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Greek Chicagoans and the Rise of Modern Conservatism: Daley, Agnew, and American Identity

By

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This thesis is dedicated to my big fat Greek family. To my Baba, you provided me with the cultural and linguistic knowledge that informs my research. To my Mom, your unconditional love and support brought me to this point. Thank you to you both, and also to Sophia, for giving me my room to grow. A special thank you to my partner, Justin, for without his daily love and care I would not have completed this project.

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My Big Fat Greek Wedding was released in 2002, bringing the hilarious lives of Toula Portokalos and her Greek immigrant family to screens across the globe. As Toula attempts to navigate her love life as a Greek-American, she meets a *xeni*, a non-Greek man, and the two fall in love to the dismay of her family. Viewers witnessed dramatized yet fairly relatable versions of an adult Orthodox conversion, *Paskha* (Greek Orthodox Easter), and a wedding full of references to ancient Hellenic culture as well as the gaudy late-90s taste of nearly everyone's *Thea* (aunt). Nia Vardalos, the writer and lead actress, had first produced this work as a play, which is where Tom Hanks and his Greek wife Rita Wilson happened upon it and resonated with it to such an extent that they offered to help adapt it to the big screen. While Hanks is not a Greek-American, the Greek government has gone so far as to extend him honorary citizenship for his and Rita's charitable donations to victims of the Greek wildfires in 2020. Not too bad for a *xeni*.

What Vardalos drew so effectively from was a shared Greek immigrant experience; one which sees families cling to their icons and their language; where Greek children are shuffled back and forth between their American schools, their Greek language school, and perhaps their shift at the family business; and where white Americans, like Toula's in-laws, gawk at this display of otherness. As my family wore out their VHS copy, I committed each line to memory and would recite key scenes whenever the opportunity presented itself, showcasing the Greek accent I perfected over a short lifetime of family dinners and church coffee hours. Families like mine felt seen in all our honest Greek glory, while some took great offense to the film. Those Greeks took the movie's display of gender roles, old superstitions, and creative license – referencing the previously unheard of Greek idolization of Windex – to be a caricature of their ancestry and a misrepresentation of Greek-Americans' status in twenty-first century America.

One ponders what it means to be an American, yet it is not often one ventures to ask: what does it mean to be Greek-American? When that task is undertaken it is most often by the Greek community themselves. Authors are caretakers of the Greek-American experience, it is a scholarly yet deeply personal exploration of their own essence. Monolithic descriptions of this community are increasingly falling by the wayside due to work by modern Greek historians like Yiorgos Anagnostou of Ohio State, who contextualized Greek American conceptions of ethnic identity and the environmental factors which influence decisions like voting behavior. In his book, *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America*, Anagnostou discusses the intricacies of collective memory and usable ethnic pasts, “the manner in which the past is made known to the public is not harmonious but is shaped at the intersection of competing views of identity in the present”.¹ Considering the one million Greek-Americans of 1970, roughly 200,000 of whom resided in Chicago, it is difficult to know anything about them for certain.² It appears fair to say, however, that the Greek identity in America is a malleable one; from the moment Greeks left their home in pursuit of a different life, it invariably meant they were different from the home they sought to escape. Whether motivated by safety concerns, economic opportunity, or a change of pace, new arrivals chose to maintain a sense of ethnic belonging by only transporting the institutions they sought to retain. Distinct cultural elements like the Greek Church, the language, the food, the folk costumes and dances, have been commodified for American consumers at church festivals, yet their significance to Greek-Americans manifests itself differently depending on one’s engagement with these

¹ Yiorgos Anagnostou. 2009. *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. pp. 6.

² “Greek Immigration in the United States: A Historical Overview – Hellenic American Project.”; Kourvetaris, George. *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago*. Illinois: National Centre of Social Science Research, 1971. pp. 50.

activities. Greek Americans have created a Greek identity that accentuates its differences while simultaneously not threatening *xeni* or their allegiance to America.

The city of Chicago is home to many ethnic groups, among its most prolific are its Irish and German communities. Nestled on Halsted Street in the Near West Side is Greektown: a strip of restaurants, small businesses, Orthodox Churches, and the National Hellenic Museum. Chicago has among the largest Greek population in the country, and in return, its resident Greeks have dedicated themselves to the city. While Greeks never retained significant local political power, their maturation as a successful American ethnic group began with modest economic accomplishments prior to World War II and peaked during the domestic turmoil around the time of Nixon's election and first term in office, 1968-1972. Nixon selected Greek-American Spiro T. Agnew – shortened from the original, Anagnostopoulos – as his running-mate on the Republican ticket, and Greeks began to question their Democratic loyalty at the prospect of national political prominence. Rather than succumbing entirely to the symbolic charms offered by the Republicans, many Greeks split their votes between the two parties, opting for Republican Presidential candidates and Democratic local officeholders.³ At a moment of chaos across political, racial, and social spheres, Greek-Chicagoans found themselves signifying a larger change in American identity politics.

This work seeks to apply Anagnostou's methods of tracing the intricacies of Greek-American identity to the Chicago Greek community as they evolved from immigrants to bold multi-culturalists during the white ethnic revival of the mid-1960s and the early 1970s. Setting the scope of this examination to analyze Greek political behavior during those years is significant for several reasons. First, it is during this time that the Greek-American community began to

³ Bartels, Larry. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 1 (January 2000): 35–50.; Zupan, Mark. "An Economic Explanation for the Existence and Nature of Political Ticket Splitting." *The Journal of Law and Economics* 34, no. 2 (October 1991): 343–69.

assert itself as a political unit in national politics; displaying itself as a unified community argues that there existed a consensus about their identity, the basis for which will be explored. Second, the impact of the white ethnic revival alongside the civil rights movement meant that Greeks and other European ethnic groups were comparing their issues with that of African-Americans as tensions rose from programs like affirmative action, which did not favor ethnics. Third, Greek Chicagoans of this time are an ample example of the shift in national Greek-American politics, one away from straight Democratic voting towards split-ticket voting, or dividing their votes between the two parties. Finally, the city of Chicago grappled intimately with the domestic politics of the day, including racial segregation and redlining, patronage reform, political protests – whether against the Vietnam war or other issues –, police brutality, and an increase in crime. Under these conditions, Greek-Americans mimicked a national trend away from the dominant Democratic of the last 40 years, thereby epitomizing their entrance into white America.⁴

To recount the journey of this community two significant source bases are used: the Hellenic Newspaper Collection and Oral History Collection, both from the National Hellenic Museum in Greektown, Chicago. The first in America to account for the Greek immigrant experience, the National Hellenic Museum also seeks to highlight the sizable Greek community in Chicago. Ethnic newspapers started circulation during the early 20th century, and Chicago papers *Greek Press* and *Greek Star* serve as the community perspective on then-current events but also represent the evolution of Greeks from diasporic Hellenes to Greek-Americans; content shifted overtime from mostly Greek language writing and coverage of Greece’s politics to a bilingual format with more articles concerning American life and times.⁵ Unlike these papers

⁴ Cowie, Jefferson. *Stayin’ Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class*. New York: The New Press.; Schulman, Bruce J. *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics*. Da Capo Press, 2001.

⁵ Papacosma, S. Victor. “The Greek Press in America.” *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* V, no. 4 (Winter 1979). pp. 60.

which were produced weekly in real time, the oral history transcriptions are the modern reflections of older respondents on being Greek in America during the twentieth century; such accounts run the risk of overgeneralizing and romanticizing the past, and to meet this concern, there is significant fact checking as well as contextualization of these stories with other academic investigations into Greek-American history. Considered together, *Greek Press*, *Greek Star*, and the oral histories of Chicago residents provide a glimpse into the everyday lives of Greek Chicagoans and their journey to political significance.

Although beginning with an overview of Greek life nationally and in Chicago, a more detailed analysis is conducted on the evolving nature of the Greek voter between the 1968 and 1972 election seasons. Social issues and the Vietnam War captivated the 1968 election, a three-way race between Democrat Hubert Humphrey, Republican former Vice President Richard Nixon, and third-party candidate George Wallace. Two important conclusions can be reached from those election results; first, the narrow margins between Nixon and Humphrey meant the nation was significantly divided, and second, Wallace's 10 percent of the national vote meant his racially charged appeal translated to Northern urban audiences. Overt racism and aversion to any federal intervention separated former Alabama Governor Wallace from Nixon; the two men would feed off each other on issues like crime, placing the blame for a loss of 'law-and-order,' on civil rights protests in cities. Wallace's national star rose from his attempted refusal to integrate the University of Alabama, therefore for him to be so popular in Northern cities meant his rhetoric of white backlash against the civil rights movement resonated among whites closest to the sites of many protests. President Nixon took office in 1969 haunted by his close victory,

Other potential newspaper sources for this project were *The AHEPAN*, a fraternal organization's monthly journal, or *The Orthodox Observer*, the paper of the Greek Orthodox Church; unfortunately, these resources were not available given the Hellenic Museum's limited collections as well as the limitations of the pandemic on archival research.

and during his first two years he and his staff experimented with policy proposals and rhetorical devices that would help him to peel off as many disaffected Democrats as possible.

President Nixon and Vice-President Agnew sought to amplify the voices of the ‘silent majority,’ a moniker used to define Americans who felt overlooked by liberal policies and who often harbored reservations about the direction of the civil rights movement. One such contingent resided in Chicago, a Midwestern metropolitan anomaly run by Democratic politics. Chicago drew national attention in 1965 when Martin Luther King arrived to promote the Chicago Freedom Movement aimed at improving the living conditions for African Americans in the Near West Side. Pointedly, this protest occurred during an election year for Democratic Mayor Richard J. Daley, who would not have his long reign in Chicago upended by an out-of-town instigator. That being said, Daley did not despise King, rather Daley felt that King did not see the whole picture. Where King saw the most segregated city in America, Daley saw a guarantee of the city’s future; if redlining ceased then property values would decline, diminishing all working-class economic advancement and forcing middle-class whites to flee to the suburbs. Daley’s approach to the civil rights movement sought to fit political activists like King into Chicago’s white ethnic machine politics, “as he famously put it, ‘Why don’t they act like the Poles, Jews, and the Irish?’”⁶

Considering their minority religious and ethnic status, Greek-American voters constituted a distinct American ethno-religious group. Mid Century Greek-Americans began to coalesce around the Republican party as an indication of their Americanization and political shift towards conservatism. While the Nixon administration is not the moment that Greeks fully commit to the Republicans, it is their first serious contemplation of that coalition. Although this trend away

⁶ Siegel, Fred. “Mayors and Morality: Daley and Lindsay Then and Now.” *Partisan Review*. Boston, United States: Partisan Review, Inc., 2001.

from Democratic leadership is occurring nationally, for Greeks it revealed an internal conflict between their cultural values and longstanding political loyalties which remained constant since their immigration began 80 years earlier. It also calls into question Greek identity in America: whether they regarded themselves as a diasporic community or a feature of American society. This is a historical moment when the popular white-ethnic narrative starts associating immigrant successes with 'bootstrap capitalism,' or an economic ascension free from government assistance. This mythology is historically false. Invocation of bootstrap capitalism by Daley, Nixon, and Agnew served as an attack against Democratic legislation which favored African Americans over the white majority.

To analyze the Greek voter's experience with mid century politics, this paper will be divided into two main sections. Section one will consider the general history of Greek immigration by focusing on the Greek Chicagoan experience specifically. Great attention will be paid to their relationship with Mayor Daley, especially after the construction of the University of Illinois-Chicago campus through old Greektown. Section two will consider Greek-American values against the dominant issues animating the conservative movement during the late 1960s and early 1970s. For this analysis, conservative tenants are synonymous with the increasingly influential Christian right. As a subset of the population that ascribes to a minority interpretation of Christianity, the Christian right led by ministers like Billy Graham developed a traditional counter-culture to post-war liberalism, distinguishing them from their Protestant counterparts as an other both culturally and religiously. Mid Century Greeks consciously aligned with culturally traditional, white American interests to protect their political stake; therefore the important foreign and domestic issues to the Christian right serve as a conservative litmus test for other right-leaning groups. Political actors such as Mayor Daley, President Nixon, and Vice-President

Agnew will be used to reinforce these claims. Importantly, the Daley delegate fiasco at the 1972 Democratic convention in Miami encapsulates the straining relationship between Greek Chicagoans as well as white backlash to inclusive liberalism. While remaining a minority in America, Greeks in Chicago are a local example of the conservative transformation occurring within that ethnic community, and the issues which entice them rightward are an indication of their Americanization: to be a Republican became a marker of success and American achievement.

Becoming Greek-American: the Story of Greek Immigration

Off the Boat Greeks

Prior to their immigration to the United States the Greek people successfully overthrew the Ottoman rulers who had occupied their country for 300 years; this revolution resulted in domestic instability and very few employment options. As Greeks arrived in America in search of jobs, an unfortunate accident in Chicago incentivized them towards the Midwest; the Great Chicago fire of 1871 decimated the cityscape and demanded wage laborers help to rebuild. Greek immigrants of 1871 through the early 1900s were 95% male, and their plans were vastly similar: temporarily work hard in America, save or send money back overseas, and eventually return to Greece.⁷ It was not until 1885 that the first Greek family established themselves in Chicago. Captain Panagiotis Poulis of Corfu settled in Chicago with his wife, Georgia, changing the image of what America may have to offer Greek people; overtime, this orientation towards America would change, and by 1910 women and children began immigrating as well.⁸ Drawing these recent migrants to Chicago's Near West Side neighborhood was Jane Addam's Hull House,

⁷ Russis, William. "A Voice From the Past." In *Hellenism in Chicago*, 141–44. Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1982. pp. 142; Plous, F.K. "Chicago Greeks Are Best in the U.S.A., Part II." *Greek Press*. May 28, 1971, No. 21 edition. The National Hellenic Museum.

⁸ Litsas, Fotios. "A Church Alive." In *Hellenism in Chicago*, edited by Stacy Diacou, 169–73. Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1982. pp. 169. As of the 1980s, the daughter of the first Greek family in Chicago, Mary, was still living in Chicago; Scourby, Alice. *The Vanishing Greek Americans*. New Jersey: Cosmos Publishing, 2020. pp. 26.

a settlement home for new European immigrants.⁹ Whether to send money home or to create a new life in America, economic opportunity was truly the first link between the Greeks and the United States.

Unsure about their futures in the States, those first single Greek men worked industrial jobs in the heavily Greek settled areas of Lowell, Massachusetts, Chicago, or New York City, or perhaps ventured out west as miners in Colorado or Utah.¹⁰ The absence of family units forced men to rely on each other outside the traditional family unit. A popular element of Greek male identity is *philotimo*, which directly translates to honor, yet it is honor with a tinge of patriarchal swagger: traditionally, this would embolden men to be fiercely independent. However, being alone in the States, *philotimo* would extend beyond the individual to forge strong group bonds. Greek men joined organizations – some socialist – like the Industrial Workers of the World and the Western Federation of Miners. While Greeks represented a small proportion of unions and labor groups, vast numbers within the Greek community joined these groups. Early Greek-American political activism concerned economic and labor issues; for example, at the infamous Ludlow miners’ strike, Greeks participated in the radical protest against the mining companies that resulted in scores of deaths.¹¹ Chicago workers would likewise engage in labor and political protests, some would contribute to Communist organizers in America as well as to those in Greece against the pro-German dictator Ioannis Metaxas in the 1930s, yet nearly all of

⁹ Cunningham, Erin. “Interiors, Histories, and the Preservation of Chicago’s Hull House Settlement.” *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 23, no. 2 (2016): 53–64.

¹⁰ Lowell, Massachusetts is a significant settlement location for early Greeks. Many worked the various industrial jobs available in the area, and overtime, this Greek community would prosper and grow throughout the greater Boston area.

¹¹ The Ludlow miners’ strike in Colorado consisted of roughly 10,000 miners protesting low pay and poor work conditions: many of these miners were Greek and Italian immigrants. Evicted from company towns and encircled by the National Guard at the behest of company bosses, the situation escalated to violence on April 19, 1914, when the National Guard opened fire on miners and their families, killing 25 people. Among the dead was Louis Tikas, a Greek immigrant who was attempting to rescue women and children from the incoming gunfire. In response, miners descended on an anti-union township, resulting in the deaths of an additional 50 people. Workers earned little after the strike ceased in December 1914, with no repercussions against the National Guardsmen or mining bosses.

the Communist sympathies would disintegrate following World War II.¹² What early Communist Party and Socialist alliances did accomplish for Greeks in America was its empowerment of the immigrant worker. Greek men built themselves off their financial aspirations, sense of ethnic belonging, and proud *philotimo* to advocate for themselves in the workplace as their residency in America became more permanent.

Jane Addams's Hull House played an integral role in helping poor Greek immigrants transition into Chicago society. More than a place to lay their heads, Addams offered Greeks friendship and guidance in the new world. Recalling his father's fond memories of Addams, George Collias affirmed the admiration Greeks held for the social work pioneer:

“they took a liking to her immediately, because she was helping them. She would set tables and show them how to set a table and use silverware and all that...she would invite the young ladies from the North Shore down and play records...She taught them manners and she taught them English. Every time my dad would tell us—as we were growing up—about Jane Addams, he would always preface it with ‘that wonderful Jane Addams, a wonderful woman’...All those kids were so beholden to her because she was helping them become citizens.”¹³

Hull House provided Greek newcomers with a variety of formal and informal social services including a gymnasium, a theater, parks, art classes, and most importantly, respect.¹⁴ As Greeks

¹² Georgakas, Dan. “Greek American Radicalism: The Twentieth Century.” In *Reading Greek America*, edited by Spyros Orfanos. Modern Greek Research Series. New York: Pella Publishing Company, 2002.

Anti-communism spread as a result of the collapse of the US-USSR alliance, and the Red Scare swept through America as a manifestation of anti-intellectualism towards government servants, academics, and Hollywood creatives. Not all Greeks were Communists, or even Socialists, yet that vocal minority became totally silenced by Greeks who sought to capitalize off Greece's contribution to Allied victory.

¹³ Collias Family. National Hellenic Museum Oral History Collection. Transcript, 2004. Oral History Collection. National Hellenic Museum.

¹⁴ Galanopoulos, George. National Hellenic Museum Oral History Collection. Transcript, November 8, 2005. Oral History Collection. National Hellenic Museum.

in Chicago gained their footing and stability, the reverence they held for Jane Addams of Hull House was nearly divine.

Long-term Settlement in Chicago

Early Greeks found work wherever they could, yet what appealed to them most was the prospect of being their own boss. Not every Greek would own a business, but it would become the dominant narrative of the community. By the turn of the twentieth century Greeks drew from their roots as farmers and fishermen and began peddling food and other items on the city streets.¹⁵ The growing popularity of immigrant vendors threatened the Chicago restaurateurs enough to lobby politicians to enact stricter licensing standards to prevent immigrant peddlers from cutting in on their business; as a result, Greek families pooled their savings to open restaurants and other establishments and “in a few years [became] some of the city’s most skilled restaurateurs”.¹⁶ Between 1891 and 1913 Greeks owned 4,000 fruit and confectionary stores, 15 to 20 floral shops, and 600 to 800 restaurants in the Chicago area.¹⁷ Despite little if any formal business training, Greeks utilized their real-world experiences from the old country to pursue capitalist goals in America.

Small business ownership was such a popular experience of Chicago Greeks that their prominence in certain neighborhoods left a lasting impact on the *paidia* (children) growing up there. Recollections often described playing on the sidewalk outside another Greek’s shop while parents labored away at the family store. The success of local confectioners was marvelous in the

¹⁵ Kourvetaris, George. *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago*. Illinois: National Center of Social Science Research, 1971. pp. 43.

¹⁶ Lindberg, Richard. *Passport’s Guide to Ethnic Chicago: A Complete Guide to the Many Faces and Cultures of Chicago*. Chicago, Illinois: NTC Publishing Group, 1993. pp. 232.; Scourby, Alice. *The Vanishing Greek Americans*. New Jersey: Cosmos Publishing, 2020. pp. 47.

The Chicago restaurant community would go so far as to take out advertisements in local papers reading, “John’s Restaurant. Pure American. No Rats, No Greeks”.

¹⁷ Kourvetaris, George. *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago*. Illinois: National Center of Social Science Research, 1971. pp. 73.

eyes of Ulysses Backas as a child: “[Local Greek] Mike Stefanos...became head of Dove Candies and he took...the ice cream bar - and eventually um uh Mars Bar bought them out...So anyhow, the other one, the other was even more successful. A lot more successful. And that was Andy Kanevelles...And he was Andes Candies...And he was the originator of the, um, the Turtle, the chocolate Turtle”.¹⁸ Greeks brought their experience crafting candy and other delicacies to market for American consumers; not only were Greek candies fond childhood memories, they also made their way into popular American culture.

How is it that a community of a few hundred thousand and scarce financial resources opened and achieved small business success in a foreign country. Sociologist Pnina Werbner defines immigrant entrepreneurial success as “the competitive achievement of prestige or honour, and of the symbolic goods signaling these, within a specific regime of value”.¹⁹ Greek immigrants’ *philotimo* ignited their competitive journey towards American achievement and wagered their personal honor and fiscal security on the fabled American dream. Wagner sees this ‘dream’ as an elitist monopoly on social definitions of achievement.²⁰ Prior to the Great Depression all non-WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) were constantly ostracized for their cultural and racial otherness, increasing their barriers to American popular society and personal success. Ethnic enclave economies emerged when each ethnicity resigned to themselves and created niche networks of shared information and skills: this explains the prevalence of Greek owned confectionary stores and restaurants. In his oral history account for the National Hellenic Museum, the Hon. Charles P. Kocoras reflected upon his childhood and recalled that popular vocations involved food, “Greek Americans tended to gravitate to food business in one form or

¹⁸ Backas, Ulysses Paul. National Hellenic Museum Oral History Collection. Transcript, May 19, 2004. Oral History Collection. National Hellenic Museum.

¹⁹ Werbner, Pnina. “What Colour ‘Success’? Distorting Value in Studies of Ethnic Entrepreneurship.” *The Sociological Review* 47, no. 3 (August 1, 1999): 548–79. pp. 551.

²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 554.

another either with grocery stores or wholesale stores or restaurants and so that was the predominant occupation”.²¹ The early twentieth century trend towards communal and fraternal loyalty aligned well with the immigrant’s ethnic enclave and shared trade skills, creating many common experiences as well.²²

When Greeks arrived anywhere in America they sought to achieve economic independence, yet their embrace of the American dream did not placate era-stereotypes. Greeks in Georgia experienced discrimination from fellow business owners as well as the anti-immigrant Ku Klux Klan, but those negative forces inspired Greeks to establish fraternal business organizations to advocate for themselves. Established in 1922, AHEPA, American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, set out to support Greek businessmen while also extending the opportunity to non-Greek men to join their ranks.²³ In seeking to appeal to both Greeks and non-Greeks, AHEPA championed an assimilationist attitude often thrust upon new immigrants: either conform or be ostracized. Emerging later in 1923, GAPA, the Greek American Progressive Association embraced traditionalism and offered an alternative to the direction proposed by AHEPA. Where AHEPA sought to assimilate, GAPA affirmed its strong commitment to Greek tradition.²⁴ Overtime, however, AHEPA’s foresight to posture its businessmen as both Greek and American worked to its benefit, attesting to the lure of the American melting pot.

²¹ Werbner, Pnina. “What Colour ‘Success’? Distorting Value in Studies of Ethnic Entrepreneurship.” *The Sociological Review* 47, no. 3 (August 1, 1999): 548–79. pp. 561.; Kocoras, Hon. Charles P. National Hellenic Museum Oral History Collection. Transcript, November 16, 2005. Oral History Collection. National Hellenic Museum.

²² Ian Tyrrell. “The Dream and the Century: The Liberal Exceptionalism of the New Deal State, 1930s-1960s.” In *American Exceptionalism : A New History of an Old Idea*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021. pp. 167.

²³ Scourby, Alice. *The Vanishing Greek Americans*. New Jersey: Cosmos Publishing, 2020. pg. 34.; Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 63.

²⁴ Moskos, Charles. “Greek American Studies.” In *The Greek American Community in Transition*, edited by Harry Psomiades and Alice Scourby, 17–65. New York: Pella Publishing Company, 1982. pp. 45.; Scourby, Alice. *The Greek Americans*. The Immigrant Heritage of America Series. Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1984. pp. 42.

Anti-immigrant sentiment was not exclusive towards Greeks, nor was it extensive, yet instances of violence or protest against Greeks would emerge during the first few decades of the twentieth century. In search of housing during the Depression, John Giannaris and his parents were discriminated against simply for the sound of their last name:

“I recall this one home my mother rang the bell, this lady came and she said yes. My mother said you have this apartment for rent and I’d like to look at it and maybe rent it with my family. She said what is your name? She told her it was Giannaris and...she says what do you mean what kind of name is that. [My mother] says we’re Hellenic. She says what, what’s that? She says oh, so you can better understand we’re Greek. We don’t rent to Greeks, get out. I was ten or eleven and that was not an area with restrictive covenants.”²⁵

Moments of white racial bigotry stung Greeks’s *philotimo*; this experience of inter-racial prejudice, however, does not compare to the treatment inflicted upon racial minorities, most notably African Americans.²⁶ Southern and Eastern Europeans were distinct from their WASP counterparts for their darker features and their non-Protestant Christianity. Additionally, these ethnic groups were regarded as hyphenated Americans, those whose allegiance did not belong solely to the United States but shared with their country of origin.²⁷ To combat the negative assumptions about their loyalties, some Greek-Americans, like the early members of AHEPA, would embrace an assimilationist attitude. Wrestling with their commitment to their country of

²⁵ Giannaris, John. National Hellenic Museum Oral History Collection. Transcript, February 12, 2009. Oral History Collection. National Hellenic Museum.

²⁶ Anagnostou, Yiorgos. *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009. pp. 155.; Sleeter, Christine E. “The White Ethnic Experience in America: To Whom Does It Generalize?” Edited by Joel Perlmann and Richard D. Alba. *Educational Researcher* 21, no. 1 (1992): 33–36.

²⁷ The Imperial Night-Hawk. “Carnegie, Pa., Mob Martyrs Klan Hero and Violates All Rights of Americanism,” August 29, 1923.

origin forced an existential reckoning for each immigrant, where dedication, or lack thereof, to their past would impact their future goals in America.

While one might infer that the ongoing struggle between assimilationists and traditionalists would mark a decline in adherence to Greek Orthodoxy, the church remained the one common pillar in most Greek lives. Unlike in Greece where the Church is funded through tax contributions, early Greeks in America needed to coordinate amongst themselves to establish a local church. Four years after a local committee formed to erect a church, in 197 Holy Trinity opened in the heart of Greektown as Chicago's first permanent Greek Orthodox Church: this path to church construction would be replicated nationally.²⁸ In 1922 these local churches were consolidated into the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. The Greek Orthodox Churches recognize the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople whose traditional authority was legitimized by the Byzantine Empire; however, since the Turkish control of Constantinople, the Turkish government exerts a direct role in the appointment of the Patriarch, possibly exercising veto power over the potential nominees. There are Patriarchs for each ethnic iteration of Orthodoxy; however, the Patriarch in Constantinople is regarded as the first among equals. There is no equivalent in the Eastern Orthodox Church to the Catholic Pope, rather the Patriarchs will convene amongst themselves to discuss theological matters, with the final authority resting with the Patriarch for that autocephalous Orthodox church. To manage the newly established Archdiocese, in 1922 Patriarch Meletios assigned Archbishop Alexandros, whose first few years were riddled with internal conflict that prompted his replacement with Archbishop Athenagoras.²⁹

²⁸ Litsas, Fotios. "A Church Alive." In *Hellenism in Chicago*, edited by Stacy Diacou, 169–73. Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1982. pp. 170.

²⁹ Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020.

The conflict Archbishop Alexandros failed to remedy was that between the hierarchy and the laity regarding who held ultimate oversight over the American Archdiocese. Prior to the Archdiocese's establishment in 1922, the Society of Lycurgus in Chicago like laity councils elsewhere self-organized to raise churches; once the Greek Orthodox in America were incorporated under the Ecumenical Patriarch's control, the Mother church sought to exert the same oversight in America as they carried out in Greece.³⁰ Arriving eight years after the establishment of the church, Athenagoras did not seek tyrannical control over the diasporic Greeks, rather, he sought to replicate the reverence and high regard Greek nationals held for the Mother church. An important opponent to Athenagoras's organization efforts was the impact of Protestantism on the Greek immigrant. Athenagoras viewed Protestant congregationalism, which he used interchangeably with self-governance, as a scourge upon the Greek Orthodox tradition and its followers, calling them to question the Divine authority with which the Church governed. The Episcopalian church was an early Christian ally for establishing Orthodoxy in America and was potentially a source of congregationalist influence. To meet this obstacle, Athenagoras conceded some influence to the parishes and the Clergy-Laity biannual conference, yet ultimately the church would remain under the direct control of the Archdiocese.³¹

It was under the leadership of Archbishop Athenagoras that the church took charge of Hellenic preservation in America.³² His dedication to Greek culture prompted Greek-Americans, not the Church, to bestow the Archbishop with the title of Ethnarch, meaning one who is

³⁰ Scourby, Alice. *The Greek Americans*. The Immigrant Heritage of America Series. Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1984. pp. 44.; Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 43.

³¹ The Clergy-Laity biannual conference is the meeting between parish representatives, clergy, and hierarchs, to debate policy the church deems to directly concern and require lay input.

³² Archbishop Athenagoras would serve as the leader of the North and South American churches from 1930-1948. Among his noteworthy accomplishments was the establishment and relocation of the Greek Orthodox Seminary, creating an opportunity for American born Greeks to enter into the priesthood. He would be elected as the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church in 1948.

simultaneously an ethnic and religious leader.³³ One method of secularist containment was to retain the Greek language among immigrants and first-generation children. Greek language skills among the first wave of immigrants often suffered in an attempt to blend in with their American peers, yet Athenagoras pledged to fund and encourage a Greek language curriculum for the youth of the community. Continuing the use of Greek was of paramount importance to the church hierarchs, as the mother tongue continued to be used by the Ecumenical Patriarch and was believed to be the most accurate translation of the Word of God: Greek language comprehension, therefore, was critical to one's spiritual upbringing.³⁴ Children, however, found this justification for the additional hours of school attendance less than persuasive, and the language programs were plagued with various issues.³⁵ Attending Greek school as a child led George Dalianis to one conclusion: "(Laughing) No one looked forward to Greek school. I think just the teachers did but not the participants."³⁶ Language would remain a divisive issue between traditionalists and assimilationists, or here between immigrant parents and their American-born children. Despite the troubles with language programs, pushing children to retain some level of Greek comprehension is a marked departure from the assimilationist trend of the day.

The Church offered a variety of community organizations for men and women, thrusting it into the center of Greek life: "the church building is not only a place of worship, but the central point and center of the community in matters covering almost all of the facets of personal and

³³ Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 83.

The title of Ethnarch has only been used to describe two of the six Archbishops, for Archbishop Athenagoras and Archbishop Iakovos.

³⁴ Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 41.

³⁵ Scourby, Alice. *The Greek Americans*. The Immigrant Heritage of America Series. Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1984. pp. 42.

³⁶ Dalianis, George, and Rose Dalianis. National Hellenic Museum Oral History Collection. Transcript, 2004. Oral History Collection. National Hellenic Museum.

This poem holds a romantic admiration for its inhabitants whose cultural ties extend from Southern and Eastern Europe through to EuroAsia, and from South America. In recalling how Halsted Street meets the senses, Michalaros labeled the area a ‘Babel’ while he later warned ‘But mark this,/ I am not a medley of races;/ I am the spirit and soul/ Of the melting pot’.⁴¹ On the one hand, there is a definite pride associated with the cultural exchange occurring between different peoples through extensive histories, food, and perseverance. Halsted Street uniquely wrangles a variety of groups who would otherwise not live in such proximity, supporting the Near West Side’s reputation for cross-cultural coexistence.⁴² On the other hand, there is a sense of inevitable departure from this ethnic street because the pressures of Americanization will one day render these heritages obsolete. To Michalaros, the unique offerings of each group will meld together and produce ideal Americans who once hailed from the old world contributing towards the new.

The establishment of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in America protected immigrants from the unrelenting forces of assimilation by the government and their peers. Hellenism in America could be protected and expanded under the Church’s traditional leadership navigating its people through a new social environment. Greek Chicagoans achieved considerable economic growth despite their small population and minimal access to political power, yet they were not immune from the setbacks of the Great Depression. The presidential election of Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt created the New Deal coalition of ethnics, liberal intellectuals, Southerners, and African Americans, who rallied behind FDR’s federally guaranteed social safety net and ideological liberalism. Greeks of this era were politically active around issues

⁴¹ Michalaros, Demetrios A. “Halsted Street.” In *Hellenism in Chicago*, edited by Stacy Diacou. Chicago: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1982. pp. 137.

⁴² Herrera, Olga. “‘Street of Ouzo, Arak, and Tequila’: Recalling the Marvelous Strangeness of Chicago’s Near West Side with Carlos Cortéz, Sandra Cisneros, and Daniel J. Martinez.” *MELUS* 42, no. 1 (2017): 162–85.

concerning their labor and finances, therefore an economic activist like FDR attracted Greek voters.

Post-WWII Greek Chicagoans

Two events outside the control of Greeks in America redefined life in their new home. First, the outbreak of World War II challenged the varying levels of discrimination within American society, for once enlisted, it was common for diverse ethnic groups to be assigned to one company.⁴³ An attempted Italian invasion of Greece shocked the world when 3,000 Greek soldiers fended off nearly 20,000 Italians, earning Greek nationals and immigrants admiration among the Allies and newfound respect from average Americans.⁴⁴ Soldiers returning home benefitted from the GI Bill to fund their education as well as federal assistance to help purchase their first homes. After the war, Greece would become a symbol of anti-communism when President Truman unveiled his Marshall Plan, dedicating U.S. aid to fund pro-democratic forces. The second consequential event was the Civil Rights movement. World War II's ability to overcome many ethnic stereotypes offered African Americans a clear picture of their lives in America: the freedoms they fought for and enjoyed in Europe were not afforded to them at home. In the America of the 1950s white ethnics began to ascend past their lesser white status, while African Americans coalesced around expanding their civil rights. Traditional New Deal Democrats in support of liberalism and social security, Greeks recognized the plight of African Americans and empathized with the ethnic-based oppression they encountered as both Americans and Greeks. Most Greeks did not oppose efforts to remedy overt racism, such as voting access and integration while white Americans resented 'special treatment' in the form of

⁴³ Dash Moore, Deborah. 2004. *GI Jews: How World War II Changed a Generation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁴⁴ Kourvetaris, George. *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago*. Illinois: National Centre of Social Science Research, 1971. pp. 27.

an expanded welfare state that African Americans disproportionately benefited from. Overtime, white ethnics felt slighted because if these programs existed earlier, perhaps their immigration transition could have been easier. Despite empathizing with African-Americans on experiences of discrimination, Greeks were not yet prepared to sacrifice their new-found American perks for the sake of equality.

Amidst the influx of European immigration after WWII, Greek immigrants continued settling near Hull House in Chicago's Near West Side. Little Italy developed along Taylor Street while Greeks resided in the Halsted-Harrison-Blue Island delta.⁴⁵ A unique feature of this neighborhood was its diverse Southern-European, Hispanic, and emerging African American population all living amongst each other.⁴⁶ Nearly all of the residents in this community were lower-middle and working class, therefore immigrant parents often pressed education and career-oriented goals upon their children. Despite a strong affinity for the neighborhood, the white ethnic population declined between 1950 and 1960 by 10 percent, while the African American population doubled to 3,500 due to Hull House's new goal to house more Black people.⁴⁷ The most significant problem facing this neighborhood was the dilapidated housing against the backdrop of moderate immigrant economic success, compelling the city to consider this location for renewal by 1955.

In the immediate post-war years neighborhoods like the Near West Side and the Near South Side became targets for Urban Renewal.⁴⁸ Prior to the election and strong leadership of Richard J. Daley, two approaches to this task competed for influence under Mayor Kennelly. On

⁴⁵ Kourvetaris, George. *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago*. Illinois: National Centre of Social Science Research, 1971. pp. 50.

⁴⁶ Herrera, Olga. "'Street of Ouzo, Arak, and Tequila': Recalling the Marvelous Strangeness of Chicago's Near West Side with Carlos Cortéz, Sandra Cisneros, and Daniel J. Martinez." *MELUS* 42, no. 1 (2017): 162–85.

⁴⁷ Rosen, George. *Decision-Making Chicago-Style: The Genesis of a University of Illinois Campus*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1980. pp. 131.

⁴⁸ See Appendix A for a map of the city.

the one hand, real estate and business interests set out to extract as much use as possible out of the poorer 'slum' communities just outside the Chicago Loop business district. On the other hand, the Near West Side Planning Board, although in agreement with the former interests to revitalize said areas, their ultimate goal was to prevent the erasure of current residents and their cultures. Although both parties sought to improve housing conditions, the City Council itself was divided on how to proceed. Considering that all aldermen⁴⁹ were concerned with re-election, they were disinclined to consider measures which threatened their constituencies; in particular representatives of the Near West and South Sides feared for their political futures as their communities were eyed for demolition and redevelopment.⁵⁰ Not a strong ruler, Kennelly subsequently could not steer the efforts to improve downtown, thus creating a power vacuum only Daley could fulfill. Already the Cook County Democratic chairman, Daley pounced on the opportunity to fuse his party authority with real political power.⁵¹ Nicknamed Dick the Builder, Daley set out to renew and reconstruct many areas of the city, including constructing a campus to meet rising college enrollment.

Finalizing a construction site for the University of Illinois-Chicago (UIC) campus proved one of the most difficult challenges for Daley's early construction efforts. Much to the delight of its residents, Garfield Park had been the most promising option: campus construction would improve property values while protecting the neighborhood from an influx of lower-income minority residents. Despite the resident's support, preserving the park as a measure against crime

⁴⁹ Representation in Chicago is organized by districts or wards. There are 50 wards, who each have an alderman as a representative; all 50 aldermen together comprise the city council.

⁵⁰ Rast, Joel. *The Origins of the Dual City: Housing, Race, and Redevelopment in Twentieth-Century Chicago*. Chicago, United States: University of Chicago Press, 2019.; Seligman, Amanda. *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side*. Historical Studies of Urban America. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.

⁵¹ Spinney, Robert. *City of Big Shoulders: A History of Chicago*. Second Edition. Ithaca, New York: Northern Illinois University Press, 2020.

forced the city to select a new location.⁵² The Harrison-Halsted location offered a variety of benefits for both the Mayor’s office and the UIC planning committee, including its proximity to the Loop and the city’s preexisting ownership of 55 cleared acres. Building off of this existing clearance would serve the city’s efforts to elevate Chicago’s poorer neighborhoods to match its cosmopolitan aspirations. The announcement of this location in the *Chicago Tribune* captured many of these sentiments, “The near west side slum clearance site at Congress expressway route was chosen yesterday by trustees of the University of Illinois for the new multi-million dollar Chicago branch campus”.⁵³ Using ‘slum’ to characterize this neighborhood typified outsiders’ attitudes that viewed the mass of immigrants and minorities as a blight upon the city rather than a thriving romantic cultural marketplace of artists like Michalaros and others.⁵⁴

Given that Harrison-Halsted was not UIC’s previously desired location, its selection came as a significant shock to the community; many wrongly believed that the influence of Little Italy politicians would prevent such a devastating blow to the area.⁵⁵ Hull House, another prominent member of the community, was powerless to stop the construction. Shockingly, the plans for Hull House was to restore the mansion and phase out its social work programs, rather than preserve the entire complex or keep it operating.⁵⁶ A coordinated effort consisting of Hull House staff and neighborhood members formed the Harrison-Halsted Community Group, “[a]mong the

⁵² Rosen, George. *Decision-Making Chicago-Style: The Genesis of a University of Illinois Campus*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1980. pp. 67.

⁵³ Buck, Thomas. “Near West Side Development Details Told.” *Chicago Tribune*. February 11, 1961, Vol. 120 No. 36. Access Newspaper Archive Institutional Version.

⁵⁴ Herrera, Olga. “‘Street of Ouzo, Arak, and Tequila’: Recalling the Marvelous Strangeness of Chicago’s Near West Side with Carlos Cortéz, Sandra Cisneros, and Daniel J. Martinez.” *MELUS* 42, no. 1 (2017). pp. 171.; Michalaros, Demetrios A. “Halsted Street.” In *Hellenism in Chicago*, edited by Stacy Diacou. Chicago: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1982. pp. 137.

⁵⁵ Rosen, George. *Decision-Making Chicago-Style: The Genesis of a University of Illinois Campus*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1980. pp. 87.

⁵⁶ Cunningham, Erin. “Interiors, Histories, and the Preservation of Chicago’s Hull House Settlement.” *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 23, no. 2 (2016): 53–64.

The ensuing restoration of the Hull House mansion further added to the erasure of the area’s immigrant history. Many of the aesthetic choices hearkened to the mansion’s elite owners rather than its functionality under Addams.

prominent in this opposition group are families of Greek and Mexican and Spanish descent.

Supporting this opposition are two Catholic churches in the area and the staff of Hull House”.⁵⁷

The Community Group saw members of all backgrounds join together, including limited numbers of Greeks, yet their efforts were organized too late and the project went ahead as planned.⁵⁸

The inability of the Harrison-Halsted Community Group to stop the bulldozing of their predominantly immigrant neighborhood is an indication of their limited political power.

Although loyal members of the Democratic party and supporters of Mayor Daley, this did not save them from the sights of both the Mayor’s office and the more established business community seeking to ‘improve’ this corner of the city. Improvement here meant commercialization and a disregard for the working class, immigrant, and minority lifestyle embraced by its diverse community.⁵⁹ Given Mayor Daley’s roots as an Irish-American as well as his working-class upbringing in the Bridgeport neighborhood, one might have predicted that his support would lie with the Harrison-Halsted community; however, as the leader of the city Daley felt a greater duty to revive and expand its prestige through construction.

The Greek Chicagoan community viewed the demolition as an assault on their history and success in the city. In reflecting back on the legacy of the area, academic George Kourvetaris, author of *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago*, mourned the previous ethnic neighborhood seemingly ‘lost’ to Urban Renewal, depicted in Figure One.⁶⁰ While this

⁵⁷ Buck, Thomas. “Rush Plans on West Side U. of I Site.” *Chicago Tribune*. August 21, 1961. Access Newspaper Archive Institutional Version.

⁵⁸ Seligman, Amanda. *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago’s West Side*. Historical Studies of Urban America. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005. pp. 116.

⁵⁹ Herrera, Olga. “‘Street of Ouzo, Arak, and Tequila’: Recalling the Marvelous Strangeness of Chicago’s Near West Side with Carlos Cortéz, Sandra Cisneros, and Daniel J. Martinez.” *MELUS* 42, no. 1 (2017). pp. 171.

⁶⁰ Kourvetaris, George. *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago*. Illinois: National Centre of Social Science Research, 1971. pp. 17.; Herrera, Olga. “‘Street of Ouzo, Arak, and Tequila’: Recalling the Marvelous Strangeness of Chicago’s Near West Side with Carlos Cortéz, Sandra Cisneros, and Daniel J. Martinez.” *MELUS* 42, no. 1 (2017). pp. 165.

familiar longing for the ‘old neighborhood’ is prevalent across the white ethnic experience, the reality of old Greektown was not always a pleasant one. Arriving in Chicago as a young boy, Aris Yanibus strongly rebuffed the new Greek myth of a quaint ethnic enclave. From witnessing murdered homeless individuals to being prey for sexual predators, Yanibus plainly stated: “Greektown, it was a traumatic experience. It was, it was a neighborhood you wanted to get out of. You know that was our biggest ambition, was when do we get out of

here?”⁶¹ In light of these realities, the steady number of Greeks already moving out of the area did so out of self-preservation, whether from crime or for better housing. Those immigrants who achieved small business success left to the North side near Lincoln Park and Logan Square, especially after WWII, starting a new wave of Greek Orthodox Church construction, like St. Andrew’s Church near Lake Michigan.⁶² Economically, Greeks were achieving at far higher levels than their Near West Side Italian, Mexican, and African-American neighbors. In turn, as Greeks continued to operate their businesses in poorer neighborhoods, the community itself had shrunken in relation to growing Greek economic success: therefore, the impact of this change was felt on two levels of labor.⁶³ Among the recent immigrants as well as the roughly 20% who held low-skilled jobs it was the clearance of their affordable housing in the Greek Delta that hurt



Figure One, Map of the Near West Side after the construction of the University of Illinois in 1964.

⁶¹ Yanibus, Aris. National Hellenic Museum Oral History Collection. Transcript, March 27, 2006. Oral History Collection. National Hellenic Museum.

⁶² Upon moving to Chicago, my boyfriend and I attended Saint Basil’s Greek Orthodox Church, which still stands a few blocks away from the original Harrison-Halsted street market. In their pamphlet to welcome newcomers, the church poignantly wrote about the ‘decimation’ of Greektown to construct UIC.

⁶³ Rosen, George. *Decision-Making Chicago-Style: The Genesis of a University of Illinois Campus*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1980. pp. 97.

them. Among the lower- and middle class Greeks, the 30 percent who operated businesses with many in the Harrison-Halsted area their livelihood was most directly impacted. Despite their modest economic successes, the Greek community had been unable to translate business achievement into political influence; this slight by Daley would actually motivate further affluent Hellenic community action in support of the Democrats. For the Greek community leaders, their chances were better within the existing Chicago Democratic Party, regardless of Mayor Daley's direct assault on their community.

Greek Americans Arrive in National Politics

Nationally, Greeks wielded very little political influence. The Greek business fraternity AHEPA experienced steady rates of membership growth due to the significant success in business among Greek men as well as its inclusion of non-Greek members. From its founding, AHEPA advocated an Americanized Greekness that sought to translate community entrepreneurship into national prestige.⁶⁴ When Ahepans engaged in politics they did so as a reflection of their middle- and upper-class members, not for the sizable Greek working-class like those in Chicago. An example of their influence would be their biennial gala at which numerous politicians, including Presidents, would attend. For their 1968 Biennial Congressional Dinner, “approximately 200 Senators and Congressmen” attended, including the Governor of Maryland, Sprio T. Agnew.⁶⁵ AHEPA's closest political ties were with Congressmen from heavily Greek areas, New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, and Connecticut; at the 1968 dinner, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen (R-Ill) received the Socratic Award for embodying “the principles of the Socratic Philosophy; for his courageous devotion to the tenets of Democracy [and] for his

⁶⁴ Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 119.

⁶⁵ Greek Press. “Ahepans Honor the Congress.” March 27, 1968, Vol. 57, No. 12 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

contributions to world humanity”.⁶⁶ Additionally, Ahepans made annual visits to the White House in an attempt to show national relevance, however, their political impact was limited and more effective within their local communities.⁶⁷

While acknowledging the significance of an expanding business community, the foremost important figurehead for Greek-Americans continued to be the Archbishop. Upon his enthronement in 1930, second Archbishop Athenagoras sought to establish the Church’s relationship with the American government through brief meetings with federal and local officials: by 1938 he became an American citizen, the ultimate symbol of Greek loyalty to the United States. Athenagoras’s meetings at the White House set the tone for future church leaders to consider advocating for Greek-American and Greek national interests; in his support of the New Deal in 1934, he characterized FDR as ““a man sent by God to help His people as near divinity as a temporal ruler can be,”” affirming the link between Greek Americans and the New Deal coalition.⁶⁸ In 1948, Athenagoras was enthroned as the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church, leaving behind him a Greek-American community strongly dependent on the Church as a religious and cultural hub, as well as an avenue for political representation.

Hailing from the island of Imvros, the fourth Archbishop Iakovos was enthroned in 1959. Ordained in Lowell and educated at Harvard Divinity School, Iakovos ministered at churches throughout the Northeast and retained a close relationship with the now Patriarch Athenagoras; months prior to Iakovos’s enthronement, the Patriarch entrusted him to represent the Church at the first meeting between the Catholic and Orthodox hierarchies in 1959 after 350 years of

⁶⁶ Greek Press. “200 Senators and Congressmen to Attend Huge AHEPA Banquet.” March 13, 1968, Vol. 57, No. 10 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

⁶⁷ Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 124.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 124.

non-contact.⁶⁹ Only Athenagoras and Iakovos have been dubbed Ethnarchs by the Greek community, and each drew upon current events to implement the best ministerial strategy possible.

A significant factor in Archbishop Iakovos's political calculus during the 1960s and 70s was his witness to Greek oppression at the hands of the Turkish. Successfully revolting against Turkey in 1822 after 300 hundred years of subjugation did not remedy Greek and Turkish tensions. Furthermore, Turkish persecution of Greeks since their independence went unnoticed by the international community, most notably on the genocide of Pontic Greeks living in Turkey during the 1920s.⁷⁰ Noticing the difference in the international response to the genocide perpetrated against Greeks versus Jews, sociologist Alice Scourby recalled a famous book on the ordeal, "Thea Halo who wrote, *Not Even My Name*, a book that traces her mother's life in a first-hand account of the Turkish genocide...the remaining population of women, children, and the elderly were ordered to leave the country and face an eight-month march".⁷¹ This quote in context is comparing the popular familiarity of *The Diary of Anne Frank* with *Not Even My Name* to advocate for renewed attention to the struggles of Greeks in light of global support for the Jewish experience. Witnessing these atrocities as a young boy in Greece, Iakovos drew upon Greek experiences with discrimination to inform their response to the plight of African Americans in the Civil Rights movement.

⁶⁹ Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 159.; Varlamos, Michael. "A Quest For Human Rights And Civil Rights: Archbishop Iakovos And The Greek Orthodox Church." Wayne State University, 2018.

⁷⁰ Papadopoulos, Yiota. "Prejudice and Its Relationship to Acculturation for the Greek Immigrant in the United States." In *Reading Greek America: Studies in the Experience of Greeks in the United States*, edited by Spyros Orfanos. Modern Greek Research Series. New York, N.Y.: Pella Publishing Company, 2002. pp. 347. My great-great-grandfather escaped this genocide by fleeing Turkey disguised as a woman, for all the men and boys were being rounded up and sent to work camps or worse. Upon his arrival in the United States, Christie Dadiskos opened a hat store.

⁷¹ Scourby, Alice. *The Vanishing Greek Americans*. New Jersey: Cosmos Publishing, 2020. pp. 75.

Standing against overt discrimination towards African Americans was largely popular among Greeks, but the ability of their stance to command attention was a newer phenomenon. At the behest of Dr. King for clergy to join the Selma March, Archbishop Iakovos arrived and spoke on the importance of equality, “the horizon of the world with the refreshing hope that justice and equality for all men regardless of race, color and creed, shall fill the hearts of all men”.⁷² Figure



Figure Two, Life Magazine cover featuring Archbishop Iakovos (far left) and Dr. Martin Luther King (center), after the Selma March.

Two features the two leaders along with others as the cover for Life Magazine’s story on the protest.⁷³ In response to his choice to join Dr. King, Iakovos would be subjected to objections from Greek Americans, some of whom would threaten the Archbishop directly: “most Greek-Americans saw a racial black-versus-white divide... They regarded the civil rights movement with guarded suspicion... many, if not most, Greek Americans held negative views of black Americans and saw the civil rights movement as threatening their newfound

middle-class security”.⁷⁴ Iakovos’s choice to embrace civil rights marked a departure from the church’s traditionally neutral stance on domestic issues, signaling what Iakovos would consistently allude to as the arrival of Greek Orthodoxy as a force in American politics.⁷⁵ Many posited on Iakovos’s personal rationale for involving the church, finding “connections between a historical experience of discrimination and a religious tradition in order to rescue a core value of the latter, compassion toward the disfranchised”.⁷⁶ Coming to the defense of the discriminated African American signified an emotional reckoning for Greeks who saw this as their opportunity

⁷² Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 170.

⁷³ GreekReporter.com. “The Greek Orthodox Archbishop Who Walked with MLK in Selma,” January 16, 2022.

⁷⁴ Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 171.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 160.

⁷⁶ Anagnostou, Yiorgos. *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009. pp. 138.

to fight against the disparate treatment they endured as new immigrants, treatment consistently holding down the Black community. Despite widespread resistance to de jure segregation, it was the attempts to rectify systemic racism that left the community uneasy.

Approaching the unrest of the late 1960s, the Greek Chicagoan's personal fortunes were largely on the rise. Their achievements were a combination of small business success and federal assistance for targeted white benefit. Without post-war programs providing home loans and free college tuition the quick ascension of Greeks out of the Near West and Near South Side neighborhoods into the wealthier North End and suburban areas. Those who continued to reside in the city felt an identity crisis between their recent family struggles with poverty and white hazing, and their realized American dream. Archbishop Iakovos harkened to past Greek struggles to urge benevolence towards minorities, but that did not convince everyone. Similar to the experience of Catholics and Protestants, the Orthodox support for social assistance created a crisis of obedience that ran into laity politics.⁷⁷

Conservatism, the Christian Right, and Greek Voters

After establishing Greek Americans, including Greeks in Chicago, to be ethnically and religiously distinct from the majority population, a comparison between the emerging Greek conservative and the rising power of the Evangelical right is prudent. Using the Christian Right to gauge Greek Chicagoan levels of conservatism is a relevant exercise for it measures two Christian communities, rightwing Evangelicals who become the conservative moral archetype, and the Greek Orthodox, an ethnic-religious minority, on their journeys towards political influence. Any potential commonalities indicates how Greeks transition from a diasporic white-other towards an affluent socio-economic white-majority. While the Christian Right

⁷⁷ Eastwood, Jonathan, and Nikolas Prevalakis. "Nationalism, Religion, and Secularization: An Opportune Moment for Research." *Review of Religious Research* 52, no. 1 (2010): pp. 99.

worked to solidify its marriage with neoliberal business interests, the group popularly led by Billy Graham enjoyed special access to the Nixon White House and clearly contributed to Nixon's policy calculus; for Greek voters, Evangelicals became the new white traditionalist model they had to compare themselves to. Throughout this thematic analysis, Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, President Nixon, and Vice-President Agnew will be discussed for their white ethnic policies as well as their stance on political and social issues most concerning to the Christian Right and the Greek Chicagoan voter. Retaining support for Democrats in Chicago while distrusting them nationally became the dominant voting pattern of Greek Chicagoans.

The Christian Right is a subset of American Protestantism that adheres to a religious-nationalist identity emphasizing the premillennialist worldview that believes in the impending rapture, informing their desire to sustain traditional American values and practices that conform with their Christian ideology. Evangelicalism and the desire to spread their interpretation of God's word is one manifestation of their traditionalism, self-identifying as the proud outsider flying in the face of progressive liberalism and cultural secularism. As a political force, the Christian Right has been a prominent consideration of the Republican Party since Billy Graham aligned with Richard Nixon, however, their contribution to modern conservatism predates their political marriage to the GOP. During the early 20th century, Fundamentalists were believed to have gone underground after the public fallout of the Scopes Trial, but instead, their slimmer numbers intensified, homogenized, and anchored their anti-liberal and anti-academic mobilization after World War II. Producing its own culture, theology, and brand of nationalism, the Christian Right is, to some, the staunch Americanist, and to others, the outdated curmudgeon.

Protestantism is the most influential Christian sect in the United States, and subsequently, the number who subscribed to Evangelicalism during the Nixon administration significantly

outweighed the national number of Greek Orthodox. Considered at this time to be an ethno-religious group— one of distinct religious, ethnic, and cultural identity compared to the American mainstream— Greeks in America were and continue to be heavily defined by their church, and that influence is a direct result of church hierarchical organization. Unlike the Evangelicals who potentially subscribe to the Southern Baptist Convention or other confederations of successful parishes and pastors, the Greek Orthodox church retains strong hierarchical control over its various parishes. This control is exhibited in the Archdiocese’s ability to recall and reassign priests who question their authority. This section will investigate the central features of the Christian Right as they may or may not appear in Chicago’s Greek community. Considering the Greek American experience against the tenets of the Christian Right helps to determine the degree to which Greeks were becoming conservative. Both Christian groups adhere to cultural conservatism, capitalist appreciation, and American patriotism, in turn advancing their similar political interests despite theological and ethnic differences.

A significant ideological explanation for considering Greek Americans and white Evangelicals together is the impact of color blind conservatism on both groups. Historian Jesse Curtis, author of *The Myth of Colorblind Christians*, argues that for Evangelicals, “colorblind theology enabled their movement to thrive and become nominally multiethnic without making substantial changes to power relations”.⁷⁸ White Evangelical ministers, Jerry Falwell, Carl McIntire, and B.J. Hargis, among others, had long since advocated that segregation was God’s intention, yet with the success of civil rights and the elimination of de jure segregation, attitudes shifted from overt racism to covert concerns about secularization and government oversight.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Curtis, Jesse. *The Myth of Colorblind Christians: Evangelicals and White Supremacy in the Civil Rights Era*. New York: New York University Press, 2021. pp. 3.

⁷⁹ Williams, Daniel K. *God’s Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2010. pp. 86.

Curtis strongly asserts that with this change, “whiteness becomes as much religious as racial as it takes on theological, institutional, and temporal inflections...white evangelicalism can be understood as a religio-racial identity”.⁸⁰ With Curtis asserting that white Evangelicalism is a religio-racial ideology, its cross comparison with the Greek experience becomes that much more important; as Greeks experienced the white ethnic revival, Evangelicals “imagined whiteness as pluralism rather than hierarchy”.⁸¹ Although Greek culture remained distinct, conservative Evangelicals backed down from exclusionary to inclusive whiteness, showing Greek-Americans a path to mainstream society. Therefore, while Greek culture is distinct from American culture, the rising numbers of American-born Greeks indicated the merging of both value systems and a choice for ethnics about what type of white American they will be.

Church Hierarchy and its Response to Secularism

Hierarchy continues to distinguish the Greek Orthodox Church from Protestantism and especially Evangelicalism. The Ethnarchs Athenagoras (1930-1948) and Iakovos (1959-1996) each sought to establish respect and authority not only within the clergy, but also between the church and the Greek-American community; whether through the Archbishop’s close parish oversight, personal political capitol, or his potential to enact new church policies, ultimately he unilaterally steers the laity. In stark contrast, Evangelicalism originated within Protestant denominations through individual ministers, not through overarching policies, thus allowing for charismatic ministers to influence believers outside their congregation without fear of reprisal. In her book, *Apostles of Reason: the Crisis of Authority in American Evangelicalism*, historian of religion Molly Worthen argues the “confusion of authority...has been the defining characteristic

⁸⁰ Curtis, Jesse. *The Myth of Colorblind Christians: Evangelicals and White Supremacy in the Civil Rights Era*. New York: New York University Press, 2021. pp. 7.

⁸¹ Curtis, Jesse. *The Myth of Colorblind Christians: Evangelicals and White Supremacy in the Civil Rights Era*. New York: New York University Press, 2021. pp. 10.

of evangelicalism as a whole since its origins”.⁸² Rather than succumb to ‘secular’ Protestant leaders and institutions, Evangelicals expanded their underdog persona and maintained a militant commitment to biblical inerrancy through questioning ‘liberal intellectualism’. Such firm devotion existed in the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the continuation of Greek as the only language used in the liturgy. To clergy, Greek was the closest version of the Logos, or Word of God, while to the laity, it meant church protection of the Greek heritage. Both groups sought to control the degree of secularist influence on their niche communities.

Modern Greek historian Alexander Kitroeff found that despite these grievances, Archbishop Iakovos looked to the Evangelicals for strategies to repurpose popular culture to serve the Church’s agenda.⁸³ For Evangelicals, this meant using new technology like radio and television to reach followers; for the Greek Orthodox, this meant reimagining Greek language and culture as tools for American success.⁸⁴

Greeks’ Ultimate Respect for Hierarchy is Tested Politically

Greek Chicagoan commitment to preexisting leadership was tested repeatedly by Mayor Daley, who, as the 1968 election season began, would continue to try his relationship with the community. After heading its criminal division for the past six years, in 1966 Attorney John Stamos was selected to replace Daniel P. Ward as the Cook County State’s Attorney.⁸⁵ In February 1968 the *Chicago Tribune* reported that weeks prior, Stamos had asserted he would be the party’s nominee for Attorney General, “presumably this reflected the knowledge that Mayor

⁸² Worthen, Molly. *Apostles of Reason: The Crisis of Authority in American Evangelicalism*. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2013. pp. 253.

⁸³ Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 168.

⁸⁴ Greeley, Andrew M. “The Persistence of Diversity.” *The Antioch Review* 50, no. 1/2 (1992): pp. 298.

⁸⁵ Illinois Supreme Court Historic Preservation Commission. “Illinois Supreme Court Historic Preservation Commission,” <https://www.illinoiscourthistory.org/>.

There is no known relation between attorney John Stamos and Greek-American actor John Stamos of *Full House* fame.

Daley approves of his seeking a full term”.⁸⁶ Daley’s subsequent decision to not include Stamos on the ballot would be the first of two blows to Greek Chicagoan political representation. The second would occur with James P. Loukas, the first Greek American elected to both the Illinois State House and the State Senate in 1964 and 1966 respectively. As a Democrat for Chicago’s 13th district, Loukas embodied the ethos of the white ethnic revival as one who flaunted their ethnic difference while being proudly American. While basking in their newfound ethnic glow, politically minded Greeks wanted to create community momentum to flex their financial and numerical might. When the Alderman of the 47th ward resigned due to his poor health, the sizable Greek constituency urged Daley to support Loukas and his quest to become the first Greek on the city council: Daley selected Irish-American Edmund Kelly.⁸⁷ Both Stamos and Loukas recognized the Greek disappointment and appetite for political power, and subsequently bucked the party machine and entered races without the Democratic party’s backing, Stamos for a seat on the First District Appellate Court and Loukas for the 47th ward position.

Greeks in both the 47th ward and the city at large interpreted this slight by Daley’s Democratic machine differently. Loyal Democrats, encapsulated by *Greek Press* contributor Polaris’s weekly political column entitled *Political Outlook*, feared that taking a stand against the party would damage their long standing relationship, “Let us not be swayed by any partisan Republican voices who are trying to exploit the Stamos incident. Instead, let us remain in the party fold but plan thoroughly for another day when a Greek-American will win high recognition by Democratic party leaders”.⁸⁸ Polaris correctly identified that the few Greek Republicans sought to utilize this embarrassment to encourage voters to cross party lines; yet he did not see

⁸⁶ Tagge, George. “Ex-Sen. Lyons May Get Hanrahan’s Post.” *Chicago Tribune*. March 1, 1968.

⁸⁷ Polaris. “Political Outlook.” *Greek Press*. February 14, 1968, Vol. 57 No. 7 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

⁸⁸ Polaris. “Political Outlook.” *Greek Press*. March 6, 1968, Vol. 57 No. 9 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

this political gaff as reason enough to embrace a new party, a testament to Greek loyalty to hierarchy. Other prominent Greek Democrats took a more critical position, and their respective pieces in the *Greek Press* illustrated how bruised their *philotimo* was. One article entitled, “A Case of Bigotry,” stated these decisions indicated that Democrats were ‘running a sick and immature organization,’ and further extolled their hypocrisy on the issue of minority rights:

“President Kennedy and President Johnson, and every Democrat of the stature of the Kennedys and the Stevensons and Douglasses were and are conducting a vigorous and relentless campaign against all types of discriminations and bigotries. Mayor Daley will have a hard time indeed in convincing Greek-Americans– and every American for that matter- that he is a champion of the policies and the ideals of President Kennedy and President Johnson while he discriminates Stamos because of his ethnic background”.⁸⁹

At the article’s conclusion the author urged readers to assert themselves and vote for the Greek American politicians regardless of the party’s formal endorsements, a distinct departure from traditional support of the Cook County Democratic Party. Overtime, mounting anger towards the Democratic establishment pushed prominent Greek Democrats to advocate for an insurgency against the Daley machine; each urged Greek voters to provide Loukas and Stamos with all the signatures, door knockers, and campaign contributions they could. In response to the internal dispute, Daley supporters immediately brought suit against Loukas claiming that many of his petition signatures were fraudulent. When the county judge ruled against Daley’s suit, seven 47th ward precinct captains were fired from their posts allegedly for their support of Loukas. Most jarring of all were police reports from May 10, 1968 that, “two cleaning women scared away a burglar at Loukas’ campaign office”, mere days after the court legitimized his campaign.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Greek Press. “A Case of Bigotry.” March 6, 1968, Vol. 57 No. 9 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

⁹⁰ Chicago Tribune. “Loukas Claims Backers Lose Ward Posts.” May 11, 1968.

James Loukas lost the June 11th race to Edmund Kelly, losing the chance Greek-Chicagoans had at breaking the glass ceiling of city council representation; however, the results indicate that the community may not have been as united in this mission as the influential Greek Democrats desired. With Loukas's insurgent candidacy severing the tie between himself and the Daley Democratic machine, there are several possible suggestions for why the community did not rally around him as some had hoped; first, that the Greek voters were off put by Loukas himself, second, that the Greek voters did not trust the direction of their Greek Democratic leaders, or third, that Greeks did not yet have the political power they boasted. The first is difficult to gauge and less likely, for the insult to Loukas's *philotimo* would prompt empathy from Greek voters and thus their support. What appears most likely is a combination of the second and third explanations, that the Greek voters did not fully trust their leaders or their numbers to override Daley; ward data from 1968 refutes Greek Democrats's claims that they represented the largest ethnic group within the 47th ward, for it was the Germans and Poles who laid claim to that title.⁹¹ Voting in line with Mayor Daley indicated a greater allegiance to the party establishment over the up and coming Greek politicians seeking to override him. As with the construction of UIC, the Greek voters remained loyal Daley supporters even as he paved over their historic neighborhood for the sake of progress; this incident showed the rational calculus of average Greek voters to stick with the one that brought them, rather than strike out on their own and anger the party at large.

What Mayor Daley did not foresee was the selection of Greek-American Spiro Agnew to run alongside Richard Nixon on the Republican ticket. As the son of a Greek-immigrant restaurateur with a thick accent, Spiro Agnew's orientation towards the Greek community was a

⁹¹ Consortium, Chicago Fact Book, ed. *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area: Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 1984.

fraught one; like so many other children he experienced the shame of ethnic difference yet the obligation to tradition. His father, Theophrastos, passed down his authoritative presence and fierce *philotimo*, yet was disappointed that his son refused to learn the Greek language; his mother raised him in the Episcopal tradition, and her pure Virginian lineage created an unattainable American standard that a kid named Spiro could never reach. Following his service in the army during WWII, Agnew earned a law degree and began eyeing public office: unlike other Baltimore Greeks he became a Republican to avoid the relentless competition of young Democratic upstarts. Agnew's first political success was for Baltimore County Executive, a race dominated by the rebuke of Democratic machine politics that easily allowed for a Republican victory.⁹² As County Executive and later the Governor of Maryland, Agnew's relationship with civil rights leaders regressed from a working to hostile. Agnew's interpretation of political protests as violations of law and order, Nixon recognized an opportunity in Agnew to use him as the unapologetic conservative battering ram for his moderate Republicanism.⁹³

Upon news of Agnew's selection as Nixon's running mate, the writing was on the wall for Cook County Democrats. Flailing to salvage loyalty to the party, Polaris warned of the consequences for voting along ethnic lines: "In short, Democratic leaders will, if Greek-Americans switch their party allegiance to the GOP, justifiably adopt an attitude of extreme skepticism towards Greek-Americans in future political deliberations".⁹⁴ Considering all that had been done to Greeks by the Daley Democrats, it is not surprising that their local allegiance did not carry over to national politics; average Greek voters saw an opportunity to

⁹² During Agnew's tenure as County Executive he would award government contracts to specific Baltimore companies that gave him kickbacks. Once this illegal activity was exposed, Agnew would be forced to resign from the Vice Presidency in 1973, an embarrassment which prompted his exit from political life.

⁹³ Levy, Peter B. "Spiro Agnew, the Forgotten Americans, and the Rise of the New Right." *The Historian* 75, no. 4 (December 22, 2013). pp. 717.

⁹⁴ Polaris. "Political Outlook." *Greek Orthodox Church*. August 14, 1968, Vol. 57 No. 32 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

retain local loyalties while advancing their political status. With this split from traditional partisan allegiances, it is the first time a majority of Greeks break free from Daley's control: their disregard for party leadership is an uncharacteristic move, indicating a political change.

Neoliberalism and Cultural Continuity

Both conservative Evangelicals and the Greek Orthodox felt the impact of neoliberalism on their political rationale. Neoliberalism is a political ideology that formed in response to the expanded federal powers of the New Deal era; it began as an intellectual project between businessmen in opposition to FDR, and Austrian economists Friedrich Hayek and Ludwig von Mises. Historian Kim Phillips Fein interpreted, "The great innovation of Hayek and Mises was to create a defense of the free market using the language of freedom and revolutionary change. The free market, not the political realm, enabled human beings to realize their liberty".⁹⁵ In tying the free market to democratic ideology, neoliberals evoked dutiful patriotism to support deregulating American capitalism.⁹⁶ Nixon's relationship with Billy Graham helped to bridge the neoliberal agenda of limited government with the social issues troubling conservative Evangelicals: crime, bussing, and welfare.⁹⁷ For immigrant communities attempting to weave themselves into the societal fabric, anticommunism but also pro-free markets eased the cultural transition: this strategy is prevalent in Chicago's Greek community. Membership in AHEPA's 13th district was constantly growing, and their youth organizations, Sons of Peracles and Daughters of Prosephone, helped to instill capitalist achievement ethic into their children.

Through the 1960s, political liberalism attracted mounting criticism from social conservatives and the middle class; these malcontents would serve as the basis for Nixon's 'silent

⁹⁵ Phillips-Fein, Kim. *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan*. 1st ed. W.W. Norton & Company, 2009. pp. 39.

⁹⁶ Cooper, Melinda. *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism*. Near Futures. New York: Zone Books, 2017.

⁹⁷ Williams, Daniel K. *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2010. pp. 98.

majority'. Liberalism emphasized individual rights and the role of the state to protect those rights, while in contrast, neoliberalism placed the emphasis on the individual, not the state, to achieve their desired quality of life.⁹⁸ To understand this ideological debate through the Greek-American lens, the concept of *philotimo* is again an important factor; previously discussed in the context of early Greek male immigration, *philotimo* was a familiar and unifying ethnic sentiment. By the 1960s and 1970s, *philotimo* for the individual meant, "literally 'love of honor.' More precisely, *philotimo* is a way of being in the world that values self-esteem, obligation, and personal and family honor. This trend is central to the Greek subjective self".⁹⁹ *Philotimo* informs not only the way Greek men may behave, but also their work ethic and family structure. There is significant crossover between the values of *philotimo* and neoliberalism. A popular neoliberal critique of federal overreach and welfare expansion centered around state involvement: "If men failed to become breadwinners and support families...it was a personal failure, not a social one. Breadwinners *earned* their places at the heads of families...to take further, positive steps to ensure equality was to overextend government's mandate".¹⁰⁰ Urging personal responsibility and limited social services plays to *philotimo*'s similar invocation of personal and familial honor: accepting government services, in turn, means forfeiting an amount of honor.

As Greeks Chicagoans recalled, there was never an expectation from Greek immigrants of federal benefits to ease the burden of poverty. In a *Chicago Sun-Times* two part article entitled, "Chicago Greeks Best in U.S.A.", Christ Mitchell, spokesman for the Greek self-help

⁹⁸Self, Robert O. *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy since the 1960s*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2013. pp. 11.

⁹⁹Orfanos, Spyros. "The Spelling and Seduction of Michael Dukakis." In *Reading Greek America: Studies in the Experience of Greeks in the United States*. Modern Greek Research Series. New York, N.Y.: Pella Publishing Company, 2002. pp. 126.

¹⁰⁰ Self, Robert O. *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy since the 1960s*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2013. pp. 19.

organization Pan-Arcadian Federation, detailed how the Greek immigrant fended for themselves without government intervention:

“The beauty of ‘The System’ is that no Greek enters the United States except at the invitation of another Greek, an invitation that is not extended unless the newcomer can be fitted into the existing Greek-American economy. That proviso, combined with the Greek reputation for hard work, means joblessness is almost unknown in the Greek community here. The Greeks take care of their own– but everybody is expected to pull his weight in the boat.”¹⁰¹

Regarding the influx of Greek immigrants since the post-WWII era, Mitchell and others felt the need to distinguish the Greek as a self-sufficient member of society, not requesting federal assistance even at their greatest moment of need. Mitchell claims that because, “80 per cent of our people here are in business for themselves”, programs like the Pan-Arcadian Federation enjoy enough donations to provide such assistance. *Philotimo* is present in Mitchell’s aside that ‘Greeks take care of their own,’ yet this remark speaks to the ethnic resentment for the struggles of their fathers: those Greek Chicagoans currently enjoying business success remember growing up near Hull House, surrounded by new immigrant poverty. Furthermore, there is no mention of federal assistance programs Greeks did accept, particularly the GI Bill, which helped catapult many to economic success. Far from Archbishop Iakovos’s calls for Greeks to support racial minorities, Greeks interpreted new federal assistance programs as cheating past the hardships they were forced to undergo: the idea of enduring systematic racism is inconsequential to one’s potential for self-made success.

Prideful Philotimo

¹⁰¹ Plous, F.K. “Chicago Greeks Are Best in the U.S.A., Part II.” *Greek Press*. May 28, 1971, No. 21 edition. The National Hellenic Museum.

Quickly after Nixon's election, Mayor Daley recognized his apparent error with the Greek community. At Vice President Agnew's first official reception in Chicago, the papers reported: "Vice President Spiro T. Agnew may have thought the main reason for his trip to Chicago was to see fellow Greek-Americans. But he saw a lot of an Irish-American— Mayor Richard J. Daley...[they] talked for nearly 1 ½ hours about national urban –and Chicago– problems".¹⁰² At the event that evening Daley would dub himself an 'honorary Greek,' and at nearly every ethnic appearance Agnew would make in Chicago over the next two years, Daley would be in attendance as well. Working to repair his relationship with the Greek community would mean Daley would have to emulate, to some degree, Agnew's cultural and rhetorical flair. Chicago's Greek businessmen were no longer impoverished and easily manipulated immigrants, their monetary success demanded a flattering courtship for continued political support.

One strategy of the Nixon administration to appeal to Greeks and other white-ethnics was speeches surrounding the immigrant experience. In their carefully crafted reimagination of white-ethnic ascension, Nixon and Agnew often repeated a variation of the humble workingman who waited his turn: "They believed in hard work. They didn't come here for a [particular] opportunity and they built America".¹⁰³ Agnew evoked this similar sentiment when addressing the Greek community: "It is the problem of poverty compounded by personal inadequacies and stifling surroundings that produce hopelessness and desperation".¹⁰⁴ The tenants of Greek *philotimo* – pride, honor, and independence – shaped Agnew's worldview and interpretation of the expanded welfare state; furthermore, liberalism's project to aid impoverished communities deprived them of the very hardships which produced immigrant prosperity.

¹⁰² Greek Press. "Agnew Honored by Greek-Americans, Calls for Unity to Meet Crisis." February 19, 1969, Vol. 58 No. 8 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. National Hellenic Museum.

¹⁰³ Armenian Reporter International (1967-1988). "President Nixon Dedicates Museum Honoring Immigrants on Liberty Island." October 5, 1972.

¹⁰⁴ Greek Press. "Agnew Offers Solution for National Ghetto Problem." September 18, 1968, Vol. 57 No. 37 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. National Hellenic Museum.

Neoliberalism, Feminism, and Greek Women

A further exploration of neoliberalism fusing with conservative white backlash appears in Melinda Cooper's book, *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Conservatism*. Cooper's central argument is that both neoliberalism and social conservatism value a tiered family unit of responsibilities with both being inherently tied to capitalism. It has been established that twentieth century Greek immigration was primarily motivated by capitalist opportunity, and success as commonly interpreted by this community is linked to financial and class ascension. To this end, Greek women are often the bedrock of the family's small business success: "The wife of the entrepreneur, who may often work harder in the business than her husband, does not usually have a say in major decisions and financial dealings concerning the family establishment."¹⁰⁵ Although economic status was improved through owning a restaurant, grocery store, or coffee shop, the reality for Greek women, even those more financially secure, meant working alongside their husbands or fathers: the difference being, of course, that the women had no meaningful say in business affairs. Taking this reality into account with the feminist movement— anchored at the time by works like *the Feminist Mystique*— Greek-American women did not wholly identify with early, upperclass feminists.¹⁰⁶ Yes, Greek women understood the burden of disproportionate family responsibilities, but working was rarely optional; 30 percent of Greeks in Chicago owned their own businesses, each requiring the assistance of the family unit, 25 percent of Greeks were lower- or working-class, requiring both husband and wife to be employed to support their families. Since most Greek women did not enjoy the housewife

¹⁰⁵ Mavratsas, Cesar. "Greek-American Economic Culture: The Intensification of Economic Life and a Parallel Process of Puritanization." In *New Migrants in the Marketplace: Boston's Ethnic Entrepreneurs*, edited by Marilyn Halter, 97–119. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995. pp. 102.

¹⁰⁶ Self, Robert O. *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy since the 1960s*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2013. pp. 104.

reality which feminists sought to overcome, early feminism impacted unmarried Greek women more so than married Greek women.

Greek women are the backbone of the Greek family despite operating in a patriarchal culture, similar to the experience of conservative Protestant women. Sociologist Alice Scourby was particularly interested in the role of women in Greek society and religion: Greek women are barred from any pivotal role in the Church outside of choir membership or Philoptochos membership. The Philoptochos is the women's charitable organization that coordinates philanthropy for Greeks and those outside the church.¹⁰⁷ Initiated by then Archbishop Athenagoras during the 1930s, the Philotochos has long funded many of the church's most important programs including Saint Basil's orphanage in New York. Scourby emphasized the previous existence of women deacons and squarely stated that the patriarchal order of the Church and the Greek community are likely obstacles to their reinstatement.¹⁰⁸ Historian Yiorgios Anagnostou, like Scourby, finds Greek women subjugated by their own ethnicity, "On the one hand, the public function of advocating ethnic reproduction fell on the men... On the other hand, tradition placed paramount responsibility on mothers as the domestic guardians of the moral order".¹⁰⁹ Greek women continue to be essential to cultural reproduction yet sidelined by the very ethnic order they perpetuate. Daughters of Greek immigrants, finds Anagnostou, are often the disruptors of this tradition, however, the shame brought upon many for daring to be different will bring them back under the fold. The weight of such traditions are dependent on the family's level

¹⁰⁷ Kitroeff, Alexander. *The Greek Orthodox Church in America: A Modern History*. Cornell University Press, 2020. pp. 39.; Scourby, Alice. *The Vanishing Greek Americans*. New Jersey: Cosmos Publishing, 2020. pp. 44

¹⁰⁸ Scourby, Alice. *The Vanishing Greek Americans*. New Jersey: Cosmos Publishing, 2020. pp. 51.

Alexander Kitroeff's large history of the Greek Orthodox Church in America, while significant to my analysis, lacks an in depth investigation of the patriarchal culture of Greek Orthodoxy and its impact on women's participation

¹⁰⁹ Anagnostou, Yiorgos. *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009. pp. 107.

of assimilation as well as if one has one or two Greek parents, yet they continue to be a significant part of Greek women's existence.

Greek Americans and Anti-Communism

Among the era's young and charismatic Evangelicals was Billy James Hargis, a preacher and renowned anti-communist during the Cold War era.¹¹⁰ Hargis's relationship with the Greek Orthodox Church began in 1968, when Greece's year-old junta government suffered international critique for its dictatorial tendencies; additionally, the junta had come under fire for alleged abuses of political prisoners, which was vehemently denied by both Greek nationals and Greek Americans.¹¹¹ Greece subsequently boycotted the World Council of Churches in protest of these allegations. In response to this harsh treatment, the conservative Hargis embarked on a fact-finding mission to Greece where he made an assessment of the right-leaning military government. The junta regime, as seen through Hargis's eyes, was "succeeding in protecting the country from Communism", building up the economy, blending Christian Orthodoxy with governance, and restoring patriotism. Furthermore, Hargis took a strong stand against the American treatment of Greece and professed, "There is not a single doubt in my mind that the April 21 revolution prevented Greece from becoming a Communist satellite. Free men everywhere thank God for this most outstanding victory over communism during the past year".¹¹² Considering this statement against the importance ascribed to a democratic Greece in the post-WWII years, Hargis is lambasting Democrats who, he claims, have communists in their midst.

¹¹⁰ Williams, Daniel K. *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2010.

¹¹¹ "Billy James Hargis Papers: Greek Orthodox Church, 1968-1970." Box 68: Folder 62. University of Arkansas Special Collections.

¹¹² Hargis, Dr. Billy James. "Dr. B.J. Hargis Reports on 'Fact-Finding' Tour to Greece." *Greek Press*. June 5, 1968, Vol. 57, No. 22 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

Greek-American newspapers similarly defended the junta as a necessary measure, with the Greek Press being extra combative with publications who attacked the motherland. In the May 14 publication of the newspaper, the Greek Press reprinted the ‘slandorous’, ‘communist propaganda’ that again claimed Greece tortured political prisoners;¹¹³ the May 21 issue printed the defense from the Greek Embassy denouncing the ‘one person’ accusations against the government.¹¹⁴ Greek Press’s official rebuttal to *Look Magazine* published on June 11, 1969, in a front-page article cleverly titled, “‘Goliath’ Magazine Shuns Challenge of ‘David’ Newspaper on Greece”. Aris Angelopoulos, the editor of Greek Press, wrote that *Look* denied his offer to tour Greece on a fact-finding mission to determine “what life is really like in Greece”. Vouching on the Greeks’ behalf, northwest Chicago’s Congressional Representative Roman Pucinski asserted “The ‘Look’ article did a great disservice to America, and to the Greeks, it did a disservice to their relations between Greece and America”.¹¹⁵ Like Hargis, the Greek Press insisted that any claims of political impropriety on Greece’s part were a communist conspiracy, stemming from the previous attempts at conquering the country. Chicago based publications like the Greek Press and Greek Star, in addition to the statements made by Archbishop Iakovos represented Greek Americans as wholly anticommunist, whether in support of the Vietnam War or as a general foreign policy position. Greeks in Chicago had not taken a significant role in ‘radical’ left-wing political activism since the end of the second World War; although a liberal contingent would form an anti-junta movement, it consisted largely of Greek intellectuals whereas those accepting of the junta were business and community leaders.¹¹⁶ With such prominent members of the Greek

¹¹³ Greek Press. “‘Look’ Magazine Slanders Greece to Boost Circulation!” May 14, 1969, Vol. 58, No. 20 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

¹¹⁴ Greek Press. “Greek Embassy Rejects Slandorous Article by ‘Look’ Magazine.” May 21, 1969, Vol. 58, No. 21 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

¹¹⁵ Angelopoulos, Aris. “‘Goliath’ Magazine Shuns Challenge of ‘David’ Newspaper on Greece.” *Greek Press*. June 11, 1969, Vol. 58, No. 24 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. The National Hellenic Museum.

¹¹⁶ Georgakas, Dan. “Greek American Radicalism: The Twentieth Century.” In *Reading Greek America*, edited by Spyros Orfanos. Modern Greek Research Series. New York: Pella Publishing Company, 2002. pp. 81.

community willing to accept the junta as a necessary anticommunist measure, while also interpreting its opposition as the work of communist sympathizers, a comparison to anticommunism on the Evangelical right is pertinent. Both consider communism to be a godless and ultimately antithetical force against Christianity, finding it incumbent upon the United States as a democratic and Christian nation to be against its threatening, global influence.

Anti-Intellectualism and Political Protesting

An extension of conservative Christian anti-communism was anti-intellectualism. The Scopes trial began a century of academic suspicion among Fundamentalists; after WWII, Evangelicals struggled to attract students to their universities because said schools did not meet the rising accreditation standards, which they perceived as an intentional slight against their innerant biblical interpretation and mistrust of popular sciences.¹¹⁷ In contrast, Greek-Americans did not view rising academic liberalism as a significant threat, therefore children were encouraged to attend college for the promise of higher paying jobs. Compared to other white ethnics, Greeks had professionalized at a much faster rate: as of 1970, 21.4% of Greeks were educated, skilled workers whereas only 12.4% of Italians and 17.5% of Irish fell into that category.¹¹⁸ Between first and second generation Greeks in Chicago, there is a significant increase in occupations requiring college degrees, from 6.5% to 30.2%.¹¹⁹ Although education was seen as the key to upward socio-economic mobility, parents and older community members had some reservations about the influence of liberalism on their children.

During the 1969 back to school season, *Greek Star* columnist Katherine Valone offered advice to college students preparing to face the liberal onslaught: “Probably matters will come up

¹¹⁷ Worthen, Molly. *Apostles of Reason: The Crisis of Authority in American Evangelicalism*. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2013.;

¹¹⁸ Scourby, Alice. *The Vanishing Greek Americans*. New Jersey: Cosmos Publishing, 2020. pp. 121.

¹¹⁹ Kourvetaris, George. *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago*. Illinois: National Centre of Social Science Research, 1971. pp. 76.

that will challenge your Orthodox Faith and the beliefs you were taught in your home. You'll be confronted with someone who will say that the Ten Commandments are obsolete while your Mom and Dad have told you they are absolute".¹²⁰ Just as Evangelicals could not fully insulate their children from liberal and secular influences, Greeks could not aspire to middle class success without engaging with popular American culture. Valone's advice to students is not to abandon higher education rather to protect themselves from these 'godless' forces, reminding them to hold steadfast to their Greek upbringing.

Among the influences feared by Valone and others were those urging political protesting. Clergy were similarly concerned with the activism and its association with hippie culture. Although an advocate for social progress himself, Archbishop Iakovos disapproved of civil disobedience and urged Greek students to lawfully assemble. First, Iakovos playfully asks the youth if elders are really so horrible, and later cautions them from spiritually dishonest solidarity: "It is good to question, to deliberate and to demonstrate your earnest yearnings for new and better things. Refrain, however from deliberating and demonstrating for the sake of deliberation and demonstration... It is good to demand more from parents, from society, from the government, from the Church, but do not deny them your attention and your concern".¹²¹ Calling back to Greek reverence for hierarchy and traditionalism, Iakovos warns against flagrant disregard for institutional importance.

The city of Chicago had been particularly impacted by political protests, most significantly after the 1968 Democratic convention. When anti-war protesters violently clashed with police, blame was assigned all around. Mayor Daley and the police were widely criticized

¹²⁰ Valone, Katherine. "Vis-a-Vis." *Greek Star*. September 11, 1969, Vol. 67 No. 3312 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. National Hellenic Museum.

¹²¹ Greek Star. "Archbishop Offers Challenge to Greek Orthodox Youth." September 4, 1969, Vol. 67 No. 3311 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. National Hellenic Museum.

for their shoot to kill protocol against the student activists. When comparing race and level of education on the issue, both African Americans and Whites responded more negatively as their level of education increased, however, African American disapproval ranged from 60% - 82%, while among Whites it ranged from 10% - 51%.¹²² Defenders of the Mayor and police cited the conflict instigated by protestors as the justification for their actions, and further praised Daley for his commitment to law and order.¹²³

Mayor Daley, President Nixon, and Vice President Agnew all agreed that the preservation of law and order was among their most pressing priorities. Daley earned the admiration of less socially progressive Democrats for his calculated remarks against the convention protestors and the national party: “‘I believe in civil rights,’ Daley said, ‘but with law and order in our streets, and not disorder’”.¹²⁴ Civil disobedience would never earn favor with Daley; even in his 1971 inaugural address, the very first issue he addressed was law and order.¹²⁵ After scolding civil rights leaders following the 1968 Baltimore riots, Nixon recognized value in Agnew to become his unapologetic offense against liberal activists. During the 1968 electoral campaign Agnew would tour the South in particular to advocate for law and order: this assignment would continue into their administration.¹²⁶ On the issue of campus demonstrations, Nixon “‘directed Vice President Spiro T. Agnew to discuss with the nation’s governors... ‘what action consistent with the traditional independence of American universities, might be taken at the state and federal

¹²² Robinson, John P. “Reaction to Chicago 1968.” University of Michigan Survey Research Center, 1969. Box SIss1B89, Folder 3 Demonstrations 1969-1970. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹²³ Evans, M. Stanton. “At Home.” National Review Bulletin, Box SIss1B89, Folder 3 Demonstrations 1969-1970. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹²⁴ Nicholas Jacobs and Sidney Milkis. *What Happened to the Vital Center?: Presidentialism, Populist Revolt, and the Fracturing of America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. pp. 188.

¹²⁵ “Mayor Richard J. Daley Inaugural Address, 1971.”

¹²⁶ Witcover, Jules. *Very Strange Bedfellows: The Short and Unhappy Marriage of Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew*. New York: Public Affairs, 2007. pp. 74-75.

levels to cope with the growing lawlessness and violence on our campuses”¹²⁷ Nixon himself had no reservations about standing firmly against civil disobedience, yet it was Agnew’s inflammatory style that would rile up social conservatives.

Greek Americans were caught in the middle of this struggle between minority advocacy and respect for institutions. On the one hand, Archbishop Iakovos urged Orthodox youth that ““Our time is the time for minorities. Do not be afraid to be a minority, or in a minority. Strive for your birth rights””¹²⁸ On the other hand, Vice President Agnew chided the liberal activists for ascribing victimhood to their minority status: “unity is perverted into a divisive slogan when it is used to create artificial groupings such as ‘the young,’ ‘the poor,’ and ‘the black.’ These are stereotypes that do not exist”¹²⁹ Anti-intellectualism and growing apprehension towards political protesting exist in the same vein for conservative Evangelicals, however, within the Greek Chicagoan community, the two were not one in the same. College education continued to be an important goal for Greek-Americans, while civil disobedience continued to be met with growing suspicion.

After analyzing Greek Chicagoan reactions to the day’s political and social topics, the emerging realignment between them and the Republican party is clear. Furthermore, there appears to be significant crossover between the cultural values of the American Greek and the Evangelical conservative; rather than abandoning their identity, Greeks, like other ethnics, operated between recognizing Anti-communism, neoliberalism, patriarchy, and individualism are commonalities undergirding the decision to support Richard Nixon while remaining steadfast

¹²⁷ Greek Press. “Agnew Directed by the President to Discuss with Governors Curbs on ‘Irresponsible Campus Minorities.’” March 5, 1969, Vol. 58 No. 10 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. National Hellenic Museum.

¹²⁸ Greek Star. “Archbishop Offers Challenge to Greek Orthodox Youth.” September 4, 1969, Vol. 67 No. 3311 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. National Hellenic Museum.

¹²⁹ Greek Star. “The Vice President Speaks, Topics: On Dividing the Country.” September 17, 1970, Vol. 67 No. 3365 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. National Hellenic Museum.

voters for Chicago Mayor Richard Daley. Given such pronounced similarities, no matter their difference in cultural origin, it was prudent for the Greek American concerned with their social and economic preservation to align themselves with the goals of the early Christian Right. The result was not a wave of Greek influence over American society, but a Greek American pageant, displaying their patriotism while channeling their cultural distinctiveness to meet American standards of prosperity and morality. Whether this is a product of triumphant Hellenism showing the futility achievement via assimilation, or the cultural ingenuity of Greeks to enhance their most transferable values, a succinct answer requires a close cultural examination between Greek nationals and Greek Americans which is outside the scope of this research. What is clear from examining Greek Chicagoan reactions to current events is that Greek leadership recognized an opportunity to further its political position by voting for Republican leaders nationally, and for familiar Democrats locally.

The Daley 59 and Its Implications for Greek Voters

The comparison between the Evangelical right and the Greek Orthodox has showcased their increasingly similar grievances with post-war liberalism and Democratic politics: their growing neoliberal worldview, their staunch anti-communism, their disapproval of 'radical' political protests, and their traditional family units. Although not all Greeks were embracing political conservatism, those who did found Nixon-Agnew Republicanism fit neatly with their pre-existing cultural values. Locally, Mayor Daley worked hard to mend his relationship with Greek Chicagoans, and the two found common ground with his law-and-order rhetoric which mirrored that of Agnew.

Not only had the national Democratic party seemingly distanced itself from the white ethnic community, it also appeared to punish Daley for his handling of the 1968 convention.

After the violence between Daley's police and anti-war protestors, the Democratic National Committee established a commission to suggest reforms to better represent minority interests within the party; led by George McGovern, the commission produced a slew of changes to the party's procedures. In line with their goal to increase representation the commission also sought to restrict the control of party bosses and return more power for delegate selection to the minority party members.¹³⁰ With the McGovern-Fraser reforms successfully adopted, the party sought to bring its disgruntled members into the fold: namely, Mayor Daley. In a letter entitled "Illinois Report: Non-Compliance with the Guidelines" sent to the Illinois Democratic Party, the national organization outlined Illinois's several violations. One concerned the number of young people included among the nominees: "Party rules must include clear provisions for the participation of any Democrat 18 years of age or older in all party affairs. Please see page 3 of the 'Model of Party Rules' for suggested language".¹³¹ New standards set by the McGovern commission essentially created quotas to promote party diversity and limit local political control. As the leader of one of the Democrats largest political machines, these policies targeted Daley's political influence and forced him to comply to a quota system: neither Daley nor the majority of his white and white-ethnic constituency embraced quotas as a method for remedying discrimination.¹³²

As the March 21 delegate election neared, Mayor Daley did not seek to adhere to the McGovern rules. In the aftermath of the election, "12 of 59 are black; should be 21. 6 of 59 are

¹³⁰ Center, Judith A. "1972 Democratic Convention Reforms and Party Democracy." *Political Science Quarterly* 89, no. 2 (1974). pp. 335.

¹³¹ Democratic National Committee. "Illinois Report: Non-Compliance with the Guidelines." Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection. Washington, D.C., April 8, 1971. Box SIIIs1B98, Folder 4, Election Commission Lawsuits [inc. US vs. Kuser, Fitzpatrick v Board of Election Commissioners; Jackson v Ogilvie 1971. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹³² Kemble, Penn, and Josh Muravchik. "The New Politics & the Democrats." *Commentary*, December 1972. Box SIIIs1B98, Folder 17, Democratic National Committee 1972. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

women; should be 30. 1 of 59 is Latin American; should be 6. 11 of 59 are young people; should be 18”.¹³³ A group entitled the Chicago Credentials Challengers, consisting of Jesse Jackson and alderman William Singer, formed in response to Daley’s error. Not only did the Challengers pass out flyers attacking the local party, “Democrats! Don’t let the political bosses pick our Presidential candidate”,¹³⁴ but they also filed suit against the Cook County Democratic Party to seek the replacement of Daley’s 59 delegates with those who fit national standards. In response, “The Daley organization filed suit in the circuit court of Cook County...seeking to prevent the challengers from proceeding under national party rules. The Daley suit alleges that the challengers seek to defraud the elected delegates. If successful, the suit would prevent any hearing on the challenge”.¹³⁵ Not to be intimidated by Daley’s suit, “the McGovern-Fraser Commission has filed a ‘friend of the court’ brief in Illinois defending the ultimate authority of the convention and the rights of the challengers to test the procedures in open hearings and at Miami Beach”.¹³⁶ This direct assault on the authority of Mayor Daley challenged his long standing and successful Democratic organization in Chicago. Furthermore, white-ethnics felt slighted that not only were they excluded from the groups the party sought to amplify, a majority of the delegates targeted by the challengers were white-ethnics.

As the July convention in Miami neared and the Credentials Challengers prepped their argument against Daley, the party was clearly in their favor. The Honorable Patricia Roberts Harris had appointed Cecil Poole to act as the hearing officer for the Challengers’s suit. Poole

¹³³ Chicago Credentials Challengers. “Summary of Chicago Credentials Challenge,” June 22, 1972. SIIss1B100, Folder 1, Democratic National Convention Delegate File 1972. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹³⁴ Chicago Credentials Challengers. “Democrats!,” May 25, 1972. SIIss1B100, Folder 1, Democratic National Convention Delegate File 1972. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹³⁵ “Chicago’s Top Democrat Challenged: Mayor Daley Defies Credentials Procedures.” *The Informed Delegate*, June 1972. SIIss1B100, Folder 1, Democratic National Convention Delegate File 1972. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

published his findings on June 30th, a week before the convention, and delivered a devastating blow to Daley's maverick efforts:

“The Hearing Officer concludes, and finds, that the underrepresentation complained of was not the result of fortune, unaffected by the efforts of the organization, but was a continuation of the same conditions exposed in the Commission Report and came about because, although diligent in including its own regulars, the organization in Chicago expended no such resources on the segments of the population as required by Guidelines A-1 and A-2”.¹³⁷

Although Daley would send his delegates to Miami to continue the fight, the battle was lost, and the Challengers' delegation was recognized. In the name of diversity only 3 Poles and 1 Italian would represent the million-plus white-ethnics of Chicago.¹³⁸ In the weeks following the convention, Mayor Daley would be flooded with letters of support from locals who felt the un-elected delegation robbed them of their representation: “I went to the polling booth – not because Mayor Daley urged me to – not because the precinct captain rang our doorbell, not because the Daley Machine got out to hustle my vote, but because I wanted to vote”.¹³⁹ Under Daley's direction the Cook County Democratic Party consciously ignored the new delegate regulations, therefore he is to blame for their replacement. Despite his error, Daley felt strongly that he knew Chicago, and Chicago trusted his leadership.

For the Greek Chicagoan community, the Daley delegate fiasco confirmed many of their suspicions about the Democratic party. Vice President Agnew best captured the Greek and

¹³⁷ Poole, Cecil F. “The Chicago Credentials Challenge,” June 30, 1972. SIIss1B100, Folder 1, Democratic National Convention Delegate File 1972. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹³⁸ Kemble, Penn, and Josh Muravchik. “The New Politics & the Democrats.” *Commentary*, December 1972. Box SIIss1B98, Folder 17, Democratic National Committee 1972. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹³⁹ O'Connor, Mae C. “Letter to Senator McGovern Forwarded to Mayor Richard J. Daley,” July 25, 1972. SIIss1B103, Folder 103-1 Presidential Election #4 1972. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

conservative reaction to the events in Miami: ““This is not the way to unite America, and all the rhetoric about bringing people together and diminishing tensions is not served by crystallizing individual consciousness about one small, particular minority group...People should be Americans first and members of minority groups second””.¹⁴⁰ Not only did the Democrats not concern themselves with appealing to their base of ethnic voters, but they excluded them from representing their own city. McGovern would come crawling back to Daley in August seeking his support to rally Chicago voters, whose numbers represented more than half of the total Illinois voting population. While Daley obliged, his lukewarm endorsement of McGovern silently permitted the Chicago Democrats to split their ticket. As the 1972 Presidential election ensued the line had been drawn between the party and the ethnics. Unlike political advertisements for the 1968 campaign, the *Greek Press* ran only one ad for McGovern compared to the numerous on behalf of Nixon, including ones in Greek.¹⁴¹ As the newly consolidated American Hellenic Democratic Council advocated for local elections, it was clear that Greek Chicagoans had given up hope to unseat Nixon in 1972.

Conclusion

Greek Chicagoans did not entirely leave the Democratic party in 1972, yet they followed the national trend of that year and voted for Republican leaders and Democratic local representatives.¹⁴² Since the American Hellenic Regular Democratic Club’s initial endorsement

¹⁴⁰ Chicago Daily News. “Agnew Assails ‘Quota Politics.’” July 25, 1972. Box SIIss1B101 Folder 6, Presidential Election #1 McGovern/Shriver 1972 [1 of 3]. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹⁴¹ Greek Press. “Ο ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ Νίξον Σκεπται Με Τον Ίδιο Τροπο Πού Σκέπτεσθε Και Σεις.” October 27, 1972, No. 37 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. National Hellenic Museum.; The title of this ad for Nixon reads, ‘President Nixon Thinks the Same Way You Do’.

¹⁴² Bartels, Larry. “Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996.” *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 1 (January 2000): 35–50.

of Mayor Richard Daley in 1955, the Greek community in Chicago enjoyed few perks, and even suffered the loss of half of their historical neighborhood.¹⁴³ What appeared to mend the relationship was not the Mayor's goodwill but the nomination of Spiro Agnew to the Republican ticket in 1968: with the Greeks finally having a political champion, Daley knew he had to remind them of their long standing partnership. As Agnew gained the support of the Greek business community, the funds they raised for the Republican administration showcased their untapped financial potential.¹⁴⁴

Economic advancement was the primary motivator for Greeks immigrating to America, and that ethos is exemplified in the Greek Chicagoan experience. From day laborers repairing the charred city to small business owners crafting original confections, the Greek financial ascension relied on their close knit ethno-religious community and shared economic knowledge to lift them from immigrant poverty. *Philotimo*, the Greek love of honor, motivated men to operate for their individual success and for their ethnic pride. This cultural montra would inform not only their economic, but also their religious and social goals, by embracing their ethnic difference and using it to their advantage. The Greek Orthodox Church was an institution Greeks transported to the United States that played a significant role in their spiritual, cultural, and political growth. Each Archbishop would adjust their church leadership to help Greeks retain their culture but also to help integrate them into American society. Greeks across America as well as in Chicago utilized their culture to help them get ahead.

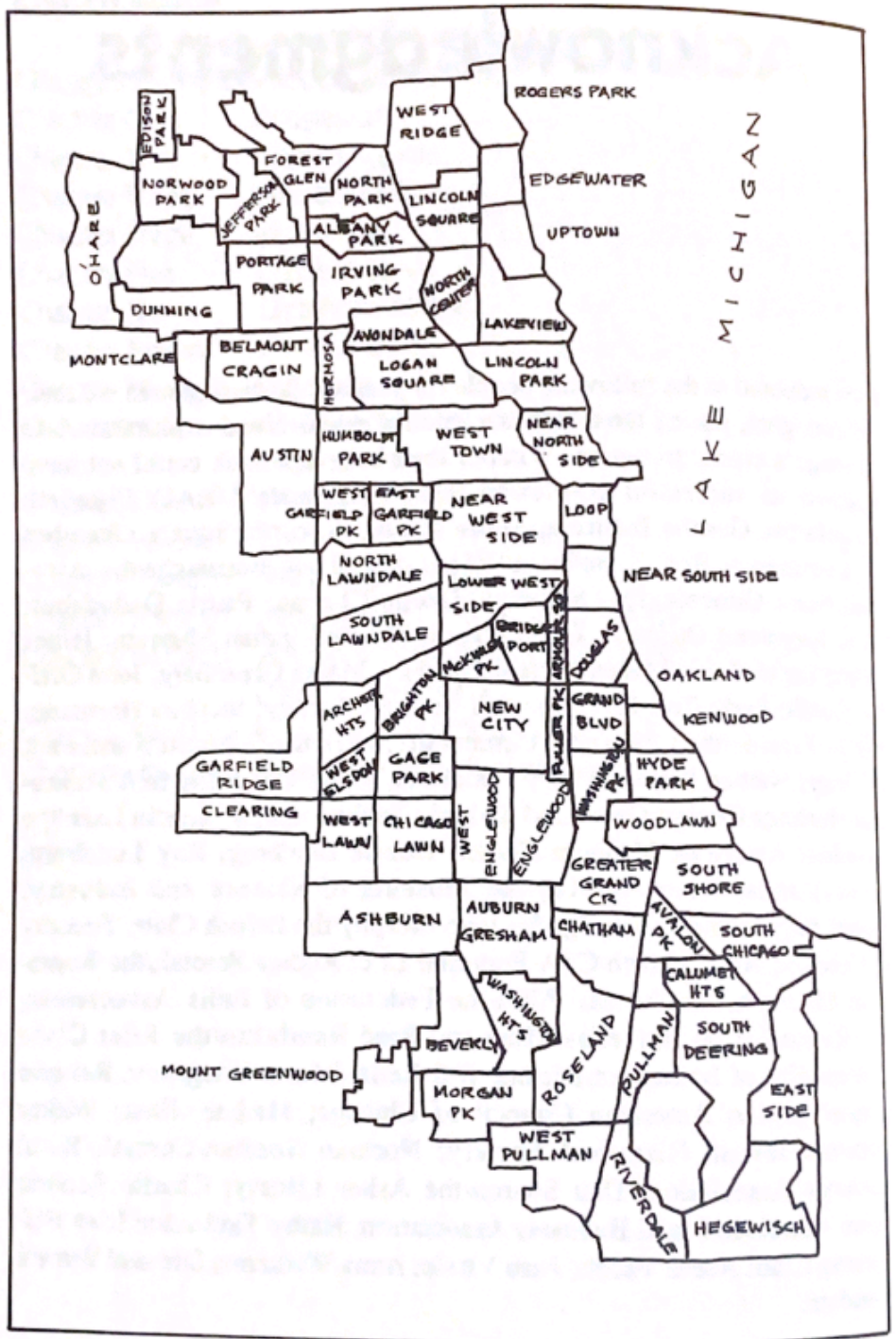
Complicating this rags to riches tale was the reality of domestic and international politics. As the United States experienced increased turmoil in the late 1960s and early 1970s,

¹⁴³ "Documents on American Hellenic Regular Club within Mayor Richard J. Daley's Office," May 13, 1955. Box SIIss1B24, Folder 2, Campaign, Mayoral -- American Hellenic Regular Democratic Club "Daley for Mayor Committee", 1955. University of Illinois Chicago, Richard J. Daley Special Collection.

¹⁴⁴ Greek Star. "Agnew Is Nixon's Pride and Joy!" March 26, 1970, Vol. 67 No. 3340 edition. Hellenic Newspapers. National Hellenic Museum.

Greek-Americans found themselves caught between their political allegiance to the Democratic party and the traditionalism offered by the Republicans. Having been the odd-white out for so long, the appeal of protecting their hard-earned middle class lifestyle conflicted with their urge to advocate for less fortunate minorities: ultimately, they chose security within a familiar yet imperfect system.

Compared to the significant issues that motivated the rise of conservative Evangelicalism, the Greek Orthodox Church and its culture bore significant similarities. Of their commonalities, their shared neoliberal attitude and skepticism of the liberal Democrats' willingness to upend the traditional family unit, pushed most Greek men and some Greek women to embrace the Republican party. Vice President Agnew provided Greeks with a conservative role-model who symbolized second- and third-generation Greek-American achievement. The bootstrap immigrant myth championed by the Nixon-Agnew administration offered prideful Greeks the opportunity to ignore their impoverished past and post-WWII federal assistance, and reimagined their American history as a Herculean struggle for material comforts and family stability. Despite their continuous efforts to affirm their diasporic Greekness, this era of Greek-Americans ultimately chose to refasten their ethnicity to serve an American dream. Utilizing the social and political marketplace to inform their cultural adaptation typified their growing neoliberal persona and proved mid century Greeks had indeed arrived in America.



Appendix A: map of the city of Chicago with its neighborhoods labeled. ¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Lindberg, Richard. *Passport's Guide to Ethnic Chicago: A Complete Guide to the Many Faces and Cultures of Chicago*. Chicago, Illinois: NTC Publishing Group, 1993.