorable than in Greece proper. In the coast of Asia Minor, the Greeks were mostly engaged in commerce, and as the original inhabitants of those seaports were at a low cultural level, the Greeks were the leaders in business and progressed rapidly in social life.

Vocationally, Greece is now changing from an agricultural to that of a commercial country. For many years, over 75% of the Greeks were engaged in agriculture, but at present, this percentage is declining, as industries and commerce develop. This development, however, is very slow and depends upon importation of raw materials, such as iron and coal, because Greece lacks these natural resources which are essential for the establishment of the industry. Thus, in spite of the fact that the percentage of people engaged in cultivation is declining, Greece remains of necessity, an agricultural country, and it is believed that at the completion of the present drainage works, there will be enough land for cultivation, to support the population of the country. The land masses and the means of cultivation in agricultural districts from where the Greeks in America have come, were scarce. The people on the mountain slopes were engaged in raising flocks of sheep and goats, (see p.11) while in the sheltered valleys and on the fertile uplands they raise agricultural products, where there are suitable
A MACEDONIAN SHEPHERD RETURNS TO THE PLAINS

Down from the cold northern border mountains strides the shepherd at the head of his flock. Of 15,000 pastoral nomad families in Greece, 6,000 are Sarakatsans, 3,500 Kutro-Vlachs, 4,500 Greek peasants, and a few Albanians. Refugee farmers are cultivating former pasture lands, but the nomad is still an important factor in the economic life of Greece.
fields, and the vine, the olive tree and the wheat plant have always flourished. Agriculture is still carried on by crude methods, such as the use of wooden plows and horses or oxen. Machinery is very scarce, and the return from the land is very low, which in turn, lowers the standard of living of the inhabitants. The living conditions in cities are in direct contrast with those in villages, but the investigation of the city life is beyond the scope of this thesis, as it is irrelevant to the Greeks in America.

Social Life

Outside of Athens and some other big cities, as Saloniki, Piraeus, Sparta, etc., Greece is made up of villages, and the Greeks live mostly an outdoor life. In the summer time, very often one may find a number of people sleeping in cottages built around the corn fields, or in private places in corners of their gardens or yards. The students of an American institution in Saloniki in 1926 and 1927, were sleeping in the yard of the school around the ditches of flowers. The villagers, during the summer, work in their small gardens and fields with their children and their animals. They love the mild climate and the bright sunshine of their country, and enjoy the sunset and the moon in the clear sky (see p. 13). Each village has one or more churches and the people attend them on Sundays, regularly. After the church on Sundays or on Holidays, they go in groups of two or three families in their gardens, or in some other distinctly cool places, where in the shadow of a waving
tree, they have a kind of good time with music and national dances as Kalamatianos, Sirtos, etc., (see p.15). European ballroom dances were known in the village by the latter part of the 19th century but are condemned in most of them, at present. The family ideal and tradition interwoven with religious beliefs are too high to permit a father to see his daughter thrown into the arms of a stranger or even of a friend unless he may be counted as one of the prospective candidates for husbandry. This lack of social development, however, is taken care of through other activities as songs, other modest open air dances, picnics, and other outings in memory of some Saints, where they indulge in festivals and enjoyments of various kinds. These social, religious, political and even economic activities are all based on traditions and ideals of ancient Greek writers which the present Greek people admire and try to imitate, and are also unified, interdependent. This is an element of conservatism in the social life of these people.

Religious Life

Greek Orthodox dogma is the national and state religion. No other religion was found among the Greeks outside of Athens, Saloniki, and a few more other large cities, until recently. This Orthodox dogma is so firmly established in the minds of Greeks in those places, that they cannot conceive of a Greek belonging to some other religion. In big cities, however, Roman Catholics and Protestants may be found in small numbers. The people attend church regularly on Sundays, and are very religious
MODERN NYMPHS DANCING ON THE STORIED SLOPES OF PARNASSUS

The costumes, from left to right, are those of earthquake-ridden Corinth; of Tanagra, famous for its figurines, and of Attica.
in spite of the fact that they cannot follow all the dictates of their church. This is, however, an acknowledged fact by even the priests, and allowance is made for disregarding or modifying certain rituals, to bring in accord the demands of the church and the actual human needs which are modified and changed by social developments. The church ceremonies are in an intermediate language between ancient and modern Greek, and on Christmas and Easter, they are very impressive. The spoken language of the people commonly used is slightly different than the written language, and it varies in different places. While the people of any village understand all other people in any part of the country, and even the language of the books used in Gymnasiums, the pronunciation and the meaning of the words varies slightly from place to place; so, from the pronunciation, one can tell from what part of Greece another comes.

ATHENS: Just as the Acropolis and the Parthenon typify the "glory that was Greece" in ancient days, so the classical National Museum, with its wonderful exhibits of ancient Hellenic art, bears witness to the proud regard in which modern Greece holds its progenitors.
CHAPTER III

CAUSES OF MIGRATION—EARLY IMMIGRANTS

Economic Causes

In the foregoing pages, we have been trying to point out the bad economic, and undeveloped social conditions in the country, due mostly, to the scarcity of natural resources and to the mountainous topographical condition of the country and especially of the regions from where the American Greeks come. As a compensation for bad social conditions, the people enjoy a mild climate, the beauty of the sea, the traditional and ideal practices, which they can only perform in Greece without environmental interruption, such as outdoor engagement in festivals, dances, etc., and most of all, the fact that they live a natural life in the midst of their relatives and countrymen. The ties of relationship, friendship, and nationalism are strong among the Greek people. They often walk miles to go and see a friend, or to visit a far relative, and the country is too dear for them to leave it on small pretenses. The words of Themistocles "There is not enough gold in the world to exchange Greece with", and "as long as the sun does not fail to get up in the horizon in the mornings, we shall not stop fighting for our beloved country," are deeply rooted in the minds of the Greeks. And, as there has never been any political or religious oppression of the people, as in the case of immigrants
from other countries, the only cause for Greek immigration has to be found in economic conditions. There may be few cases, however, such as of a few Greeks from Turkey or other Balkan states, who have been forced to leave the country and migrate to America, due to the world war.

Political disturbances, such as the wars of Greeks with other countries, mostly with the Turks, may have effected immigration indirectly, by effecting economic conditions. The Greeks, as a matter of fact, in 1912, left their businesses and pleasures in America, and went to fight the Greek war of that year. This is an indication that they are not the type of people, who run away from war, when needed. After the world war, however, some people were tired of fighting and there may have been a few who came to America to find peace. As a result of the civil war in 1922, some opponents of the revolution had to leave the country, and as their asylum, they chose America.

Out of 25-30 persons that have been consulted, only one came to America because of this reason, and he can cite only four or five similar cases. All the others answered my inquiry "what made you leave your country", with a flat statement, "Η φτώχεια παιδί μου ", the poverty, my son. Thus, one may say that the main cause of Greek migration was poverty. (see p.19) This has been the cause of previous pre-Christian Greek migration to Asia Minor and different islands in the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. The economic responsibilities of the male population of Greece are great. They have to provide, not only for
SANITARY MEASURES IN NORTHERN GREECE

Near the Jugoslavian frontier, Greek women dig riverside pools from which to scoop up sand-filtered water for drinking.

PELOPONNESIAN PEASANTS

In the background looms the once impregnable fortress of Karytaina, recalling the days when swashbuckling Crusaders were princes in Morea.
the needs of the family, but they have to provide a dower to their sisters or daughters. An elderly man stated as the reason for his coming to America, the fact that he had to provide dower for his two younger sisters, before he could make money to get married himself; and as a result of that he came to America, from where he provided dower to his sisters, but not enough to get married himself.

Commercially, Greece has nearly always an unfavorable balance of trade with other countries. The exports are less than the imports, and for many years the balance between the exports and imports has been taken care of through the income of commercial vessels, and through the remittances of the Greek population outside Greece, to their relatives in Greece. The main exports of Greece are currants, tobacco, olive oil, figs, and wine. The other products as wheat, corn, and a variety of garden vegetables are consumed at home. It must be noted here, that the rug industry from Smyrna came to Athens and Pireaus, and the Turkish tobacco, of Macedonia and Thrace, consumed in America under this title, is produced by Greek settlers in those regions. The main imports of the country are live stock from Bulgaria and Serbia, wheat from the United States and Argentina, clothing from the United States and England, mechanical articles from Germany and America, and articles of novelty from France and Italy. As the country has not sufficient plains and valleys to raise wheat for its use, it depends upon its excess production in currants and tobacco to be sold in international
markets, in order to be able to buy the means for its subsis-
tance. Thus, adverse conditions in production of currants and
tobacco, such as droughts or early colds, together with ad-
verse international market conditions would result in an econ-
omic depression. International credit has been fairly high in
the past, but the purchasing power of the country is now im-
perilled by the fall of the price of drachma due to the insuf-
ficient gold reserve of the country.

Social Causes

In the villages the people have a very low standard of li-
ving. In many places, they do not have enough milk and butter,
neither can they produce sufficient vegetables, although in
some other places, it is comparatively easy to make a bare liv-
ing. The few plains are fertile and even under inadequate cul-
tivation, they yield a fair return. In places, where some kind
of raw materials are produced, such as wool and cotton, the ne-
cessities of life are close at hand and easily accessible. The
people, themselves, make their cloth and live a simple inde-
pendent life. (see p.22) They are contented and their needs are
easily supplied. Where each produces what he needs, there is
no opportunity for exchange of goods, and therefore, the inter-
nal commerce of Greece is insignificant. The transportation
system is not yet well developed, although considerable atten-
tion is given to the question of road building, and a large
sum of money is spent yearly, for construction.
Fired with thorn bush or light brushwood, these outdoor ovens, sometimes shared by several families, are common throughout Greece. Loaves ready for baking are spread on a cloth in the foreground and the oval wooden mixing bowl is in the corner.
Attractions of America

In contrast to these economic stresses of the country, the attractions of the New World, late in the nineteenth century, resulted in a migration to the United States. The Greeks began to hear of a promising land, where money could be easily gained and where a considerable freedom of activity was given to the people. The prospective immigrants had made a myth of such land. They gathered around sailors, who had been in this country, and listened to them tell of the wonderful opportunities one might have to improve his condition. Finally, one or two decided to visit the country, and arrived in America. Soon they realized their dreams and wrote back home to that effect. Some of them went back with golden rings and watches, holding pens between their fingers where shepherd's crude sticks were placed before. Thus, pressed by the hard economic conditions on one hand, and attracted by the wealthy land of America on the other, a certain type of people began to emigrate to America.

Classes of Immigrants and Their Aims

From what has been stated above, evidently nothing else but the "dollars" of America made the Greeks come to this country. Money, being the primary cause, naturally the first immigrants were of the class who needed money very badly, and who would work to make money. America was not a country to live in, but to make money in to be spent in Greece. Therefore, the first comers were men of middle age, some as young as 15 or 18,
who always expected to return to Greece to get married and settle down after gaining some money in America. A number of these early immigrants did so, but the majority of them, after hard work and enormous sufferings here, adjusted themselves to the social conditions of the country and remained in this land, later bringing their families and their relatives here, too. For over thirty years, from 1858—the date when the first two Greek men reached the shores of America— all immigrants from Greece were men aiming to return to Greece. These early male Greek immigrants settled in the industrial centers of America, in New York, Chicago, Lowell, and other mill centers, and lived two or three or even in groups of eight, together. They would rent an apartment and cook their own food, trying to save every possible cent to accomplish what they were aiming at; namely, to save money to go back.

Disappointments

With the good news of wealth and prosperity, others sent bitter complaints and notes of their sufferings to their relatives and friends at home. A book of twenty-one pages, written by Papavasilios in 1905, is a portrait of the life of Greeks in this country, full of hardships and misunderstandings, due to lack of knowledge of the language and the laws of the country. It is written in verse and contains messages and advice, given to immigrants on their way to America by others who had been in the United States and who went through many hardships. The following are literally translated passages from this book,
which, although very poor in language, they illustrate the point.

"Oh, my fate, oh unpitiful fate, who do not pity me,
Who brought me far, to black and strange lands.
You brought me to America to tyrannize my body,
To walk the streets and alleys, and not gain a penny.
I am the most unfortunate of all creatures on earth
To be sick in bed, days and weeks alone, without father's
mother's or sister's care;
If I were to think and write down the "Americas" suffering
I would need the sky for paper and the ocean for ink.
We sleep in basements to save money.---
At five o'clock in the morning we start to work,
At twelve at midnight we go to our room;
Because of the excessive fatigue, and long sleeplessness
Comes the death, alive, and begins undertaking."

Due to these early sufferings of immigrants in this country, to the fact that many of them went back sick with tuberculosis, or other incurable diseases, and to another most important fact that the Greeks loved the outdoor life in Greece, up to the last decade of the nineteenth century, "the Greek immigration into the United States was not of sufficient volume to be called a movement." From 1882 to 1886, 503 men and 45 women entered and settled in New York. The following table from an annual report of the Commissioner, General of Immigration, al-

though not accepted as being accurate, due to the fact that
some immigrants may have come through other channels and conse-
quently, may not be listed, gives an idea of the rate of in-
crease of Greek immigrants. In 1858, there were two Greeks am-
ong all the immigrants, and from 1847 to 1864, the total number of Greeks entering this port was seventy-seven. The number of Greek immigrants fluctuated yearly, as follows:

1869  8  1879  21  1889  158
1870  23  1880  23  1890  524
1871  11  1881  19  1891  1105
1872  12  1882  126  1892  615
1873  23  1883  73  1893  1131

According to the census reports of 1920 and 1930, the increase of the number of Greeks in the United States, for each ten years, was as follows:

1850  86  1860  328  1870  390
1880  776  1890  1,187  1900  8,515
1910  111,232  1920  175,976  1930  174,526

The sudden increase after 1881 was due to the failure of all the important current industries and the subsequent economic depression. "The people came to America because they could make more money in America."

Early Settlements of Greek Immigrants

The early Greek immigrants settled first in the eastern states, mostly in New York and Massachusetts, from where they gradually spread to other states. In their early days in this

1. Burgess "Greeks in America" p.16
country, they followed each other, and concentrated in working centers. As a matter of fact, each new immigrant had a letter to some relative or friend here, who took guardianship over the newcomer, giving him employment in his store or factory. For example, just after the Spanish-American war, two Greek brothers by the name of Stephanos, in Philadelphia, established a tobacco factory. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, another Greek by the name of Anargyros, established the first Greek cigarette manufacturing factory in New York, and another Greek, M. Melachrinos, established the Melachrinos & Co., a big cigarette manufacturing concern. The names of these people were heard in Greece, and many Greeks came to work in these factories. Soon they spread to every other state of the Union, and it was not long, before they were found working in the mills in Chicago, and Lowell, in foundries in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in shoe factories in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in sponge works in the Pacific and Atlantic coasts and in many businesses in almost every state.

After thirty years' trial, the Greeks began to change their idea of going back, and began to call for their wives, to settle with them in the new world. Thus, after the year 1890, immigration of women and children started. Yet, this women-child immigration of the Greek people never attained great importance as among other nationalities, because even at present, probably more than 25% of the Greeks in America think of going back to Greece some day. Nevertheless, they began to organize
themselves into communities. Early in 1891, the Greek colony in Chicago was established. In 1911, this colony had over 4,000 members, but in a sense, all Greeks in Chicago at that date, amounting to 15,000, of which, only 700-800 were women and about 200 children, were connected with the organization. The fruit and candy dealers were the richest members of the organization, the others being employed in other businesses as meat markets, groceries, coffee houses, cobblers' shops, restaurants, tobacco stores, candy kitchens, general and grocery stores, tailor and barber shops. They maintained the Greek Orthodox Church, which they have at present, with two priests, well educated, holding the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, from Athens University. They hold a practical monopoly of the boot-blacking industry, with over fifty establishments. Other businesses were increased in their hands as their number increased in the city, and by 1908, they had 275 fruit, candy, and ice cream dealers, eleven wholesale fruit dealers, and eight ice cream manufacturers. They had two types of hotels and restaurants, as they do at present, one being the American type of restaurant with American kitchen, and the other, the Greek type, with Greek kitchen, Greek food, like those at home. Of both types, there were seventy-six establishments in 1904, which increased to 252 in 1908. Similar progress has been made in every other line of business and in every other state.

The other two significant Greek colonies as early as 1891 and 1893, were the colonies in New York and Lowell, respectiv-
ely. The colony in New York, unlike those in Chicago and Lowell, was decentralized. The people followed the trait of business appointments and settled in every corner that was convenient to them. Gradually, they grew close to each other, and lived in small settlements in the city. In greater New York, in 1911, there were about 20,000 Greeks, almost entirely males, of whom 12,000 to 14,000 were living in Manhattan and the Bronx. In these two sections of the city, the Greek element, even at present, is highly concentrated. According to the Greek-American Guide in 1911, there were in New York, seven newspapers and periodicals, ten steamship agencies, five importers and exporters, six physicians and surgeons, thirty-seven Greek produce importers, seventy confectioners, twenty-six tobacco importers and cigarette manufacturers, 113 florists, forty-six fur dealers and furriers, and many other less important business establishments. They organized the Greek Orthodox Church, which had active members, amounting to 500 or 600 with annual dues of $5, although the wealthier members were paying much more. These are the regular members; all other Greeks were always considered members of the church, but as they did not pay their $5 dues, in spite of the fact that on other occasions they would pay more, they had no voice in the management of affairs of the association. The same is true in present day Greek Church Associations.

The Lowell colony, due to the nature of the business of the Greeks in that city, was more centralized than either New
York or Chicago. The people lived in large neighborhoods in the city and organized the best Greek communities as early as 1893. They built a magnificent church building, which cost them over $76,000, of the modified Byzantine style, which is characteristic of buildings of this type. The number of Greek people, as early as 1911, was estimated to be between 7,000 to 10,000, of which, assuming the latter number to be more nearly right, 7,000 were men, 2,000 women, and about 500 children.

The majority of these people came from Mani or Lagonia, a town in the interior of Morea. Coming from this place in contrast to other Greeks in other states who came from different regions in Greece and Asia Minor, they may be taken as representatives of the Greeks in Pelopponesos. The largest per cent, if not all of them, worked in nine large factories in that city, and were employed mostly at unskilled labor, with a pay of $6 to $7 per week.

Other Greek colonies established during the first decade of the present century were in Lincoln, Nebraska; Boston, Mass; Haverhill, Mass., and elsewhere. A complete study of these colonies, their social economic and religious activities; and an account of the conduct of the Greek people, in regard to their observance of the laws of the United States, is given by Fairchild in his book "Greek Immigration to the United States", pages 120-190. An idea of these early conditions, as it is given above, is enough for a background to elaborate on the present conditions.
PART II
CHAPTER I

GREEKS IN AMERICA

The Greek population of America, or the Greek Americans, as they prefer to be called, are scattered throughout the United States. In following their economic interests, they have frequently changed their locations. Thus, we find Greeks in Boston, who come from other states, and others who have left Boston, after having spent most of their lives in this city. Due to these frequent changes of addresses and because of the fact that it is hard to draw the line beyond which a Greek becomes American, either by gaining some political and social prestige to be acceptable as such, or through birth, the exact number of Greeks is not known. There is a tendency among the Greeks to estimate their number to be between 450 to 500 thousands, the largest numbers according to their estimate being 75 to 100 thousand in New York State, 40 to 50 thousand in Illinois, 30 to 40 thousand in Massachusetts, 20 to 30 thousand in California, 6 to 10 thousand in Missouri, and about 8,000 in Michigan.

Distribution of Greeks in America—Their Movement

According to the census reports of 1920 and 1930, the number of foreign born Greeks and Americans, born of Greek parentage in the United States, distributed by geographic divisions,
are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic Division</th>
<th>Foreign 1920</th>
<th>Foreign 1930</th>
<th>Born 1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>32,186</td>
<td>25,423</td>
<td>25,359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Atlantic</td>
<td>44,531</td>
<td>51,053</td>
<td>35,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East North Central</td>
<td>45,135</td>
<td>49,101</td>
<td>34,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West North Central</td>
<td>11,236</td>
<td>8,018</td>
<td>6,253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Atlantic</td>
<td>11,450</td>
<td>11,449</td>
<td>9,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East South Central</td>
<td>2,014</td>
<td>2,304</td>
<td>1,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West South Central</td>
<td>3,494</td>
<td>3,331</td>
<td>2,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td>9,483</td>
<td>6,716</td>
<td>4,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>16,457</td>
<td>17,131</td>
<td>9,517</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As per states in order of their significance in number, they were, in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>26,117</td>
<td>33,387</td>
<td>21,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>20,441</td>
<td>16,780</td>
<td>16,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>16,465</td>
<td>20,003</td>
<td>15,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>13,893</td>
<td>11,646</td>
<td>8,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>13,540</td>
<td>12,050</td>
<td>7,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>10,314</td>
<td>12,675</td>
<td>7,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>5,280</td>
<td>3,233</td>
<td>3,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>4,521</td>
<td>6,020</td>
<td>5,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>4,215</td>
<td>2,881</td>
<td>1,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>4,182</td>
<td>4,087</td>
<td>2,753</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the other states, the number in each varied between 4,000 and 167 in 1920, and 3,337; and 225 in 1930. The ten cities which contained the largest numbers of Greeks in 1920, over 21 years old, and in 1930, including all ages, are shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Male 1920</th>
<th>Male 1930</th>
<th>Female 1920</th>
<th>Female 1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>13,810</td>
<td>21,201</td>
<td>4,798</td>
<td>9,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhattan</td>
<td>10,934</td>
<td>11,497</td>
<td>3,856</td>
<td>4,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>8,713</td>
<td>11,509</td>
<td>1,977</td>
<td>3,972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>3,914</td>
<td>5,211</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>1,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowell</td>
<td>2,015</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>1,185</td>
<td>894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>2,273</td>
<td>2,629</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>1,094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akron, Ohio</td>
<td>1,722</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>1,902</td>
<td>4,479</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>2,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>2,727</td>
<td>3,250</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>1,685</td>
<td>1,226</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are the figures of the 1920 and 1930 census reports, and their authenticity is not absolute, for the reasons already stated, and because of the fact that many people are inaccurately recorded. The figures of 1920 show there is also a stronger tendency for Greek girls to remain at the age of 18 or 19, for as many years as they live with their parents until they get married, when they jump to their true age. This fact throws more ambiguity on the girls' figures of 1920, and it is believed that the number of females over 21 years, is very much understated. These figures were shown to a group of people,
who agree that they are entirely wrong. They believe that in 1920, the Greek population numbered not less than 400,000, and at present, the number, although not very much greater than in 1920, is nevertheless, not less than the number given above. The difference of these numbers is due to the possible fact that Greeks coming from countries other than Greece, are recorded under the name of the country they come from, while they are enumerated as Greeks by the Greek people. The above table, however, shows their relative number as per geographic division of the land, in ten large cities of the country.

Business Engagements

There is a tendency for Greek people, as for any other nationality, to work together. They trust each other more, understand each other better, and probably want to help each other. Therefore, you find them forming corporations and partnerships, mostly among themselves; yet there are a good many Greeks in business with other nationalities. They are engaged in almost every kind of business; yet their numbers in any one of them, vary greatly. The predominant industries of the Greeks in this country are the management of candy stores, fruit stores, ice cream parlors, florist shops, furrier's shops, fisheries, cigarette factories, grocery import houses, grocery stores, boot-shining parlors, and restaurants. The last named is the commonest and one in which their number is increasing fastest. "When two Greeks meet each other, they open a restaurant" is a common maxim, with some truth in it. The largest
Greek industries in America, include the cigarette manufacturing establishments of Stephanos Brothers, in Philadelphia, established over 35 years ago. The Stephanos cigarettes are of high grade and are sold all over America. Other commercial houses and merchants dealing in tobacco, appeared recently in New York, and some of them have been very prosperous, as Pouliides Brothers, B. D. Dugundji & Co., and Condax Brothers, all of New York. Anargyros and Melachrinos, once the two largest Greek cigarettes manufacturing establishments, have been sold recently to American Standard Tobacco Company, although the cigarettes still bear the names of their founders. Another industry of considerable size, owned and controlled by a Greek named Pantazes, a native of Andros, is a theater enterprise of large number of theaters along the western coast, centering in Seattle, Washington. Another, the Fox Theater Company, is owned by the Scuras Brothers, and has over 500 theaters in different large cities of the country, as in New York, Boston, Chicago, and others. There are also a great many Greeks, who operate small theaters and moving picture houses, and some have large ones as Mr. Paterson in Pittsburgh, Pa. Numerous Greek motion picture houses are found in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, and Texas. Choremi and Benaki Co. is dealing in wholesale cotton and has branches in many European cities, and is well known in Egypt. The Gloria chain stores is a Greek organization in Boston, and will be mentioned later. There are a number of Greek hotels and theaters in New York, over 200

1.-2. Xenides, The Greeks in America p. 83-84
3. As per one of Scuras Acquittance?
4. Xenides, the Greeks in America p. 83-84
florists, and a good many notable confectioneries. Among the large hotels in New York, there is Tixy Hotel on 42nd Street, owned and operated by Greeks. Many Greeks are barbers, tailors, furriers, cobblers, and they work as railroad laborers, farmers, miners, mill hands, agents, and in hotels.

The Professional Men

Another class of Greeks, which has not been mentioned in the previous pages, is the professional class. They have been left to be discussed in this part of the thesis, separately, because they belong to another class, and in contrast to the origin of the average Greeks in America, they come from cities and large towns in Greece. Early in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, a few professional lawyers and doctors, seeing the prosperity of their countrymen in America, thought to themselves: 'If the dumb and illiterate Apostolos made that fortune in America, I certainly can do better.' So the gentleman, with his head full of scientific knowledge and experience, came to America. The first thing to do was to open an office. But as 80 out of 100 did not have the means to do so, and as the remaining 20, due to ignorance of the language, failed even if they did open offices, their attempts to practice their professions went in vain. They were forced to work as common laborers with their countrymen; and as they were not trained to do manual work, they were disgusted. As soon as they made enough money to buy tickets, they went back home. In many cases, friends paid their fares for them.

1. Burgess "The Greeks in America" p.32
A few others, after long hard work, gradually learned the language, and opened offices. By that time, the Greek population had increased and was a little more educated in seeking medical aid when needed. Thus, we find that a few doctors, after 1895, could make a good living. Not very long after the above date, Greek professional men began graduating from American colleges, and did not have any difficulty in adjusting themselves to the conditions. The lawyers, who came from across had a much harder time, because they could not learn the legal language very easily, and because the law itself differs from the law in Greece. At present, those old professional men, born across, are few in number. Their early hardships are completely forgotten by them, and never have been known by the younger ones who are in considerable numbers in every city of the Union. As the Greeks are naturally lovers of knowledge and education, their number is increasing rapidly. On the other hand, however, these educated Greeks become easily assimilated, and leave the ranks of Greek nationality.

Greek Communities and Churches

As it has already been stated, the Greeks in America, after discovering that the question of their going back was very difficult and uncertain, felt the need of organizing themselves into communities. They wanted something in a spiritual way, which America could not give them. They could not be satisfied with American institutions where religion was not, and still is
not taught, and in addition, other attitudes such as irreverence to older and more experienced people, were developed in their children. Therefore, for the purpose of teaching their language, their religion, and in order to be able to transmit some of the high ideals of their ancestors to their children, they started to organize themselves into communities, to open churches, and schools, and to establish other clubs to maintain these schools. Other benevolent societies were established to help, and also to further the development of their particular village or town in the old country, by sending across some of their savings. Thus, the whole Greek population went through a period of organization, which was slow in the first decade of the present century, but rapid during the fifteen years preceding 1930. The exact number of such organizations is not known, but it is believed that there are over 300 such communities and other similar Greek associations in America. According to a pamphlet issued by the Archdiocese in New York, there are 243 churches which acknowledged the Archdiocese, yet this list is not complete because a good many churches, going with Julian Calendar, as that of Saint John in Boston, are not included. Each of these churches bears the name of a Saint, or the name of some significant religious phenomena, as in the Church of the Annunciation, of Holy Trinity, etc.. The names always start with the "Greek Orthodox Church of", and end with the name of the church.

According to another pamphlet, issued by the Archdiocese,
the states which have the largest number of churches, are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etc...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of these communities, the smallest one composed of 15 or 20 families, maintain a Greek afternoon school, where the children go after their American school hour is over. The teaching staff in these schools are the priests, where the community maintains a church, or a regular teacher, where the school is maintained by an association of Greek people, and church is not maintained. The priest however, does not always teach and sometimes, teachers are employed to take his place in school work. A list of names, given by the Archdiocese of New York, enumerates 377 teachers and over 300 priests in North and South America and Canada, but it is believed that a great number of teachers and priests are not registered, and the list does not include their names.

The Archdiocese of New York

The story of the immigration of the Greek religious leaders is very interesting, in itself. With the increase of Greek people in this country in 1890, the Holy Synod of Athens conceived the need of religious leaders, namely, priests in the United States, and sent a few priests to the new world. They were welcomed by the Greeks here, and made good money going from city
to city and town to town, to see their flocks. With the further increase in the number of Greeks here, some other priests were called by their relatives in the United States, and thus, the immigration of priests began. In 1918, the Holy Synod sent the Archbishop, Alexander, to take care of the church affairs. With the fall of Smyrna, and the political disturbance in Greece, which resulted in the division of popular opinion, some people favoring Venizelos, and others, Constantine the King, another Bishop name Vasilios, came to the United States. The Greeks in the United States were also divided into two parties, the democratic and the monarchist. Vasilios assumed the leadership of the monarchists, and Alexander as the deputy of the Holy Synod of Athens, necessarily was with the democrats. Another Bishop, Alexopoulos, was consecrated here in Boston, and soon all three began to ordain priests everywhere in America. The field was soon crowded, and hard times in the church began. Parties favoring one or the other priest were developed, and the whole Greek population was in a religious turmoil. Changes of the committees in charge of church affairs and even fights in some churches, were quite common for eight or more years. In July, 1930, the Patriarch in Constantinople, in co-operation of the Holy Synod of Athens, sent to the United States as mediator, the Bishop of Corinth, Most Rev. Damaskinos.

He tried to regulate the church affairs in the United States, and as remedy for the condition, in six months he succeeded in persuading all three bishops to leave America. They
were given new posts in Greece, and in their place, the present Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America, Most Rev. Athenagoras, arrived in New York in April, 1931. He organized the Archdiocese located on 273 Elm Street, Astoria, Long Island New York, proceeded in selecting suitable priests, and in sending back to Greece, those who could not adjust themselves to the environment in this country. In November of the same year, he called the first Pan-Hellenic communal representatives of the Greek communities all over both North and South America, and after long sessions for two weeks, they set down rules and regulations to be followed by every Greek community in North and South America and Canada. Thus, the unification of eastern Greek Orthodoxy was completed and peace arrived into communities between the members. Under the new constitution and by-laws adopted in that first meeting of the communal representatives, all property of any community belongs to the Archdiocese. It covers every particular field of communal life, respecting the churches, and the care of orphans and the poor. Last August, the Archdiocese bought a property in Maine, where orphans of Greek descent will be gathered and taken care of.

The organization of the Archdiocese consists of the Archbishop at the head, the Protosyngelos, who is in charge of all the work in the Archdiocese, a legal advisor, two other prominent priests as helpers, and secretaries. The Archbishop, three out of four weeks in a month is out visiting different communities. Under the auspices of the Archdiocese, and with
the Archbishop as president, there are the committees on education, in charge of the Greek afternoon schools, to be discussed later, and the committee of the Spiritual Court, as they call it, to judge the offenders of church regulations. The study of communal life of Greeks, is more precisely described in the following pages.

Most Rev. Archbishop Athenagoras of N. Y.

Patriarch of Constantinople Photios II
CHAPTER II

THE GREEKS IN AMERICA (CONTINUATION)

With Special Reference to Greeks in Boston

Boston has been selected as a representative city for the study of Greek life in all its phases. There are no accurate statistics regarding business establishments, the number of people and the wealth of these people; consequently, this study of these elements is based upon personal observations, and the opinions of a group of Greek people in this city. According to the census of 1920, there were 2,273 males and 535 females, foreign born Greeks. This number, as shown in the census in 1930, has been increased to 2,629 males and 1,094 females. But, as has already been stated, previously, these statistics cannot be taken as accurate because many Greeks do not care to get registered; the number is inaccurate and understated, according to the Greeks of the city, who believe that they are at least 8,000 to 10,000 in number, in Greater Boston.

Economic Conditions

1. Industrial Development. To speak more concretely, we shall take a certain Greek, Mr. A, and trace him from home to America and see his industrial development here in Boston. A, who is the average Greek immigrant in Boston, while a small child in his mountain village, had heard of a legendary land around which the most beautiful myths were made. He grew up with a desire to visit this country. After long and persistent
desire, by which he conquered all obstacles, he got to New York. There, he met some of his countrymen, who welcomed him and probably helped him to find a job, most probably in a restaurant, where he began to learn the language. After a few days, he was discharged from the place and after a long search for new work and a few months of hunger, cold, sickness, and other sufferings, he was employed in a confectionery. There, he was unable to fulfill all the requirements of his job, and was forced to look for another. He worked in a shoe-shining parlor for a while and was obliged to change that vocation, too, for some unknown reason. He worked as salesman, railroad laborer, buss boy, and finally, out of his savings and with the experience he had gained, he managed to buy a push cart. He worked for many years, pushing his cart around the streets of some cities and after he was quite tired and had saved enough money, he opened a fruit stand, a grocery store or a lunch room. Due to his thriftiness, he enlarged his business, opened another store and incorporated his business. This case can be taken as typical of the experience of Greek immigrants, although some of them have been wandering ever since they came to this country, have failed in many businesses and never reached anywhere.

2. Business Engagements--Working Conditions--Professional Men. Most of the Greek immigrants in Boston, after hard experiences, have succeeded in establishing significant business enterprises. Among the most successful Greeks in Boston, are Choremi & Benaki Co., dealing in cotton and believed to be
millionaires; Pappas & Co., owner of the Gloria chain of seventeen grocery stores; Mustakis Brothers, manufacturers of confectioneries and wholesale dealers; Chakalis Brothers, wholesale meat dealers and owners of the Commonwealth Baking Company, and Towel and Apron Supply Company. Other wholesale dealers in fruits, groceries, and other goods, which are for the immediate satisfaction of human needs, are the Boston Baking Company, the Marathon Baking Company, the Puritan Baking Company, the Athens Baking Company, the Chimes Brownies Company, the Pappas Brothers, importers of groceries, and the largest in the size of the store in the world, dealing in wholesale and retail fruits, Faneuil Fruit Company. All these companies are owned and operated by Greeks in Boston. Out of 900 cafeterias in Boston, 350 belong to Greeks, and in many other lunch rooms, the workers are Greeks. In the restaurant business, the Greeks show special progress. They give good, clean food and their patrons seldom leave them. Among the large restaurant associations, there is the United Restaurant Association, composed of seventeen restaurants, all Greek. The Puritan Cafeteria, Excellent Lunch Company, Alpha Lunch Company, and Worthy Lunch, have each three or four restaurants in different parts of the city.

Fruit stores are probably the next large business engagement of the Greek people in Boston. Prof. Havice, in his letter in regard to this point, states that "many Greek people in our country are identified with fruit stands and the like. The average American carelessly generalizes and thinks at once of a
fruit stand, when he thinks of a Greek." The third large line of vocation is the shoeshine parlor. It is believed that the development of these parlors is attributed to Greeks, and is the natural development in this country, of the shoeshine boys in the streets of Athens and Peraeus. Other business enterprises in Boston, on a smaller scale, are shown with their approximate number as follows: tailors, 15-20; barbers, 10-15; electricians, 8-10. There are other minor occupations as pushcarts, vendors, janitors, and employees in different American institutions and occasional laborers, of unknown number. The nature of all of these businesses requires hard and long working hours. They require social intelligence rather than experience, to get along well with people. The Greeks, as hard working people, very well filled the office. In restaurants, they work from eight to twelve or fifteen hours a day, from three or four o'clock in the morning until twelve and even to one o'clock at midnight. Where substitution of a person for another can be made and the business income is large enough, a shift is made, and the working hours of a person are reduced. Fruit dealers and buyers in restaurants, go down to market every morning as early as three or four o'clock. The working conditions of a buss boy are obvious and do not require explanation. In some stores, one may find the father, having as help, his wife or some of his older children. The wages, at present, in every line of these businesses are low. The cooks get anything between $18 to $25, the buss boys, $10 to $14, and in fruit stores,
the employees get between $15 to $20 per week. There are also many American born boys and girls working as stenographers, and helpers in the stores of their relatives or parents.

In the scientific world, the Greeks in Boston, are progressing rapidly. There are fourteen Greek doctors in Boston, all of them possessing degrees from American Colleges, except one Mr. Georganatas, who came from across and is successful in his profession, due to his large experience in the Medical College in France. The lawyers are of even greater number, practically all from American Colleges. Among the prominent Greek lawyers in Boston, are Mr. Loumos, assistant State Attorney; Mr. Demeter, member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts; Mr. Booras, Supreme President of the Greek National Organization; and Mr. Ladas of Harvard University, who was a professor in the same institution for several years. There are over sixty Greek students in the colleges in Boston, in almost every profession. According to Mr. Vukuvalas, the president of Helicon, a club of Greek professional men and women, including students in colleges, the number of Greek students in colleges is increasing rapidly. According to a statement of Dr. Demos of the Department of Philosophy in Harvard University, 95% of these students are earning their own way along, and when they graduate, they enter into professional activities and become responsible citizens.

Organizations

1. Religious Organizations. There are four Greek Orthodox...
Churches in Boston and vicinity. The Church of Annunciation, (see picture on p. 49) located on the corner of Ruggles and Parker Streets, if not the largest, is the best church building of Greeks in America. The community, which maintains this church, was established in 1902, under the name "Hellenic Association of Boston," and was then located on Winchester Street; in 1923 it was removed to its present location, and has an average number of 650 active members. It is the seat of the representative of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of New York. The next church is that of St. Constantine and Helen, on 14 Magazine Street, Cambridge, which has an equal number of members. The church building is smaller than that of the Annunciation, but more religious spirited Greek environment in the location. The next important Greek Orthodox Church, noted for its refusal to co-operate with other churches and is still following the old Julian Calendar, is that of St. John on 15 Union Park Street, Boston. It is a large building, but not as beautiful as that of Annunciation. The members of this church do not number more than 200, and are of a less cultured poor class. In each of these three churches, the membership dues are $6 per person. Up to 1931, membership privilege was exclusively reserved to males; in December, 1931, however, it was decided that females be allowed to become active members of these communities. It must be borne in mind that the Greek Orthodox Church considers all Greeks, members of the church, and that active membership, acquired by registering and paying the dues, entitles one to take
Hellenic Association of Boston

Since the days of Michael Anagnos, its first President, the Association has been fortunate in having a long list of capable and energetic men as its officers.

It seems only meet and just that on this, its 27th Anniversary, the Hellenic Association—as well as its guests should join in honoring the memory of one of the originators and its first President.

MICHAEL ANAGNOS—rendered inestimable service to his fellow Greeks by his practical loyalty and high ideals in such service.

As the secretary and friend of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, he worked with him during his trip for the relief of Greek war sufferers of the war of independence. He thus won the love and trust of his countrymen and faith and confidence of those of his adopted country, he became in word and deed a true American.

MICHAEL ANAGNOS—is best known and loved here for his life's work in and for the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the blind, first under its first Director Dr. S. G. HOWE, and after his death as his successor acting for many years, as Director from 1876—1906.

He founded the Kindergarten for the blind in 1887, in 1895 through the Boston Transcripts $10.00 fund raised $5,000.00 for current expenses sadly needed for that great work, which has meant so much to the blind, as only blind can know and tell.

MICHAEL ANAGNOS—his friends—were many and loyal, among whom were such well known Americans as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Margaret Doland, William Dean Howells, Bishop Brooks, James Russell Lowell, and last but not least, our own HELEN KELLER, Pupil of Anagnos himself, a true appreciator of all that Mr. Anagnos did for her and the blind wherever he found them.

"By their deeds ye shall know them"
part in the management of the organizations. Other churches, a little farther out, are found in Peabody and Somerville.

The priests in these churches are immigrants, and hold the Bachelor's degree from Athens Theological School. One of them, Rev. Cavadas, is of the Church of Annunciation, and is a religious leader with modern ideas, and very successful in drawing the people to the church. He is recognized as the best Greek priest in America. The Liturgy takes place every Sunday, between ten and twelve o'clock, for two hours, and a few other important holidays, at the same hour, on the same day they come. The Liturgy is that of Byzantine Style, written by St. Vasilios in co-operation with St. Chrysostomos during the third century, and it is in a language semi-archaic, little understood by the average illiterate people. The music is a modified Byzantine, sung by a choir of five or six males and of an equal number of girls in the Church of Annunciation. In the other two churches mentioned above, it is sung by two singers, alternately. One-third of the whole Liturgy of ancient times is omitted from the present church ceremony and in its place, a half-hour talk is given by the priest, interpreting the passage of the bible set forth by the fathers of the church, to be read that day, during the Liturgy. The average attendance at this large church on Ruggles and Parker Sts., is 1,500 people, not including the 300 children, who attend Sunday school for half an hour before the Liturgy starts, every Sunday. In the other two churches, the attendance is less than the above number, but all three or four
are filled up to their utmost capacity on Christmas and Easter, when the Liturgy is very impressive.

Other Greek churches, not belonging to Orthodox dogma, but very similar to American Protestant Churches are found in certain large cities in America. The number and the membership of these churches is limited to a small number between 100 to 500 or 600, respectively. They are regular Protestant churches and hold services every Sunday afternoon, with a Sunday school for children just before or after the service on the same day. There are two of these churches in Boston, one headed by Rev. Tokas, and the other by Rev. Yphantides, both graduates of a Protestant Theological School, and each have about 150 members, including the children. Rev. Xenides in New York, has another church with a membership of 100 people. Similar Greek Protestant Churches, are found in Lowell, Massachusetts, Los Angeles and San Francisco, in Toronto, all of limited membership, not exceeding 150 members. The two most important Greek Protestant Churches are found in Chicago, one of them headed by Rev. C. Dalas, having over 600 members and being the most energetic. Their teachings and the procedure of service are similar to those in Protestant Churches, in general. They call their church "Evangeliki Ecclesia" and do not belong to any one Protestant denomination, but are similar to them. "Our main object," said Rev. Yphantides, "is to fight atheism, which we believe, will bring destruction of all social orders, and not the Greek Orthodox or any other church. We are Greeks and will al-
ways remain Greeks, because we think of no other race, and therefore, we insist that our members continue to join the Greek communities and associations." These churches are independent and have no outside help from other churches. The church halls are rented and they depend upon the membership dues then, and collections for maintenance.

Another Greek church is an organization composed of the Students of Bible Association. It is found in Boston and in some other large cities. Their number, however, is insignificant and does not demand consideration. These churches, patterned on some foreign to Greek Orthodox Church, as above described, are looked upon by the rest of Greeks, with condemnation, although their toleration is enviable. The children of these Greek protestants come to the Greek Orthodox schools, where such schools are available. A few of the members came from Greece with their religious beliefs, and the great majority were converted, here in the United States. They have two papers, one weekly, called the "Αγγέλιοφόρα", the messenger, and the other monthly, "Αλήθεια", the truth. Their headquarters were in Lowell, Mass., and were transferred to Boston, recently. The editor of both of these is Rev. Stephanos Vayiatasis, a Thessalian, born in Greece.

2. Schools. (see p.53) Each of the three Greek communities above mentioned, maintains a Greek school which operates between four and six o'clock, five days a week. In addition, they have Sunday schools, held either on Sunday or Saturday
mornings. In all three schools, the priest has one class every day, and all the classes for Sunday school. The school of the Annunciation is believed to be the best, as it has the best schoolrooms and employs better means for education. The school has six complete grades, beginning from the first, and the number of children varies between 35 and 45 in each class, with the exception of the two higher classes, where the number of the two combined is equal to 30 or 35, and have one teacher who holds the Bachelor's degree in Education from Athens University, and his Master's in Education from Boston University. In addition, there are two other teachers of nearly equal caliber. The total number of children attending this school is 180, according to the secretary of the church, while in the school maintained by the Cambridge community, the number is over 250, and in the school on 15 Union Park Street, only ninety. The number of teachers in Cambridge are two, plus the priest, and in Union Park Street school, one, plus the priest, in contrast to three teachers, plus the priest in the school of Annunciation.

In addition to these three schools, there are eight more in the vicinity of Boston; in Watertown, Malden, Dorchester, Brighton, West Roxbury, East Boston, Winthrop, and on Dover St., Boston. These are maintained by clubs and small associations of the Greeks in their respective localities. The aim of all these schools is to give to the children, some religious education, which they do not get in American schools, and to a certain degree, some of the Greek language and history, through
which to introduce them to the high ideals of their ancestors, thus, making them feel proud of their descent, rather than inferior, because of it. Furthermore, the parents, quite naturally, want their children to learn the Greek language in order to be able to understand each other at home, especially mother, who has not the chance to learn the English language. In addition, the children are told that the Greek language will help them in their studies in American high schools and colleges. In view of the above, one may say that the work of these schools is supplementary to American public schools, and their aim is to make better, American citizens. The subjects taught are religious history, Greek reading and writing, and Greek history, with much emphasis on civil education in reference to good, respectable behavior. The result of this training in schools, as Rev. Papastephanou, a former pastor of a Boston Greek church, was heard to say, was felt in American public schools. The Greek boys and girls attending these schools are distinguished for their better work in American schools.

3. Financing the Organizations. The Greek communities and other educational clubs, never in their history, probably, had surplus cash; yet, they were always able to meet their financial obligations. In the first few years of their development, they could get money for the church and the school from any Greek man, quite easily; but with the coming of the depression, the scarcity of money has been felt in every one of them. The regular sources of income of these associations are the member-
ship dues, the church collections, the income from different religious ceremonies as Baptismals, marriages, funerals, requiems for which they charge $10, $25, $15, and $10, respectively. Other sources are the annual balls and outings, theatrical performances and other occasional activities of different kinds such as concerts and exhibitions. Clubs and associations which do not maintain the church, depend upon the income from dues, $6 to $10 annually, the balls, outings, and occasional donations. The average annual income from the above sources of the great Church of the Annunciation, in round numbers, is as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Income</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church Collections</td>
<td>$11,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baptismals</td>
<td>500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marriages</td>
<td>250</td>
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<td>Funerals</td>
<td>350</td>
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<td>Requiems</td>
<td>400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ball Tickets</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Advertisements</td>
<td>3,500</td>
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<td>in Ball Programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theatrical Operations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Picnics</td>
<td>1,250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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The income of this association in 1928, amounted to $34,237.62, the expenses $27,258.78, leaving a surplus of $6,978.84. This surplus, however, has been decreasing ever since, as shown below, in the comparative statement of income and expenses.

The association has a first mortgage on the building of $94,249.50, on which it pays 6% interest and $7,500 on principle. The total assets of the association amount to $297,409.76, including furniture, $13,964.35, decorations, $7,104.99, and in $building, $276,340.42; the liabilities amount to $23,904.06, including $94,249.50, the first mortgage on the building.

1. Figures taken from annual Profit and Loss Statements of the Association.
2. From the books of the Association.
$19,765.00, bonds payable, and $9,889.11 accounts payable. As it is obvious from the above figures, the association, although it has a great equity in its property, has not enough funds to meet its running obligations. The other church in Cambridge is smaller, has less expenses and is in better financial position, while the third one on Union Park Street, can scarcely keep going. All these Greek communities live on hopes for better days, when people will make donations to the church, as they used to do ten or fifteen years ago. The conditions of these three communities may serve as an example of conditions in all other communities.

A committee of eleven, and in large communities as the Hellenic Association of Boston, of seventeen men, are elected annually, in the middle of December, to take care of the af- fairs of the community for the coming year. At the head of this committee is the president; then the vice-president, the secretary, the treasurer, and thirteen other common members follow, who constitute the Board of Directors of the Hellenic Association. Although their work is supposed to be the ar- rangement of the church and school affairs, at present, these functions are regulated by the priest, thus leaving the Board to act as financing committee. As such, they try to devise means and methods by which to find enough funds to pay the ex- penses of the association. They have very little to say about the regulation of church affairs and the schools, because usu- ally, the Board of Directors is composed of people of the aver-
age culture. The educated intellectuals, the doctors and lawyers feel the depression at present, more than the Greek business men who have the money, and therefore, cannot spare the time to join the committee.

Dependence of Greeks in Boston

The Greek people in Boston are widely scattered in all the vicinities around. The largest number of them, probably 30% of all, are found in the South End down in Harrison Ave., Columbus Ave., Washington and Tremont Streets. The remaining 70% are in different vicinities as Malden, Dorchester, Allston, Brighton, etc., and are mostly store owners in those places. They live a bearably good life and many of them own their own homes where they are comfortably settled. Another small group of Greeks is settled in Watertown and work in the rubber manufacturing establishment there. Of all the Greek people, the 30% living in the South End are those who depend on their daily work for their living. They work in different factories and stores, and they live in rented apartments. According to Mr. Ashley, from the City of Boston Welfare Department, the Greek cases come from this South End district. Out of 200 family cards investigated by Mr. Ashley, only five were found to be Greek families. Considering the number of Greeks in that locality, only two to three per cent of the families applied for aid.

The general impression of the City of Boston Welfare Department, according to its director, Mr. Ashley, is that the
Greeks do not apply for aid unless they are in very bad need of it. They are not considered as people who want to get something for nothing. "We generally consider them as moral and honest people. I do not remember discovering any immorality. We run very few hospital cases in comparison to other nationalities. They have considerably large families but not any larger than Italians or Jewish people. Our worst trouble is in talking to them and trying to pronounce their names, which are very long; but we always find somebody to help us," said Mr. Ashley. "Very few Greeks become public charges," stated the Commissioner of Immigration Service in Boston.

Family Life

1. Efforts to Make Adjustments. The Greek people, with a traditional way of living, and with ideals about the relation of parents to their children, the children to each other, and the husband to the wife, different from those in America; and coming from a land, which at that time, and even at present, has laws regulating family relations, that differ from the corresponding laws of the United States, found themselves in despair. Looking at the laxity of the family life of the Americans, a limited number of the Orthodox family idealists left America to enjoy the family life in the old country that they were used to. Many others, who were planning to do so, changed their minds because they discovered, from a few people who went back, that the children who were born here, could not live across, and furthermore, the parents themselves, could not afford to sacrifice the
living facilities in general, of America, for the above reason, and decided to remain in the United States. This class of people was forced by the general conditions, in a sense, to remain in America and still try to stick to old customs of family life. The other class of people who always sighed about their birthplace, but could never imagine the possibility of going back, tried to adjust themselves to the American environment and to adopt American customs. Organizations of national character, and clubs of large size were established to help through a successful and rapid adjustment, the Americanization of Greek people. These organizations which are of political and social character, and their activities, will be discussed later.

In the process of adjusting family living customs, certain new problems arose, which attracted the attention of prominent Greek people, many of whom could not see through these problems. They, on one hand, know that they could not endure a family life, in which a husband, after a hard day's work in the store or factory, may be required by his wife to do the kitchen work on his return home at evening; yet, on the other hand, they knew that they could not force their wives or their children to do something that, according to home country standards, the husbands should do. These two conflicting viewpoints worked quite a few hardships in Greek families for many years, and prevented the marriage of many others. These difficulties in the family life of Greeks in America will be presented in the following few pages, and their cause, with their natural
solution and results will be pointed out.

2. Husband-Wife Relations: The belief in double standards in sex relation is deeply rooted in the minds of Greek people. The average man cannot see how a husband and wife can live on a fifty-fifty basis relation, since nature decreed that each of the sex have a special fundamental function in the family peculiar to each one, such as the bearing of children by the wife, and the capacity of a husband for working continuously without interruption by regular physical ailments. In connection with this, it must be mentioned that the wives came to this country after their husbands, and due to the old ideas of church, chamber and kitchen for the women, they were confined in their homes, and consequently, had little chance to develop their capabilities in learning something to give them a certain amount of economic and social independence. The Greek housekeeping woman is still mostly illiterate in the English language, and depends upon her husband to provide everything she needs. He gladly does that, because it gives him a chance to satisfy his desire in considering himself the most important person in the family, and gives him a monopolistic attitude towards his wife. Greek women, well educated in their language, began to come to America during the last decade, mostly as wives of some less cultured men; but even these cultured women were trained at home to take this double standard attitude of men as natural, and justify themselves in the belief that the women as bearers of children, are responsible for the purity of the family blood
stream. This condition, while very bad in itself, bears with it an idea of condemnation of divorce. Greeks do not believe in divorce, cases of which can be counted on the fingers, among the 40,000 Greek population of Massachusetts.

In a recent lecture to a group of over 200 Greek women, Rev. Ath. Cavadas, protosingelos of the Archdiocese of New York, in the hall of the Hellenic Association of Boston, was heard to say that the women were made to love and through their love, to heal the wounds of the husband who has been fighting for the family all day long. For Greeks, woman is still that imaginary feeble and tender container of virtue and love, and her place is in the house, far from the troubles of the daily outside work. Very rarely, one may find Greek women, born across, working here and there, and very few help their husbands in their own stores. They remain at home and try to keep it as much as possible, on a Greek style of home keeping, where the wife has always something to do in washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning, and paying special attention to her children. Greek mothers are exceptionally fond of their children and pay much attention to bringing them up, although, because of their excessive love and care, they sometimes prevent their natural development. Furthermore, the children who are educated in American schools of American pattern, come into direct opposition with this parent's attitude. This presents a grave problem for the Greek people, which is discussed in the following lines.

3. Children and Their Big Problem. The American schools,
as it is generally recognized, have assumed many of the functions of the family in rearing the children, and the Greek families are not an exception to this rule. As long as the children are small, they do not present any serious problem in the family, although many Greeks are not satisfied with American schools, which they accuse of making the children too materialistic and individualistic. A father of a sixteen year old boy, complains to the effect that the teacher said to his boy, he should have a car, and the boy, in obedience to that, bought a car and started an extravagant life which they could not afford. Another mother complains to the effect that her daughter was left free in school to make merry with boys, and was thus allowed to enter an immoral life. For these reasons, a few Greek parents withdrew their children from the schools and others kept them isolated from the children of the neighborhood. After some bitter experiences, however, the parents are changing their attitudes gradually. But in either case, they feel the environment in America is robbing the children of warm and ideal family traditions and leading them to a lower stage of sex life. Scenes as the one which follows, are very often found where a family has one or more American born girls, who demand freedom from the old and strict family rules. In the case of boys, due to the acceptance of double standards, they are excused. "I would rather see my sister's daughter dead instead of seeing her in the arms of a stranger," said Mr. Bachelor, who has been frequently seen to enjoy the company of strange
girls. This problem of freedom and its natural solution is shown in the following case of a Greek girl, who is a representative of others.

Miss A, is at present, about 22 years old, if one may judge by her appearance and her occasional remarks in regard to her age. She has been brought up in two conflicting environments, that of the family and outside society. Until four or five years ago, she was faithful to her parents and disregarded the suggestions of her girl or boy friends, but now she seems to like the company of her friends, and clings to them rather than to her parents. She has been told of how the good girls stay at home and learn housekeeping, do this and that, and as a reward, gentlemen may appear to marry them. She has been told that she must keep up with the ideal family sex standards, and never let the family name fall down to a disgraceful level.

"Think of what the neighbors will say if they see you going out with that man; nobody will marry you if you do that, and I cannot look those people in the face, myself; you just think, darling, how your father will feel about it," remarked her mother. Miss A, as a good girl, obeyed and waited for the gentlemen, but they forgot to appear. The frequent suggestions of her girl friends and their boy friends on one hand, the disappointments in expectations, her innate desires and the eyes of her own schoolmates on the other, led Miss A to solve this problem in accordance with American social standards, but quite far from what her parents think is right, as a result of which more
severe remarks are made to her at home. Nevertheless, she manages to bring together the two ends. She starts to go and see her girl friend and on the way, meets her boy friend, Jack, Jimmie, or John. She is well Americanized!!

4. Marriage Customs. The Greeks pay considerable attention to the question of marriage, which they consider one of the necessary routines of life. From ancient times, as set forth by Solon in Athens and Lykourgos in Sparta, they have been developing an unfavorable notion about bachelors, and still an unmarried man over thirty is not looked upon as a man who has fulfilled his worldly duties as a human being. In America, although many Greeks had no choice, but were forced, in a sense, to live in celibacy, nevertheless, they have a stigma of condemnation which attracts the attention and the pity of the Greek public of Boston. They are considered as wronged by the nature of conditions in general. It is believed that between 15% and 25% of the Greek population of Boston, are bachelors, who really remained so either because they had to provide dowery for two or three sisters at home, or they were not able to find the right mate. It is the custom in a family for a boy to help his sister get settled first, before he may get married himself. Some of these people were discouraged, seeing the failures of their friends in their home life, and although they went across to bring wives to themselves, they came back without one. They never dared to enter the bondage of marital life. In 1928, on a boat coming to America from Greece, a few Greeks were return-
ing to America, single, as they went, and did not take wives, for whom they sailed. They were heard to discuss the question, and one of them who has been asked why he did not get a wife, expressed himself as follows: "I don't think any girl from my own village can live in America, and the girls in Athens are worse than the girls in America. I don't think I can form an Orthodox family as I would like to. I would rather live the life I have been living in America, even though it be unsatisfactory, instead of trusting my family ideals to untrustful girls."

With these ideas about the family and with the new conditions brought about by the emancipation of the women, which is against what a Greek calls an ideal family life, many Greeks have unwillingly, adjusted themselves to the condition; thus, a boy was heard to say, "if I ever want to marry, I will marry an American woman, so that in case I have to divorce her, I may have my conscience light. She will have the possibility of divorce in her mind, as I shall have myself, when we go to take out our marriage license. From a Greek girl, one cannot get a divorce very easily, because it is not socially accepted by the Greek people, and the Greek church gives divorce, only in extreme cases of adultery and incompatibility." Another one remarked, "I would rather marry an American girl and be prepared to meet any possible conflict in our ideas about family, instead of a Greek girl who pretends to stick to Greek customs." In fact, American born girls, as well as boys, are well American-
ized in regard to their love life, and they cannot even trust each other; and much more, the foreign born Greeks do not have a very high esteem of the American born youths, in regard to their love life. Thus, many men go to Greece to bring to themselves, wives. Others remain here and get married to Greek girls, born here. There is a strong tendency, however, between American born, as well as foreign born youth, to prefer their own class.

5. Intermarriage. Intermarriage with other races has occurred in the past in a few cases, which seem to the Greeks, to have been failures. The Greeks, as it has already been shown, are proud of their origin, and would not stand foreign wives to call them "Greeks." The main reason why a Greek man cannot live with a wife of another nationality, is the fact that "Greek men do not yield to the charms of the ladies," as it was put by a Greek gentleman, and secondly, is the fact that "women of other nationalities are usually poor housekeepers." There are, however, such families, where the wives are not Greeks; and seem to get along well. The wives of the three founders of the Hellenic Association are not Greeks. One of these three families was a complete failure, and caused the most tragic death of the husband. He was the most prominent Greek in Boston in 1910 or 1912, with two or three apartment houses and an equal number of confectioneries, when he married an American girl. Seventeen years later, his wife, with her two children divorced him, because he lost his money, completely. For four
years, he lived a miserable life, begging here and there in his old age, and was run over by the street cars in Cambridge, last year. This case has been widely discussed among the Greeks in Boston, and it was generally accepted that his wife was the cause of the destruction of that man, and that no Greek woman, no matter how bad she could be, would do such a thing. The two other families, each of which has a number of grown up children, seem to get along well; yet in the words of a great Roman, "only the man knows where the shoes pinch."

A group of four men, who have been asked, concerning the question of intermarriage of Greek men to American girls, were questioning each other in abstract, whether perhaps 75% or 95% of such marriages were failures. Two of them insisted on the 95%, and the other two, on the 75%. Most probably, the right per cent of failures rank between these two numbers. The reason of the failures, they attributed to the fact that these Greeks met these girls in restaurants or factories; consequently, they are of low culture. These intermarriages took place oftener, ten years ago, when Greek descent women were few in the United States, and at a time when the great number of churches and religious organizations were just beginning. At present, there is no such problem, because there are enough Greek descent women, brought from Greece or born in America, and secondly, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese put some restrictions on it. The number of Greek girls marrying American descent men was insignificant, because the number of Greek men has always overrun the number
of Greek girls, and because at present, even if there are quite a few girls, they are restricted and their communication is more or less limited with other nationalities. As again and again, it is emphasized by Greek lectures, here and there; upon the American born Greeks depends the future of the Greeks in America. Unfortunately, as it is generally thought of by the Greeks themselves, the outside environmental temptations are too strong, and the American born Greek girls, like the rest of the girls in the United States, are not very promising, as far as what a Greek calls an Orthodox family is concerned.

6. Regulations of Archdiocese. The question of intermarriage in the past, was by a mere consent of two parties and a priest of any church, where Greek Orthodox priests cannot be reached. Now, however, the whole case is different. Greek priests are found everywhere and rules and regulations for marriage and divorce have been codified into the by-laws of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, drawn up in November, 1931. According to these by-laws, the candidates are required to secure permission from the Archdiocese, on the basis of the marriage license issued to the candidates by the city or town of their residence. Before the issue of permit, the priest in the parish of the candidates is required to announce the names of the prospective bride and groom in the church, or to demand sufficient evidences to the effect that the couple have not any previous marital relations with other persons, or any close relation to each other. Marriage is allowed beyond the third
cousin. After these facts are satisfactorily determined, the priest sends a petition to the Archdiocese in New York, including the certificate of his finding, and the permission is granted upon payment of $10, as fee. Marriage, without permission is void, unless the permission is granted at the discretion of the Spiritual Court, composed of four highly educated priests, appointed by the Archbishop. Intermarriage is not allowed, unless the candidates agree to bring up their children in the Greek Orthodox Church, and as members of the church. All marriage ceremonies must be performed in church, unless coming to church is absolutely impossible.

The Greek Orthodox Church laws on divorce are as strict as the issue of the permission for marriage. Divorce, given by the courts of the United States is not recognized, and the persons who get such a divorce, are considered by the church, as married; this fact prevents a second marriage to such people; before they get a divorce from the Greek church. The divorces are given by the Spiritual Court in the Archdioceses in New York. The people who want divorce, apply for it to the priest in their home district, who tries through advice, to reconcile the parties and gives them time to think the matter over. Then, afterwards, if he fails to reconcile them, he sends the United States Court divorce to the Archbishop, who turns over the matter to the Spiritual Court, and the divorce may be granted by them, after the necessary fee is paid. People, who want to live together again, after the divorce is granted to them, may
do so, upon new permission by the Archdiocese, and new prayers are given to them by the priest.
CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

It was the aim of the preceding pages to help the reader to understand that the Greeks, either because they are not satisfied with American institutions and American ways of living and in general, are not pleased with the machine civilization of the United States, or because of their exceptional love of their race and their country, which made them want to remain Greeks, organized the communities which have already been discussed. But among these people, as among the people of other nationalities, there were some who were not satisfied with the church, because of its over conservatism. They thought, and still think that the church alone, would not be able to accomplish the aims and expectations of Greek people in general. They dreamed of Greek nation-wide organizations of large and small clubs and chapters, to help the communities and the churches, and on special occasions, such organizations as the Pan-Hellenic Association and others have been established. As in the case of the Pan-Hellenic Association, some of these first organizations disappeared and in their place, better ones were established. Originally, such organizations as the above mentioned and other relief organizations were formed to raise funds to help the Greek government, which was at war, and the country in general, where the conditions were not very pleasant. The connections and assistance of the Greeks in America to
their home land and relatives, will be discussed later.

The aims of these organizations, however, have changed within the last ten years. The Greeks in America began to think of themselves, more and more, and of their relatives at their home country, less and less. As economic conditions in America became more pressing, the Greeks began to think of their own future, more and more. As the idea of remaining in this country was fixed in their minds, organizations to take care of their own children and of themselves; of their own poor, and to help their own adjustment to their environment, that is to say, to Americanize themselves, were established. So a number of small clubs and nation-wide organizations, independent or interdependent, related to each other and to the church, were organized. All these clubs can be separated into four classes, according to their predominant aims, although their activities are very much alike. These are (1) the associations which are formed to help their own needy, (2) to help adjust themselves to American customs, (3) to help their particular town or village in Greece by maintaining a school or a hospital there, as the case may be, and (4) to help enter political life. These organizations are discussed in more detail presently, with special reference to those in Boston.

Philanthropic Societies

1. Greek Ladies' Benevolent Societies. Shortly after the communities were organized, the Greek ladies who have been always doing their share of work in their homes, because they did
not have enough work at home, also organized themselves into societies, parallel to those of their husbands, and helped in maintaining the communities where only men were accepted as members. These societies had twofold aims; namely, to help the church and school, and to take care of the Greek descent dependent people. These societies were named after some famous Greek lady as Demetra, Artemis, Sappho, etc., and they always have the name of the locality, as the Greek Ladies' Society of Boston Cambridge, and so on, ending with the name of the society. Their activities are similar to those of communities, and derive the funds from annual balls, picnics, theatrical entertainments, and annual dues of $2 each member. They issue notices and programs, by which they advertise the affair. They always state on the programs, the purpose of the affair. They also state where they are aiming to give the money, for example to the school, church, or the needy. Very often, due to the fact that the ladies have more time to spend on the affairs of their societies than men have, to care for their communities, the ladies are more successful in raising funds. This fact has been recognized for a long time, and now the ladies take active parts in the affairs of the communities, also, such as selling tickets for church entertainments and social gatherings.

The Greek Ladies' Society of Boston, whose membership varies from 200 to 250, under the leadership of a very able woman, Mrs. Karamalles, have very often helped the great church of the Annunciation. It spent over $3,000 for the seats now in the
church, and donated several times, large sums of money to the association. At present, they have donated the $2,500 with which the church is being decorated. Their donations, however, are not limited to the church and school. Each Christmas and Easter, the Ladies' Society gives out baskets and checks to needy families. The goods which they distribute on these two occasions, are collected from the stores of Greek business men in Boston. A profit and loss statement of this society showed the following numbers for one year, ending May 31, 1930.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance of Cash on hand</td>
<td>$833.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Ball</td>
<td>1051.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Affairs</td>
<td>672.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations</td>
<td>46.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership Dues</td>
<td>396.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Collections</td>
<td>260.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous, Inc.</td>
<td>41.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Helps in Cash</strong></td>
<td><strong>$555.50</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps in Goods</td>
<td>98.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations to Church of Annunciation</td>
<td>485.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation to Schools</td>
<td>70.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscel. Expenses</td>
<td>670.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash on hand, May 31, 1930</td>
<td>1421.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3301.67</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In December, 1931, the general assembly of the representatives of Greek communities authorized the Archdiocese to give unified by-laws to these ladies' societies, with only one purpose of helping the needy families, or to establish others, in case the societies would not accept the proposed by-laws. They were to be called the "Greek Ladies' Philoptohos Society," with their headquarters in the Archdiocese in New York, and with the Archbishop himself, as president. The purpose of these organizations is to take care of needy Greek families or
single persons in America, of the sick, widows, orphan children; to help sick people enter hospitals, and to help old men and women into old age asylums, to help get jobs for Greek people, etc. The Greek Ladies' Society in Boston immediately accepted these by-laws, changed its name to "Philoptohos" and limited its donations and help to needy families; yet the activities and methods of raising funds are the same. In addition, they are allowed to have collections in the church, once in a while.

The profit and loss statement at the end of its first year as "Philoptohos" showed the following accounts on January 31, 1933.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash on hand, Jan. 1, 1932</td>
<td>$659.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership Dues</td>
<td>$261.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Collections</td>
<td>$496.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations</td>
<td>$56.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Ball</td>
<td>$475.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Contribution</td>
<td>$421.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>$475.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

=$2844.91

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

=$2844.91

Self-Interest Promoting Societies

This type of Greek society can be divided into small local clubs and to nation-wide large organizations with hundreds of chapters. The first class includes such associations as of youngsters in "Nine Muses", athletic clubs, mostly found in New York, the musical club, "Pythagoras", the Helicon in New York and Boston. The second class includes, and is wholly composed of the two clubs, namely, AHEPA and GAPA. The musical and ath-
letic clubs are self-explanatory, and do not need any elaboration. The others will be taken one by one, as found in Boston.

1. Nine Muses and other Students' Clubs. This club was organized in February, 1928, by a group of Greek descent girls, for the purpose of maintaining the Greek language, of helping needy girls, of developing the mentality of the members through debates, and artistic entertainments, and of developing friendly relations between the members of the association. The girls are accepted as members when they reach the age of sixteen, and remain so until they get married, when automatically, they become members of the Ladies' Philoptohos Society. This club, which has a history of only five years, has worked along the same line and has applied the same methods of raising funds, as the ladies' association. The number of members, however, is declining, due to numerous reasons, namely, to the lack of confidence of parents in the association, the restrictions upon the activities of the girls in the club imposed by the parents, in regard to their behavior and to the fact that the girls themselves, are not satisfied. Probably due to their limited education, they cannot co-operate very well. Nevertheless, this association of youngsters, donated over $2,000 to the Church of Annunciation, and they always succeed in their affairs. The club is celebrating its fifth anniversary, this coming last week of February. On this occasion, Miss Karabatsou, the president of the club for the last two years, issued a statement which reads as follows: "The Nine Muses" is composed.

1. Constitution and By-laws of Nine Muses, Article 2nd.
of Greek girls of New England with headquarters in Boston. It was founded five years ago, by a group of prominent Greek women of Boston, headed by Mrs. Karamalles of Belmont, who is the club's advisor. The members are accepted on their recommendations of some other members, and are considered for their culture and refinement. It has since progressed and is highest in rating of Greek girls organizations of the United States. Its success is due to the wonderful co-operation of the officers and members who play a very important part in all Greek functions. Through their efforts, the organization has progressed with a membership of over seventy-five girls." It must be borne in mind, however, that many parents, for reasons peculiar to themselves, never allowed their daughters to join the club, and some girls withdrew from it because they were not satisfied with its activities.

Another similar club of professional men, women and students, was organized in Boston, some twenty-five years ago. The aim of this club called "Helicon", was to bring together, the Greek students in American colleges. Since then, it has very often arranged series of lectures and addresses for the enlightenment of the people, and has helped quite a few students in colleges. Due to the fact that the members are of all ages, from the youngest, sixteen year old college student, to over fifty year old professional men, the social affairs of the club have not been very promising. The last two or three years the club did not show progress, and had failed in many of its
social programs. This year, however, it is very successful under the leadership of Mr. Vukuvalas, its president. The annual dues are one dollar. There are two other similar clubs bearing the same name, one in Berkeley, California, and one in New York City. The most energetic is that of New York, which has helped students in colleges, and arranged debates and lectures very often. It is interesting to know that very few of the members of the Helicon in Boston, show interest in the affairs of the Greek community. Other less important student clubs appear in some colleges from time to time, but soon they go out of existence, either because the members graduate and leave the college or they are too busy with classes to care for the club. Such a Greek student's organization in Massachusetts Technology was heard of two years ago, but it is forgotten now.

2. AHEPA and GAPA. One of the largest and most significant self-interest promoting societies of Greek Americans in the United States is AHEPA, and another is GAPA. Each letter in these names stands for a word and the names are condensed sentences which tell to some extent, the purpose of the organization. Thus, American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, and the other one, Greek American Progressive Association, are widely known for their activities. Each of these associations will be taken separately, in the order of their importance and their organization will be discussed in further detail, although their activities and methods of procedure are very similar. It is believed that AHEPA is the older and richer
of the two, and that GAPA was organized by former members of
the AHEPA, who left the club because they were dissatisfied
with the principles of AHEPA, and the Board of Governors of the
Association. In general, it is believed that the members of
AHEPA are better educated than those of GAPA, although it is a
recognized fact that GAPA is more interested in the affairs of
the Greek communities than AHEPA.

AHEPA. The American Hellenic Education Progressive Asso-
ciation was born in July, 1922, in a Greek church in Atlanta,
Georgia. A group of Greek people gathered in the hall of that
church, set the principles upon which this association has
flourished ever since. These principles and objects of the as-
sociation are set forth in a pamphlet of thirty-one pages, cal-
led the Constitution and by-laws of the Order of AHEPA. The
most important aims of this organization, as set forth in the
constitution are: "To promote and encourage loyalty to the Uni-
ted States of America; allegiance to its flag; support its con-
stitution; obedience to its laws and reverence for its history
and tradition; to promote throughout the world, and especially
in the United States of America, a better and more comprehen-
sive understanding of the Hellenic Peoples and Nation, and to
revive, cultivate, enrich and marshal into active service for
humanity, the noblest attributes and highest ideals of true
Hellenicism; to labor in every manner possible, and to utilize
every means available for the perfection of the moral sense in
its members; to promote good fellowship among them; and to en-
dow them with a spirited altruism, common understanding, mutual benevolence and helpfulness; and to point out to them, in unmistakable methods, the advantage of education, the beauties of sacrifice and the deformities of selfishness." Other objects mentioned in the constitution are to show the advantages of citizenship, to arouse interest in the political affairs of the United States, to help its members adjust themselves to American institutions, to encourage its members to participate in the political, civic, social, and commercial fields of human endeavor, and always to work for their betterment and the betterment of society.

With these noble objects as the goal, the order of AHEPA began to progress, step by step, educating and enrolling members in its chapters to fight the good fight of humanity. In the course of ten years, it marshalled under its standards, over 300 chapters with an approximate enrollment of 40,000 Greeks, or Americans of Hellenic ancestry, as they call themselves. In every large city of the United States and Canada, there is a chapter of the order of AHEPA. During these last ten years, the association has been educating Greek Americans and has helped in bringing about the unification of Greek Orthodoxy under the banner of the Archdiocese of the eastern Greek Orthodox Church in New York. It has made a considerable advertisement of itself and the Greek people, through which the contribution of Greek Americans to American civilization is being realized. It has been a pioneer in many praiseworthy under-

1. Constitution and by-laws of the Order of Ahepa. p.5-6
takings, such as in self-help, because it is the first and only organization in America, composed largely of foreign born, and dedicating itself to the task of self-Americanization.

This association helps to support Greek institutions, where the greatness of Hellenism are taught and contributes in dollars to Greek churches and schools. It led four excursions to Motherland, "Hellas" and one to the head of Orthodoxy in Constantinople, last year. Through its monthly magazine, it creates a desire in its members to visit Greece, regularly. The association, at present, is getting ready for a fifth excursion to sail from Boston on March 14, next. Through these excursions, the association on one hand, gives opportunity to its members, to visit their relatives, and on the other, it tries to bring into direct relationship, the two countries, principally related in their political views, "Hellas, the noble mother of all democratic institutions, and America, the proud daughter and champion of the same."

These excursions are stimulated by organized propaganda, aiming to the financial support of their motherland, Hellas, through pouring funds into the markets in Greece. The average number of people joining the excursion is 800 to 1,000, and the expenditure is $2,000 for each.

The supreme president of the Order of AHEPA, a prominent Greek lawyer, Mr. Booras, and the rest of the members are very active. Some of the activities of this association are annual parties, balls, banquets, and conventions. (see picture on p.83)
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, photographed with officials of Delhi Chapter No. 25, after his initiation by them into the Order of Ahépa

District Governor George E. Cassimatis placing wreath on monument of American Legion at Newport, R. I., during convention of District No. 3. Others in the group are Rev. G. Stephopoulos; A. Apostolides, chairman of the committee; Rev. Michaelides, of Pawtucket, R. I.; Archdeacon P. Comnenos, and His Grace, the Archbishop of North and South America, Athenagoras.
To understand the extent of these activities, it is necessary to mention that the association spent $75,000 to $100,000 for each one of the ten conventions it has had; each of the chapters spends an average of $4,000 yearly, for halls, clubrooms, equipment, patrols, degree teams, etc., and $10,000 each for charities, schools, churches, etc. The expenses of the Supreme Lodge for the last ten years amounts to an average of $75,000 per year. The annual dues per member is $10. In view of these figures, one can understand the greatness of the Ahepa Temple, "which will live forever, serving America, serving Hellas, serving mankind." The official language of the association is English, although great efforts have been made recently, to introduce the Greek language in the conventions.

The Sons of Pericles. Four years after the establishment of the Order of Ahepa, in January, 1926, the Ahepans felt the need of organizing the boys over fifteen, and under twenty-one, years old. They organized the Junior Order of Ahepa, called the Order of Sons of Pericles. These youngsters are trained in the ideals of the Ahepa and at the age of twenty-one, they are accepted as members of Ahepa. Their activities are very similar to those of the Order of Ahepa, and are under the protection of and the guardianship of Ahepa. They are organized into teams and maintain bands. The Ahepans, as well as the Sons of Pericles have special costume, with a tassle on their hat and blue belt. The pledge of the Sons of Pericles reads as follows: "It is our earnest wish and desire to inculcate in our various chapters

1. Booras, The Ahepa, August, 1932
the principles of true manhood; to promote the moral welfare of all our members; to stimulate and encourage scholarship; to prescribe obedience to all authority; to encourage loyalty to an active interest in the community, where they may be located; to foster a democratic and friendly spirit between our members and all others with whom they may be associated; and to inspire among our members, a true loyal and lasting friendship." These youngsters are very active and loyal to their club. Frequently they give dances, and other entertainments. (see p. 86) In Boston, they meet in the hall of the Hellenic Association on the corner of Ruggles and Parker Streets.

GAPA. Gapa is the second largest association, with over 250 chapters, all over the United States and Canada. It was organized in 1926, by some people who left Ahepa because they thought it was an anti-Greek society. It must be noted that GAPA, in contrast to AHEPA, has the "G" first, which stands for Greek, and the first "A" in Ahepa, stands for American. The interpretation of G A P A is Greek American Progressive Association, and it is said to be more Greek than Ahepa. In fact, Gapa paid more attention to schools and churches than Ahepa did, and very frequently, gave prizes and Christmas gifts to school children in spite of the fact that membership dues to Gapa are less than in Ahepa, and consequently, it has less funds. The membership of Gapa is a little over 30,000, though they are more active than the members of Ahepa. Each member pays $6 dues annually, as contribution to the association. The
Evzones, members of the Presidential Guard, enter the Stadium in Athens bearing flags of each Commonwealth of the United States, presented by their governors to the President of the Hellenic Republic and carried in parade at a welcome to the Greek Section of the American Legion.
official language is Greek, and the association is trying to have the Greek language spoken and learned as much as it is possible, the reason being that the Greek Orthodox religion is dependent upon the Greek language. Greek Orthodox Liturgy is written in Greek and unless the people know Greek, they will not go to church.

The Junior Gapans were organized in 1929, under the auspices of Gapa. Children as young as thirteen years old were admitted, and training with them began through games and other boy scout activities. For two or three years, these Junior Gapans were heard widely, but with the depression, the organizations of these youngsters suffered, and are not heard of so much at present. The Gapa established many women's clubs and chapters of Gapa, for the purpose of helping in the maintenance of church and schools. This association, in contrast to Ahepa, which never accepted women as members, paid much attention to organizing the Greek women. Thus, in a very short time, everywhere in America, Ladies' Chapters were established, each of which bears some name of a famous old lady, as Demetra, Sappho, Artemis, Athena, etc., of the Greek mythology. The object of these female chapters of Gapa, is to get in direct contact with Greek educational institutions and to help them financially. They raise funds through annual balls, picnics, and other entertainments; they hold regular meetings and have lectures of educational character.

The activities of the Gapa are similar to those of Ahepa.
They organize excursions to Greece for the same reason that Ahepins do, and have yearly conventions for the election of officers. The last convention of the association was held in Boston, during the third week of July, 1932, and during this time, they were very active, visiting the different parts of the city, and paying tributes to distinguished American-Greeks, patriots, as Michael Anagnos, George Dilboy, etc. The clips on the next page show some of the activities of the association, during its convention.

Patriotic Societies

The patriotism of the Greek people is an evident fact, illustrated in their history through the ages. The American Greeks, early in 1900, and even before that time, in addition to the financial help of individuals to their relatives in Greece, began to organize themselves into brotherhoods, for the purpose of helping their particular town, city or village in Greece. Greeks from one village, or from one district in Greece, established clubs and brotherhoods under the name of the village or town of their birth. Thus, the Brotherhood of Vassareon, of Vrestheniton, of Cypreon; the Pan-Cretan Society, the Arcadicos Association, the Kastorian Club, and many other similar associations came to existence. Originally, these brotherhoods were independent of each other and the brotherhood of Vassareon, for example, in New York, was not connected with the brotherhood of Vassareon in Boston. During the last ten or twelve years, a unification of these clubs took place,
Greek-Americans Place
Two Memorial Wreaths

Greek-Americans Pay Tribute to Countryman

Left to right, George D. Rose, grand president, of the Greek-American Progressive Association, now in convention, in Boston; Dr. Demosthenes Generalis, president of Lowell Lodge; Archbishop Athenagoras, and Grand Vice-President Tasos Moutsatsos, shown placing wreaths on statue of Michael Anogos, at Perkins Institute, Watertown, yesterday.

Delegates to the Greek-American Progressive Association national convention, now in session here, honored two deceased Greeks of Greek parentage yesterday by placing wreaths on their statues. One was that of Michael Anagno, or Anagnostopoulos, second director of the Perkins Institution for the Blind, at Watertown. The other was that of George Dilboy, Congressional Medal of Honor hero of the World War, in Somerville.

Led by Archbishop Athenagoras, head of the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States and Canada, the delegates went first to Somerville City Hall, and held brieforation exercises in front of the Dilboy statue, and there motored to Watertown, to the Perkins Institution grounds, where they paid a similar tribute to Anagnostopoulos.

Tonight is the annual dinner of the convention, with Greek Ambassador Charalambos Simopoulos, Archbishop Athenagoras, and Mayor Curley as guests of honor.

Traffic Commissioner Joseph A. Conry, representing Mayor Curley at the opening of the national convention here of the Greek-American Progressive Association, at the Hotel Statler, yesterday, declared that Greek probably will be incorporated in the curriculum of Boston's public schools in the near future.

Believes Mayor in Favor

Although making it clear that he was not bringing any pressure from the Mayor, he said that if he was any judge of the mind and opinion of Mayor Curley, he would see that Greek was taught in the public schools of the city.

"And Boston will be the first city in America to have Greek in the public school curriculum," he concluded.

Conry's remarks were loudly applauded. They followed an exposition of the purposes of the Greek-American Progressive Association, paramount of which is its campaign to perpetuate the Greek language, and have it taught in the schools of the country.

In Two Schools Only

There are just two schools in the Boston public system which now teach Greek. They are the Boston Latin School, which teaches it to about 20 boys in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades, and the Girls' Latin School, which teaches it to a much smaller number. Superintendent of Schools Patrick T. Campbell last night pointed out that the Latin School has taught Greek for the past 30 years in Boston, and that Boston was the first city to teach it in a public school. But he doubted that it ever would become part of the general school curriculum here.

Ceremony in Hotel Ballroom

His Holiness, Archbishop Athenagoras of the Greek Orthodox Church of the United States and Canada, opened the convention yesterday in the most expen-dious ceremony witnessed outside of a church. Robed in full ecclesiastical vestments, and assisted by four priests, he officiated at the singing of a high mass on the stage of the ballroom of the hotel. A choir in the rear of the platform furnished the supplementary music.

A parade, of which Captain George Dimeter was chief marshal, preceded the convention. The business sessions of the convention began this morning, and continue throughout the week.
and at present, they work together. All the clubs from one locality in Greece, but in different cities in the United States, have a central office in New York, Boston, or Chicago, which has many branches in different cities. This central office usually comes in direct contact with the work they do, whatever they are, and the branches contribute to these central offices, a per cent of their proceeds. Following, is a description of the activities of two of these brotherhoods to serve as a sample of all the rest.

1. Vassara Society of Boston. "Dionysos". Vassara Society of Boston was established in Boston, in 1901, and "Vassara and Verria Society of New York" in 1922. These two associations were merged into one, in 1931, called "Brotherhood of Vassarion "Dionysus." The two independent societies worked for many years, isolated from each other, but for the same cause. The older one in Boston, helped in the establishment of the Greek community in Boston, and contributed $100 to the church. On other occasions, the society contributed to Patriarchon of Jerusalem, Patriarchon of Constantinople, each $100, and built the road connecting Sparta and Tripoles. This road cost the association over $12,000. The membership of this club in Boston, is between 55 and 65, and has never, probably, exceeded 100.

"The society always stood ready to help any common cause and it really succeeded in its aims," said one of its members, Mrs. Anastasopoulou.

For the purpose of better, effective, and easy work, the
society joined its twin in New York, and they now are working together for a common good. The objects of the Brotherhood, as stated in the second article of its constitution, are to promote useful works in the villages of Vassara and Verria, in Greece, to take care of the needy members of the association, to bring into direct contact, the members, to educate and create between them, a sense of security, to develop good relations between the members of the association and the American public, and lastly, to induce and help the members of the association, to become citizens of the United States. The funds for the accomplishments of these objects are derived from membership dues, which are $12 annually, for each person, enrollment fee of $3, donations of members, special contributions, and similar activities. The central office is in New York, and any contribution is made through this office. The branch in New York derives large sums of money from annual balls, but the Boston branch has not been successful in this type of activity, or in picnics, which are held for enjoyment only. The Brotherhood, at present, is engaged in bringing water to Vassara, where it is needed very badly. The approximate cost of this work is estimated to be $10,000.

2. Pan-Cretan Society. The American Greeks from Crete, although in greater number than those from Vassara, organized themselves after 1915. During the first fifteen years, independent clubs were established in cities where the numbers of Cretans warranted such establishments. In 1930, there were
fourteen such associations, with an average membership of 200 people each, and in the same year all of them merged into a Pan-Cretan Society with the central office in Chicago, but working center in New York. The activities of the society are very much like those of the "Vassara Society", described above, and its constitution states the same objects as that of Vassara. The preamble of the constitution of the society is interesting. "We, the Cretans of Boston, being wholly aware of the necessity of establishing better relations between ourselves, and of the systematic and more profitable fulfillment of our moral obligations to each other and to our own birth place, establish this society called "Pan-Cretan Society, Radamathys!"

The name of this association is written in the table of the great benefactors, of the great church of the Annunciation in Boston. It has contributed to religious and national causes, large sums of money, and takes care of its needy members, regularly. It often contributes to the maintenance of hospitals, orphanages, old-age asylums, and clinics in Crete, and paid occasionally, to Cretan needy families, $10 or $15 each. Last year, the society paid the ticket of two of its members to go back home as they were not doing well in America, and the hospital and funeral dues of another of its members. It contributed to the establishment of the Pan-Hellenic Association of America, which is dissolved at present, and through its active member, Mr. Maliotes, who was the president of the Greek-American democratic club, brought the Cretans into better

1. Constitution of Pan-Cretan Society
relation and acquaintance with the American public.

Political Clubs

The Greek people, according to many writers, are political minded. Among the Balkan people, the Greeks are the people most interested in politics and as one of their poets expressed himself, they prefer to be in hell with politicians, where they will have somebody with whom to discuss politics, than to be in Heaven, without questions of political nature. In spite of this fact, the Greeks were slow in developing a political conscience in America, due to the fact that it took them a longer time than it did other nationalities, to decide whether they should remain in America. But once they decided, soon they progressed in their organization of political groups which brought about the establishment of two parties in 1927 and 1931, in accord with the American political parties. The American Greeks are no longer a group of people, susceptible to exploitation by American politicians, and campaign promises mean little to them. They read politics and form their own opinions beforehand. Under the leadership of the American-Greek political leaders, who are the presidents of the clubs, they came to the polls united, in the last election.

It is impossible to tell the number of American-Greeks holding public offices, but it is believed they are of a great number. Mr. Loumos, Mr. Lolos, and Mr. George Demeter, the last, elected member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, are good friends of Governor Youngman, and Mr. Malio-
ites, Mr. Chilimidos, and Mr. Pappas, the last, on the Board of Immigration Committee in Boston, are good friends of Governor Ely. The presence of American Greek patriots among the American population, in general, is being felt, and many governors and state officials are attending the Greek-American socials. On January 25, last, the Greek-American Democratic Club of Boston, gave a Victory Ball in honor of Governor Ely. Over 800 couples attended this social in the Statler Hotel in Boston, including Governor Ely, himself, and other state officials.

The organization of these two Greek-American political clubs, one Republican, and the other, Democratic, has taken place only within the last seven years. Under the leadership of Mr. Loumos, an attorney-at-law, who is the president of the club, in 1927, the Greek-American Republican Club was organized. The office of this club is in Boston, and is headed by Mr. Loumos, president, and Mr. Terzis, secretary. It has seven branches in New England, which are visited by Mr. Loumos, occasionally, with other American co-politicians. The Democratic Club is headed by Mr. Chilimidos. It was organized in 1930, and has seventeen branches in New England. The object of these two clubs is identical, and their activities similar to each other; therefore, the statements of Mr. Loumos, the president of the Greek-American Republican Club, will be sufficient to explain the political movement of Greek-Americans in Massachusetts, as a whole. The membership in the Greek Republican Club is over 3,000 voters, and the dues are only one dollar annually. The
club issues a quarterly bulletin stating the nature of movement, and it is believed that very soon, it will be issued every month. The club is chartered by the State Republican Party, but it is an independent club, and has always paid its own campaign expenses. (see p. 97) Its activities consist of monthly lectures and dinner parties, which distinguished American party leaders attend.

1. Previous to 1930, the club admitted only men over 25 years of age, but this policy has been changed and attention has been given to induce young men of Greek descent, between the ages of 21-25, to join the club. The object of the club is to enroll 10,000 voters—which they expect to accomplish in two years—and then to form a Federation of these clubs, which will have over twenty branches in New England. To this effect, in October, 1932, a convention was held in the hall of the Hellenic Association, where representatives of the existing Greek-American Republican Clubs were present. The Federation to be established, will be admitted to the American Republican Federation of Massachusetts, and the convention voted to work to this end. As Mr. Loumos is on good terms and very friendly with the leaders in the Republican Federation of Massachusetts, it is believed the admittance will not meet serious difficulties.

In connection with this, the following announcement appeared in the Boston Globe: "Mr. Loumos has been organizing Greek Republican Clubs in Massachusetts, during the past eight years. He said the organization would encourage younger citizens of
Greek descent, to register and take active interest in politics."

The object of the club, according to Mr. Loumos, is to get the Greek people behind a political power; to enable them to become good citizens, to arouse their interest in politics; to encourage them to become good citizens, and join the G. A. R. Club, and by that, to help each other. The club helped over 1,000 Greek people to get their citizenship, and over 200 cases were handled by Mr. Loumos, personally. It must be noted, that through this club, many Greeks were appointed to public positions, such as Mr. Philip Terzis, Assistant Deputy Collector, Mr. Loumos, Public Administrator, etc. "I feel the duty of any Greek is to get behind the Greek-American Republican Club, because the Greeks are predominantly Republicans, and because the state is a Republican State. We were defeated by the 18th amendment in the last election, but soon, we shall assume the power again," said Mr. Loumos, in a special conference, concerning this question.

2. The Greek-American Democratic Club is younger than the Greek-American Republican Club, and can show few accomplishments; yet, the Greek Democrats seem equally enthusiastic about their organization, and are as active as their fellow Republicans. (see p. 97) It has seventeen branches and over 1,500 active members, although the total attendance of the club meetings in all its branches exceeds the 5,000. They work much in the same line and in the same way as the Greek-
By a decision of the Executive Committee of the Greek-American Republican Club of Toledo, a convention of all the official local clubs of the Greek-American Republican Club of Toledo, convention meeting of Greek-American Republican Clubs.
CONVENTION MEETING OF GREEK-AMERICAN
REPUBLICAN CLUBS.

By a decision of the Executive Committee of
the Greek-American Republican Club of Massachusetts,
a convention of all the affiliated Greek-American Republican
Committees throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,
will be held Sunday, October 9, 1932, at 2:30 P.M., at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral, at corner Parker and Faneuil Streets, Boston, Mass.

At this most important conference a
state-wide league of Greek-American Republican Clubs will be organized and a charter will be obtained from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Thus consolidating all Republican agencies into one relieving organization, bent towards the common good of all Greek-American Republican Clubs, the Republican party has much to offer, provided we consolidate our forces and produce results.

As a leading Republican in your district, you are kindly requested to attend this important convention, and to invite along with you one more representative from your district. Numerous distinguished Republican leaders will be present. Amongst them will be Mrs. Anna Tillinghast, commissioner of Immigration.

Your attention is earnestly solicited.

[Signature]
American Republican Club does, and their objects are similar. Their difference is academic rather than practical.

These two antagonistic Greek-American political clubs, retain a spirit of co-operation. The attitude which they take against each other is remarkable. They believe in two parties and acknowledge the contribution of each to the political field of America. Thus, in the words of Mr. Loumos, "both parties are essential for the sound government," and he, on one occasion, in his lecture during the last campaign, advised the people to take an interest in American politics, and join any one of the clubs. He was interested to get the Greek people into political thinking, rather than into his club. "I would rather see him in the Democratic Club, than see him sitting back, uninterested in politics." In the Victory Ball, above mentioned, a good number of Greek-American Republicans were in the hall, celebrating the victory of the Democrat, Governor Ely. In the state of Massachusetts, Mr. Demeter, a republican candidate, was elected in the House of Representatives of the State. Many Greek Democrats voted for Mr. Demeter, which is an indication of the co-operation of the members of these Greek-American political clubs. "I am very pleased to say that I had the fullest support of the Greeks in my ward, of either political parties, in the last election; yet, the American vote put me up, because there are only a few Greek votes in my district," stated Mr. George Demeter.
MONSTER RALLY

JOHN N. GARNER  F. D. ROOSEVELT  JOSEPH

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
BOSTON BRANCH OF THE
GREEK-AMERICAN DEMOSTHENES DEMOCR.
CLUB OF MASSACHUSETTS

WILL BE HELD ON
CHAPTER IV

THE GREEKS AND THE WICKERSHAM CRIME REPORT

Statement of Facts

The Greek Americans, contrary to the report of the National Commission on crime, are obedient to the laws of the United States. Due to the fact that these people are engaged in the kinds of business which bring them in contact with all types of men and which are regulated by laws unknown in their native land, such as restaurant food laws and restaurant employment regulation, they are more apt to fall into pitfalls and to commit small felonies than individuals of other nations who are employed mostly in such places as factories or railroads, where the laws are not felt so much. Thus, according to the Wickersham report, the Greeks overrun few other nationalities. The report shows 2274.3 arrests of Greek people per year, during the years 1920-1924, and 1772.9 per year, during 1925-1929, per 10,000 of Greek male population 21 years and over, charged with misdemeanors, as reported by the Chicago police department. The number of arrests reported by the same agency in Chicago, charged with felonies per 10,000 of Greek male population 21 years and over, was 204.7 per year during 1920-1924 and 154.9 during 1925-1929. In 1930, there were 1,660 Greeks arrested for different charges in Boston, and 1,579 in the same year in Jersey City, New Jersey.

Comparing these figures with the increase of Greek people in these cities, the following encouraging facts, in regard the

1. Wickersham Crime Report: National Commission on Law Obsen-
Vance and Enforcement v. 9-10 Part II p. 113
decrease of criminal tendencies of these people, are revealed. In 1920 there were 8,713 male Greeks, 21 years and over, in Chicago, and the arrests per 10,000 for the same year were 204.7. In 1920, the number of Greeks in the same city increased to 11,509, while the arrests per 10,000 decreased to 154.9 in 1929. As the report indicates, the per cent of foreign born Greek male prisoners, 21 years or over, by offences, is homicide, 3.9; rape, 2.5; robbery, 3.2; assault, 3.1; burglary; 1.0, forgery, 2.5; larceny, etc., 2.3; liquor, 2.5; drug 4.2; other, 3.7; of the total prisoners of all nationalities received in Federal and State prisons and reformatories during 1926. The Greeks, however, think that the Wickersham report is wrong, and attribute this mistake to a number of facts. They say that people of other nationalities may have registered at the police stations as Greeks, if they belonged to a Greek Orthodox Church, and that the report did not make any distinction between the seriousness of crimes, and thus allowed the misdemeanors of Greek people to inflate their criminal record. While there may be some truth in the first point, the validity of the latter is very questionable.

Other Facts

In fact, the validity of these arguments of the Greeks cannot be denied because there are evidences to the contrary reported by American officials, (see p. 102). A Greek member of a gang in New York or Chicago, or any other city of the United States, still remains to be seen. The arrests for drunkenness still remain to be seen. The arrests for drunkenness 

August 10, 1932.

My dear Mr. Catsonis:

I have had occasion frequently to commend the work of the Order of Ahepa and am especially pleased to do so again on this its tenth anniversary. Our citizens of Hellenic descent bring with them the heritage of a glorious civilization which enriches our own. They are law-abiding, industrious and loyal to our institutions. They have demonstrated their patriotism both in peace and in war. They make splendid citizens and we are happy to have them in our midst. I will be obliged if you will express to the delegates in convention assembled at Baltimore my cordial greetings and good wishes for the continued success of the Order of Ahepa.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]
ness, in spite of the fact that wine is their national drink in the old country, are insignificant. Another fact in connection with the criminal record of these people, is that about 75% of the Greeks in America are males over 18 years old; and certainly, the temptations for committing a crime are more intense among males of this age than among females, or males of younger age. Greek females are more obedient than their co-sex of the other nationalities. Arrest of a Greek woman could not be remembered by a few Greeks who have been asked to this effect; yet, the statistics show the number of 246 women convicted in the United States during the years, 1921-1927.

What Others Say About The Attitudes of Greeks

The children of Greek descent are more obedient than children of other nationalities. It was difficult to find any definite statistical information in regard to the delinquency of the Greek children, but Dr. Shimburgh, of the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, was pleased to state: "we have very few cases of Greek children; very few. I do not know whether they do not get in trouble, and are not caught, or they are taken to other courts." Most probably, due to the alert attention of the parents and the teaching of the Greek church and schools, the Greek descent children do not get in trouble. Mr. Ashley of the city of Boston Welfare Department, in connection with the above, said; "In our investigation, we find Greeks, honest and moral people."
CHAPTER V

GREEK PUBLICATIONS*CONNECTIONS WITH THE OLD COUNTRY

Description of the Papers. Almost all of the Greek people in America, although not very well educated, can read, to some extent, their own language. It is surprising to see three unemployed old aged Greek men, all day long in the Public Library, digging into scientific books, without any aim, just for enjoyment. The cards on the Greek books in the shelves of the Boston Public Library, show the extent to which they have been used. They are the most worn out cards probably in the library. Two internationally known Greek newspapers may be found in the newspaper reading room of the library, namely; "Atlantis" and the "National Herald". These are the oldest Greek daily publications in America, established over thirty years ago in New York. These two publications, whose daily circulation exceeds 30,000 each, serve the Greek people in America, by publishing the news of their associations and by advising them in every way. Thus, once in a while, one may find a letter published in any of them, stating how helpful the paper has been to the writer of the letter. A survey of these papers for one week, revealed the following facts. In the first page, the headlines 90 times out of 100, are news about the movement of the Greek cabinet in Athens, and the remaining ten times, the movement of the American, and other European governments. The half of the same first page, contains telegrams from across, and the other
half, contains international news. The second page, mostly contains the movement of one of the Associations, Ahepa or Gapa, the one which has some special affair during the days of the issue, or the activities of the Archdiocese and the Archbishop, with the contents of the passage of the Bible read in the church on Sunday, with an explanation of it following. In this page, the editor's notes and articles are found and few other important news items.

The remaining six pages have news similar to those in American papers. On the fourth and fifth pages, the news of the associations are published, such as an affair of an association, an advertisement of another, or an invitation of another sent to its members. In a corner of a page, usually, short stories for the children are published; in another, the Greek radio programs on the air; and in still another, some jokes. The fifth page usually is a long story, or chapters of a famous book, such as Anna Karenina of Tolstoi, which continued for many weeks. For the last three weeks, "Atlantis" has been reporting conditions in Russia, under the title "What a Reporter Saw in Russia." The names of the Greek doctors in New York and a few of the names of the lawyers are advertised daily. The papers do not have funnies, nor large advertisements, but they contain scientific investigations and reports of prominent people on questions of international interest; no football team reports, but deeds of some heroes of science and humanity.

Each one of these two papers took a definite stand in the
last election in America. Atlantis was republican, and the National Herald was democratic. As such, they offered some services to American political affairs, as an American paper, the Boston Traveler stated. In addition to the educational services to Greek Americans, these two papers serve as links between the two countries. Through their news from Greece, they keep the interest in their home land of the Greeks in America, alive. Steamers arriving from and departing for Greece, are always listed, and the impressions of those visiting the motherland are asserted to keep the rest of the people waiting the day when they may pay a visit to the land of ancient culture. Once in every two or three weeks, a summary of governmental decisions, and other news from villages, in regard to the social life there, are published.

Furthermore, these two papers have helped in raising funds for public works in Greece, and on different occasions, they have contributed to various needs of the Greek nation and some particular city or town in Greece, or some Greek community in America. Two months ago, both papers closed their fund collecting campaign for the earthquake struck people in Greece. Atlantis had collected $10,000 and the National Herald, $6,000 in round numbers. At the same time, the National Herald was leading another campaign to raise a fund for the orphanage of the Archdiocese, and collected the sum of over $40,000. In 1930, they led another campaign for raising funds to help the earthquake--struck Corinthians.
These two papers are not by any means the only Greek publications in America. The same publishers issue a monthly magazine bearing the names of the newspapers, each namely, "The Atlantis Monthly Illustrated," and the "National Herald Monthly Illustrated." They contain news of scientific and international interest, and are circulating widely in every part of America, in Europe, Egypt, and wherever Greeks are found. There are also over ten papers issued in America, at present, and all of these serve the same purpose. A few of these papers are shown below with the places where they are issued:

"Aster" Chicago "Angeliophoros" Lowell
"Thessaloniki" "Kreticos" New York
"Kathemerini" "Cypriakos Agou" "
"Acropolis" "Prometheus" San Francisco
"California" San Francisco "Estia" Montreal

In addition to these Greek papers issued in America, there are other Greek papers read by the Greek Americans, but issued in Greece. A monthly magazine issued in Athens by the Bank of Athens, under the title "News From Greece", has as its object to serve the Greeks outside Greece. This magazine is widely read by the Greeks in America. It is a survey of the social and political conditions in Greece, with a summary of decisions and daily procedure of the Greek parliament, and contains the masterpieces of the best authors in Greece as Nicholaides, Pavlos, Miruanas, Moraitines, and others. Some of the papers from Greece, read in America, are Eleftheros Typos, Embros,
Athenaica Nea, Vema.

Due to the Greek publications in general, and because of the limited number of years since Greeks left their homeland, they have a vivid memory of their birthplace, and their best wish to each other is "Καλή πατρίδα", good return to fatherland. The newspapers play the leading part in preserving this spirit, and in including and inducing all Greeks in America to help their relatives in Greece. The yearly remittances to home, exceeded $8,000,000 in 1931. To facilitate these remittances, the two nationally known large banks, that of the Bank of Athens, and the National Bank of Greece, opened branches in America, and have offices in New York and Chicago. The Bank of Athens has a branch in Boston, too, located at 320 Tremont Street.

1. Atlantis
CHAPTER VI

AMERICANIZATION OF GREEK PEOPLE

The American Greeks

In the preceding pages, the Greek life in all its phases, has been concisely described. Comparing the Greek life in Greece, with that in America, the activities of Greeks in Greece with those of Greeks in America, and the business establishments of Greeks in both countries, one very easily can see that the Greeks in American soil, are more like the Americans than like the Greeks in Greece. They are no longer the villagers of Sparta or mountainous Macedonia, but the American-Greek business men. They do no longer sing and dance in the streets of Lowell as they used to do when they first reached that place; instead, they attend social balls and organize for themselves, similar entertainments. "They tend to become assimilated and naturalized, and are loyal to this government, as a whole. Their attitude and adaptability to American civilization is on a par with the nationals of other countries, southwestern Europe and western Asia." The melting pot of America operated successfully in the case of Greeks, in moulding their social behavior, while preserving some of their inherited good characteristics.

The activities of various social clubs as Ahepa, Gapa, and other Greek-American social and political clubs, are numerous in their attempt to naturalize the Greeks. As to the American born Greeks, there is no question of Americanization; as a mat-

1. From a letter from Immigration Service in Boston
ter of fact, their parents are afraid of over-Americanization, and try to shape their attitude toward life in accord with the ideals of Greek classical life. The Greeks born across, "tend to find their social life, like other racial groups, largely among their own race,--they do mingle with Americans, however, when and where they have the opportunity. They seem to appreciate the privileges of this country and adjust themselves quite readily." The main object of Ahepa is to Americanize the Greeks, and in their public lectures, the leaders of the club, and especially its president, Mr. Booras, speak of the "American Greeks" and Americans of Greek abstraction." They definitely made up their mind to stay in America, call her their adopted fatherland, and are willing to offer their services for her cause. The number of Greeks joining the American army during the World War, according to some Greeks, was proportionally greater than the number of other nationalities. If not the only, probably the most courageous American soldier across who has gained the title of hero, was George Dilboy, an Athenian villager.

Adaptability of Greek People

Adaptability to social conditions depends mostly upon the natural plasticity of the people concerned. This natural aptness to be moulded, cannot be measured by any yard stick; yet by certain phenomena, one can distinguish between the people, who can readily adjust themselves to social conditions and to the language, and those who cannot. In regard to this point,

1. From a letter from Immigration Service in Boston
the Greeks in America are divided into as many classes as there
are distinct localities in Greece, which have particular char-
acteristics. The Greeks from the villages of Peloponesus find
the pronunciation of American language more difficult than the
Greeks in Athens and other larger cities. This is due to the
fact that in Athens, the foreign element is in considerable num-
ber, and very often in one neighborhood, there are two or more
languages spoken. The Greeks of northern Greece, and especially
of Constantinople and Asia Minor, find the least difficulty in
getting the pronunciation of the English language. This holds
good in their adjustment to other conditions, also.

Coming from various parts of Greece and from Asia Minor,
the Greeks vary greatly in regard their physical and psychic
plasticity. Thus, we find Greeks in two extremes in the scale
of Americanization. There are a few who desire to remain Greek
within the full meaning of the word, while the great majority
of them strive for Americanization. The first class pay atten-
tion and reverence to the historical Greek traditions, and the
second class prefers the adjustment to present conditions with
an aim to modify, preserve, and remodel old ideals to fit the
present realm of life. In addition to the cultural level of
these people and their natural plasticity, which has to throw
light on the question of their naturalization, the environment
where they live says the last word. The Greeks in large cities,
as in Boston, New York, Chicago, etc., are more intensevly
Americanized than the Greeks living in small places, where they
are concentrated in a certain locality of the city. Thus, we find the American born children in Peabody and Haverhill, more Hellenistic than the children in Greater Boston. They speak the Greek language more fluently than the Greek descent children in Boston.

What Greeks Think of Their Future

A survey of the history of Greek people from 2,000 B.C., up to the present day, reveals some startling features of endurance, continuity in their national existence, and persistence in their national religious and linguistic characteristics, with some minor changes in accord with general evolution. They have been, at times, on the top in regard to culture and wealth, and at the bottom, at other times, in regard to misery and poverty. They have been, politically speaking, masters of the greatest portion of Europe and Asia combined, and educators in a still larger area for many centuries; yet, in other times, they have been cast aside from civilization under the yoke of other crude Empires, as a nation not worthy of living. They have been granters of religious and political freedom, have fought for the independence of other nations, so as to help them exist, while at other times, they themselves, were in need of help for the attainment of their freedom. One thing, however, which has kept the Greek lantern burning continuously, has been their sense of national pride, their comparative cultural superiority for many centuries past, and the geographic
and climatic beauty of their country. They fought for these three elements, died for them and successfully preserved them.

With these historic successes, as their background to serve as a basis of courage and belief, the Greek people, a few of them, think that it is possible to live in America and remain Greeks. Thus, once in a while, one may hear a lecturer with historical illustrations, prove to the satisfaction of his audience, that they can keep their language, their religion, and their Greek tradition in the United States. "The Greek people who resisted the invasion of barbarian tribes in Europe, as the Slavs, the Huns; the invasions of semi-barbarious nations as Venicians, Franks, etc., and the invasion of the Turkish Empire; the Greek people, who after many centuries of bitter sufferings and pressures, emerged again as heroes from the grave, will forever keep existing." This statement is sometimes heard here and there, and the idea is encouraged by American politicians, who, aiming at the Greek votes, induce them to resist. But as the years go by, the confidence in the validity of it is lessening, and another statement, at present more frequently heard and better trusted, is as follows: "We, the Americans of Greek abstraction, must be fond of our ancestors who believed in democracy, and must try to show our patriotism to the land that feeds us. Since nature fortunately decreed that we come to live in this land of liberty, equality, and plenty, it is your duty, the Greeks, to see that we become good citizens and contribute to her greatness. America is our adopted fatherland."
and all we ought to do is to plant in this land, whatever good features have been left to us by our great inheritance."

Looking at the changing opinion of Greek people in regard to this question of naturalization, one can see that the progress to this natural end is fast. There is even a thought going around, in regard to the possibility of introducing the English in the church, in the half-hour talk. The English language is already used in meetings of over fifty per cent of Juvenile clubs. In the light of the above, one may say that 80 out of 100 Greeks in America will not be able to withstand the naturalizing effect of the American environment, and that they are going to yield in their resistance to the melting pot of America. This is evident in the fact that no American born Greek student, graduated from the Greek schools, is able to use his Greek effectively. Furthermore, a great number of the children seem to be in direct conflict with their parents in regard to the desire of the parents to have their children learn Greek.

What Americans Think of the Greek People

On this point, we can do no better than insert a few of the remarks of prominent Americans, concerning the standing of Greeks. "They are fond of learning and advancement; their moral tone is excellent; they are temperate and sober, devoted in their family life; education has their respect and unqualified support; and for the most part, honest in their business
relations. They are an extremely democratic people; they make no class distinction, and they have little sympathy with any form of radicalism," states Allessios, in his pamphlet on "The Greek Immigrant and His Reading." In the same pamphlet, in regard to their taste in reading, the same author is quoted as follows: "Interest in books is very general among Greeks, and their choice of reading matter often falls upon more serious subjects than may be expected. They read their newspaper as a matter of course, and read it with attention to political affairs first of all, and then with due regard for other topics."

Professor Havice of Northeastern University, commenting on the Greeks, stated, "I think of the Greek people as being idealistic, quiet, peaceful, loyal and ambitious for their intellectual development." "They are industrious, hard-working and frugal," said the commissioner of Immigration in Boston. In addition to these more or less academic remarks about the Greeks, there are the leading politicians who have occasionally expressed their opinion, exalting the deeds and the contribution of the Greek race. For them, at moments at least, Greeks are the best patriots, Greece is the mother of democracy, and America is the proud daughter. They have been encouraging, and in many instances, helping Greeks to get their citizenship.

Contribution of Greek People to American Life
It is very hard to tell the specific contribution of any nation to American civilization, because such a contribution
is an abstract phenomenon incapable of being measured. The contribution of ancient Greeks is too commonly spoken of, and therefore, it does not have any place in this thesis. The American Greeks, however, as people directly connected with the ancient civilization, and as heirs of that wonderful culture, are the transferers of those ideals to American civilization. If we accept the vanishing family life in America as a check to sound civilization, then the Greeks, as observers of family traditions, and as people devoted in their family life, serve in some measure, as guardians to American family life. Professor Havice, in regard to the contribution of Greeks, stated; "It seems to me that the Greek people have directly or indirectly raised the aesthetic and philosophical standards of our country."

In business, it is believed that the shoeshine parlors and the restaurants were developed by Greeks. New methods of procedure in these two lines of business, from time to time, have been introduced. Confectioneries were established and types of candies were introduced by Greeks. The Chimes Brownies, as well as many other cakes, are products of Greek people. The sponge industry has been developed by the Greeks. The "Murad" and "Anargyros" cigarettes, the best of their kind in America, were introduced by Greeks. Many laborers have been working in hard jobs, in building projects, and in many other constructive business engagements, but these are really too small to be counted as special contribution of these people alone.
In the educational and scientific world, Greeks show enormous progress, and through their earnest desire to educate their children, they contribute to the raising of the level of culture in America. The Greeks developed these organizations, churches and schools, because they met a social need which the new country has not been able to supply. "For that, they deserve our good will and even our solicitude, for they form a strong bridge over which hundreds of thousands have travelled on their way to citizenship." The purpose of a national Greek organization can well illustrate the contribution of these people to American civilization. It reads as follows: The choicest attributes of Hellenism will be joined with the choicest attributes of Americanism, out of which the highest type of American citizen will grow. Our goal is to harmonize, foster, and immortalize the thought, scope and precepts of Hellas, leader of antiquity, and America, the leader of modern times."

The number of prominent Greek scientists is not known, but it is believed that there are 15-20 professors in American colleges. Among those widely heard, are Mr. Phoutrides of Harvard, deceased some years ago, Dr. Demost of the same University, in the Department of Philosophy, Dr. P. Pappas, an expert surgeon in Genito-Urinary, and lecturer in Tufts Medical, and other Greek doctors in Cornell University, doing research work in chest diseases, Mr. Nissires of Dartmouth College and many others. Mr. Ladas, a lawyer in New York, formerly of Harvard, Mr. Canoutas in the same field, and Polyzoides, the editor of

1. Eaton Immigrant Gifts to American Life
"Atlantis", are considered among the well educated people of Greek abstraction, who certainly contribute to America. Mr. Michael Anagnos of Perkins Institution (see p.49), stands as the ideal of Greek Americans.
Summary

The modern Greeks are the direct descendants of Ancient Greeks, as indicated by their somatic and nationalistic characteristics. The fact that they are of darker complexion than the ancient Greeks is due to dominance of the Mediterranean tribes in the making up of the race. The measurements in skull and the aptitudes of modern Greeks, according to Professor Thumb, show that in spite of the odds, they absorbed foreign culture and foreign races. They are of diagnostically Aryan or Indo-European stock, and short in stature and brunette in complexion, although in Crete, there is a considerable amount of tall and blonde population. Their immediate ancestors were a mixture of Germanic tribes, and another tribe from Africa, together, forming the so-called Pellasgians. These people increased enormously and spread around the coast of Asia Minor and the Islands. The Greeks of America, therefore, although from different parts of Asia Minor and Europe, have common ancestors and common characteristics.

These people are conscious of their great heritage, and are proud to hear the names of their ancestors referred to in the scientific world. The contribution of ancient Greeks to modern civilization serves as a social heritage to modern Greeks. The social and religious life in modern Greece is the outcome of the traditions and teachings of ancient Greeks; yet, it is modified to meet the requirements of modern life. The conventional living, the beauty of the land, and the relatives
are the elements which for many years were a check upon the migration of Greeks to America. As the economic and social development of Greece, however, were very slow, due to the lack of natural resources and the mountainous topography of the land, the Greeks were obliged to migrate, but like the birds who always return to their old nests. The causes of migration were solely economic. Political and religious liberty was to be gained by Greeks, for Greece as a whole, and not for individuals; therefore, no Greek ever left Greece because of political or religious pressures; he remained at home or went back if he was far from home to fight for the attainment of liberty for Greece.

As the rest of the world, and especially America, was developing more rapidly than Greece, the backwardness of Greece was felt by the people of the country who started to come to this country, aiming always to go back as soon as they could make enough money to live in Greece. They came to this land, without knowledge of the language and the conventions of the United States. They were disappointed at first, but after many sufferings and hard work, they adjusted themselves to the conditions. They liked America and decided to remain in America for the rest of their lives. Soon after 1890, they began to call for their wives, or to go back and bring wives, because for over thirty years, only males migrated to America. In 1890, they began to organize themselves into communities, and to form clubs through which they were able to restore the part of social
life of Greece which they were missing in America. There was something ideal in their traditional form of living, connected with all phases of life, mostly family and religion, which America could not provide; so they were gathered in groups to take care of their own particular problems. These early settlements of Greeks were along the eastern coast in New York, Lowell, and some other cities where factories were located. From these locations they soon spread all over the United States, as shown in the table on p. 32.

The early immigrants were of the low class of people, mostly from villages, and their number was very small during the first 25 years, (see p. 26). After 1890, professional men began to come to America. They found more difficulties than the average Greek, because they could not work in factories, but soon, they learned the language and succeeded in their work. At present, most of the professional men, whether they were born across, or born here, are educated in American Colleges. Most, if not all of these used to work in stores of various kinds and in factories while studying; they learned to appreciate knowledge, and as self-made men, are very successful. There are over fourteen doctors and an equal number of lawyers in Boston; this number is increasing rapidly. It is believed that in every state of America, the ratio of doctors or any Greek professional men to the Greek population of that state, is equal to the ratio of doctors and lawyers in Boston to the Greek population of this city. These professional men are more
Americanized than the average Greeks who work in stores and factories, and they pay little attention to the Greek communities, except for exploiting their votes or to acquire customers. There are a few exceptions, however, to this rule.

The Greeks showed good progress in businesses which do not need very large capital and experience, and are for the immediate satisfaction of human wants, such as shoe-shining parlors, restaurants and fruit stores. In these three lines, they showed special capability, and contributed to their development. The first quarter of the present century was a period of organization for Greek Americans. They were engaged in wholesale organizations, until the number of churches and other independent associations reached a number estimated to be over 400. These organizations have different objects; from a survey of their activities, however, one may say that their aim is to make better citizens for America, because no matter what the particular aim of any one organization is, they all tend to help the Greek church and schools, whose aim is the above mentioned. These organizations can be classed into four types, according to their services. The first class are those organized for promoting self-interest. This class includes the communities and the associations which maintain churches and schools the clubs as the Nine Muses, Helicon and other associations which render educational services to their members, and the Ahepa and Gapa, whose main object is the Americanization of their members. The second class are organized to take care of

1. The Ahepa and Gapa, with over 500 of their branches combined are considered as only two national organizations.
the poor and needy families of Greek descent. These are the organizations of the ladies, and until 1931, they were independent clubs. In 1931, the assembly of representatives of all communities in North and South America and Canada, drew up a constitution, unifying the organizations under the name "Greek Ladies' Philoptohos Society." The president of these organizations is the Archbishop himself, and they are ruled like members of a federation, by a committee in the Archdiocese. The committee of each individual organization visits the needy in their respective localities, and twice a year, on Christmas and Easter, gives out bags of goods and money.

The third class includes the organizations, which in addition to their mutual help in case of necessity, help their particular villages or towns in Greece. The members of these associations come from the same places in Greece, and call their clubs with the name of their villages or towns, as the societies of "Vassara" and "Pan-Cretan," described previously. There are numerous of these associations in America, all working in the same way. The last class of associations are the political clubs. These are two, called "The Greek American Republican Club" and the "Greek American Democratic Club." The activities of both of these clubs are similar to those of American political clubs. The members of these clubs are also members of some other associations. Thus, very often one may find a Greek belonging to a half-dozen Greek clubs in addition to some other American clubs, if he prefers to. A young man may belong to
all the following clubs; to the Greek Community, the Ahepa or Gapa, to Greek American or Democratic Club, to Vassara, Pan Cretan or some other society, and in addition, to some kind of recreation club, such as dramatic or athletic.

The greatest problem of the Greek people is that of Americanization. They like America and want to be naturalized, but they are not contented with American life, especially in questions of family, husband-wife and children relations. The object of all the organizations, if their aims could be condensed to one, would be that of adjusting themselves to the best conditions in America, and supplanting their own home ideals in place of those American conditions, which are considered demoralizing the human beings. The Greek publication and especially "Atlantis" and "National Herald", the two largest daily papers, offer valuable services along this line. These two papers and a number of other publications, both in America and Greece, serve as connecting links between the Greeks in the two democracies. Under the leadership of the two largest Greek Associations, Ahepa and Gapa, annual excursions to Greece are made. The ties of personal relation between the Greeks in both democracies are strong and correspondence between relatives in Greece is regular.

The American born Greeks are 100% naturalized, due to the plasticity of the Greek people, and they are proud to be called American Greeks, because they combine the best ideals of the two democracies, leaving out the less desirable traits of both.
Probably over 75% of the Greeks are aware of the fact that they are going to yield to the effect of the "melting pot" some day, and they are striving to preserve only the very best Greek characteristics that they have, such as family life, honor, sex morality, etc. Along this line, they have apparently done something, because they enjoy the high esteem of prominent Americans with whom they have come in contact. As has been previously stated, they are considered as ambitious, law abiding and moral people, who will become good citizens of the future America.

THE END
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