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A Quest For Human Rights And Civil Rights: Archbishop Iakovos And The Greek Orthodox Church

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A QUEST FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS: ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS AND THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

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DEDICATION

To my wife Tina and our children

Niko, Olivia, Stavroula, Panayiotis,

and George

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CHAPTER 1 AN INTRODUCTION TO ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS COUCOUZES

On March 15, 1965, religious and civic leaders from across the country responded to a nation-wide plea from Martin Luther King Jr. and gathered at Brown Chapel of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Selma, Alabama. They came to Selma to memorialize two recently fallen heroes of the civil rights movement. The first was twenty-six-year-old African American Jimmie Lee Jackson, a civil rights activist and deacon of St. James Baptist Church in Marion, Alabama. Jimmie Lee, his mother Viola, and his eighty-two-year-old grandfather Cager Lee were among the five hundred voting-rights demonstrators who participated in a peaceful march to the Marion courthouse on the evening of February 18, 1965. Before the marchers could reach their destination, Marion police, Perry County sheriff's deputies, and Alabama state troopers brutally attacked and pursued demonstrators as they scattered and fled for safety. In the midst of the melee, Jimmie Lee, his mother, and his grandfather sought refuge in a nearby diner. Law enforcement officers cornered the three and commenced to beat Jimmie Lee's grandfather and mother. When Jimmie Lee attempted to intervene, Alabama state trooper James Bonard Fowler shot him twice in the stomach. Jackson died from his wounds eight days later.

The other fallen hero of the movement was thirty-eight-year-old James Reeb, a white Unitarian minister from Boston, Massachusetts, a civil rights activist, and a member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. After receiving the news of Jimmie Lee Jackson's death and about the planned voting-rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Reverend Reeb along with Reverends Clark Olsen and Orloff Miller arrived in Selma to participate. On Sunday, March 7, 1965, the three Unitarian ministers marched; both survived the brutal police attacks inflicted upon the demonstrators over the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Two days later, they also participated in the second attempted march, this time with Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. That

evening after dinner and on their way back to their motel, a group of white segregationists beat the three ministers outside a suspected Ku Klux Klan gathering place. Reverend Reeb sustained severe brain injuries from the bludgeoning and died in a Birmingham hospital two days later on March 11. The tragic deaths of Jimmie Lee Jackson and Reverend James Reeb spurred a national outcry against the virulent racial hatred that seemed to prevail in the South.

The next morning, Dr. King called upon the nation's religious and civic leaders to attend a memorial service on Monday, March 15, for the two civil rights martyrs at the Brown Chapel in Selma, Alabama. That day, distinguished leaders from various faiths and civil rights sympathizers poured into Selma's Brown Chapel for the memorial service awaiting its featured eulogist, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. Among the dignitaries present was a solitarily impressive figure: a white-bearded man in glasses, in flowing black robes, wearing a brimless stovepipe clerical headdress over which a black veil gracefully draped down his back and shoulders. Around his neck, he bore the traditional emblem of his episcopal office, and in his hand, he held the pastoral staff of one possessing the authority of an ecclesiastical shepherd. He was the spiritual leader of millions of Orthodox Christians in the Western Hemisphere, one of six presidents of the World Council of Churches, and a revered leader of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States. He was Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Against the fervent protestations of his archdiocesan staff and advisors, Archbishop Iakovos had departed from his headquarters in New York City, boarded a chartered flight for Selma, and arrived that morning.

In numerous photographs that were taken on that historic day, Archbishop Iakovos was the black-robed figure who stood and marched next to Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. After Dr. King finished his eulogy for the slain civil rights activists in the church, he, with Archbishop

Iakovos on one side and the Reverend Ralph Abernathy on the other, led the dignitaries and mourners in a march from Brown Chapel to the courthouse of Dallas County. On the courthouse steps, Dr. King concluded the day's solemnities by laying a wreath at the foot of the courthouse doors. Before the gathering dispersed, a cameraman photographed Dr. King, Archbishop Iakovos, Reverends Abernathy and Vivian, and the UAW's Walter Reuther in one of the iconic images of the civil rights movement. The photograph graced the front cover of the March 26, 1965, issue of *Life* magazine.

From the courthouse, Iakovos left for the airport for his return flight to New York City via Charleston, South Carolina. Recognizing him as one of the leaders of the day's memorial service and march, journalists bombarded him with questions, eager to know who he was and why he had come from so far to participate in the march. With a firm and determined look in his eyes, his baritone voice resonated his response, "I came to this memorial service because I believe this is an appropriate occasion not only to dedicate myself as well as our Greek Orthodox communicants to the noble cause for which our friend, the Reverend James Reeb, gave his life, but also in order to show our willingness to continue this fight against prejudice, bias, and persecution."[1]

Indeed, who was this strangely dressed man and why had he traveled to Selma, Alabama? Ignoring the counsel of his closest advisors not to go, his surprising appearance in Selma evinced a great deal of pride among many Greek Americans, but also vehement opposition from a few. What influenced this religious leader of an almost exclusively white ethnic church to participate in the African American civil rights movement? How did his presence in Selma affect the civil rights movement? How did the Greek American community react? Unlike his three predecessors, who confined their episcopal ministry primarily within the cultural realm of the Greek American community, Archbishop Iakovos led his inward-looking church into the political sphere of human

and civil rights.[2] What were the influences and circumstances that prompted him to join the movement and to continue to advocate for human rights until his death in 2005? Moreover, how did Iakovos's identity as a Greek émigré from Turkey, an immigrant to America, and later a United States citizen evolve into a citizenship that transcended nationality and borders? How did he seek to transform the identity of Greek Americans to accomplish his goal of social justice for society and the world?

Although this dissertation will mention some of Archbishop Iakovos's accomplishments for the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of the Americas, which are amply treated elsewhere,[3] it will focus primarily on his political activism such as his involvement in the 1960s civil rights movement and his historic appearance in Selma, Alabama. Extant primary and secondary sources reveal that Iakovos was active in both the world of religion and politics. Until now, the few biographers and journalists who have written about Iakovos focused almost entirely on his pastoral and administrative accomplishments within the Greek Orthodox Church. They used words such as "reconciliation," "renewal," and "unity" to describe his ecclesiastical ministry.[4] They would also agree that he strived to elevate human beings by reminding them that God created all people in His "image and likeness" (Gen. 1:26).[5] He frequently urged his flock to obey the two New Testament commandments of loving God and one another (Luke 10:27) and that this paired love should bring all Christians to personal renewal, mutual reconciliation, and unity with God and with all people of the earth.[6] However, one must not compartmentalize Iakovos's goals and accomplishments between the religious and the political; instead, one must see them holistically. Whether a problem was moral, social, or political, Iakovos believed that the essence of any human problem was spiritual. "For the Church," he said, "all human problems are spiritual."[7]

Iakovos's initial goal was to transform his archdiocese from an immigrant church into a recognized national institution of the United States respected by all Americans. He consistently emphasized that his archdiocese should aspire to be the fourth major faith of the Western Hemisphere; it should join the ecumenical movement and participate in debates on contemporary sociopolitical issues.[8] As early as 1964—within five years of becoming archbishop—Iakovos proclaimed to the delegates of the national clergy-laity congress, "Our Church must remove itself from the sidelines and place itself fully in the center of American life."[9] Therefore, with the goal of redirecting his inward-looking church outward, aspiring to become a nationally recognized faith, and contributing towards the making of a socially just society, Iakovos utilized his involvement in the ecumenical movement to engage the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the most critical domestic issue of the early 1960s, the civil rights movement.

This dissertation consists of a biography of Archbishop Iakovos, the primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America from 1959 until his retirement in 1996. Although it will mention some of his administrative accomplishments, it will focus on his leadership in human and civil rights issues, both international and domestic. I shall argue that Iakovos's four principal influences that inspired his ministry and his sociopolitical activism were the cultural ideals of the ancient Greeks, the Orthodox Christian belief in the divinely bestowed dignity that each human being possesses, his historical knowledge of the Greek people's oppression along with the discrimination of the Greek American immigrants, and his personal experience of prejudice and religious persecution in Turkey. Moreover, I shall endeavor to show how these influences "dialectically" interacted with Archbishop Iakovos's evolving identity from émigré to immigrant to United States citizen to citizen of the world, and how he sought to transform the identity of Greek Americans to accomplish his goal of social justice.

I do not use the word "dialectically" in the Hegelian or Marxist sense but in its original Socratic meaning. Briefly, Hegel's dialectical perspective viewed history as a linear, cause-and-effect succession of events. The initial event or force is a thesis. An opposing event or force follows called an antithesis that, in time, merge to create a synthesis or solution, which, in turn, yields another continuous series of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.[10] Hegel's historical dialectic would influence Marx's linear, deterministic, cause and effect, economic theory of history. For example, Marx argued that feudalism's economic mode of production (thesis) gave rise to capitalism (antithesis) where the bourgeoisie (i.e., the capitalists) controlled the means of production over the proletariat or laborers. In time, the proletariat would revolt against the bourgeoisie, seize the means of production, and establish a "just" economic system Marx called socialism (synthesis). However, Marx argued that the proletariat would maintain control of the means of production by establishing a proletarian dictatorship.[11] The Socratic/Platonic meaning of dialectic is neither eristic nor deterministic but a cooperative intellectual examination (elenchos, ἔλεγχος) and dialogue (διάλογος) of particular attributes that seeks to understand their interactions and reveal the ontological and existential truth of its subject matter.[12] I employ the Socratic dialectic approach to understand the interplay among the influences of Greek ideals, Orthodox Christian faith, history of an oppressed Greek people, and Iakovos's own experience of persecution to better understand his evolving identity and human rights activism from childhood to retirement.

Born in 1911 and raised on the small Aegean island of Imbros, Iakovos lived sixty-two of his almost ninety-four-year life in the United States, thirty-seven of those years as an archbishop. Although Imbros was a Greek island since Homeric times, it was an insignificant dot on the map of the vast Ottoman Empire from 1455 until 1913. After the First Balkan War ended in 1913, the Kingdom of Greece annexed the island, until the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne ceded it to the new

Republic of Turkey. For Iakovos, these were the darkest years of his life.[13] He was part of an ethnoreligious minority in a nation that continued to pursue a policy of "Turkification" and "Islamization" of its subjects.[14] The Turkish government forbade the public use of the Greek language and suppressed the Orthodox Christian Church within its borders, which prompted many of the few remaining Greeks in Turkey to leave. After completing his education and military service, Iakovos—a newly ordained deacon at the time—emigrated to the United States in 1939 to experience the freedoms he had heard about and to further his education while serving the Greek Orthodox Church in America.

Shortly after his arrival, the Archdiocese assigned him to teach at its new seminary in Pomfret, Connecticut. A year later, Archbishop Athenagoras ordained him to the priesthood and assigned him to serve several parishes in New England while he continued teaching at the seminary. By 1942, Archbishop Athenagoras assigned him as the Dean of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Boston. While in Boston, Iakovos attended Harvard Divinity School where he earned a master's degree in theology while also serving as an associate professor at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, Massachusetts. He became an American citizen in 1950 and continued serving as a priest and associate professor until 1954 when the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople elevated him to the ecclesiastical rank of bishop. The Ecumenical Patriarchate designated him as its representative to the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland, where he served with distinction for almost five years. In 1959, the Patriarchate elected him the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America. As archbishop, he oversaw the well-being of the archdiocese administratively, liturgically, and spiritually. In political and diplomatic affairs, he represented the Greek American community, the government of Greece (i.e., informally), and the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the United States government, often mediating

among them. To the Greek American community, Archbishop Iakovos represented the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Orthodox Christian world. Iakovos served with the highest distinction in this capacity until his retirement in 1996. He died in 2005, months short of his ninety-fourth birthday.

Archbishop Iakovos's life spanned almost the entire twentieth century—arguably, the most violent in human history—from the Balkan Wars to the terrorist attacks perpetrated on September 11, 2001, and their aftermath. He was an international giant among Orthodox Christian clergymen and a revered "dean" of the ecumenical movement.[15] He was a friend to each of the United States presidents from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush.[16] As the years pass, fewer people have heard of him, and those who have are mostly Greek Americans who knew him only as a high-ranking clergyman, an eloquent and charismatic speaker, and an exceptional administrator. Moreover, even fewer Greek Americans knew of or remembered his political and social activism, even his 1965 appearance in Selma, Alabama.

Iakovos's speeches, writings, and interviews reveal those qualities that not only shaped his character as a religious leader but also influenced his sociopolitical activism. He was devoted to the teachings of the Orthodox Christian faith and what it professed about human beings' relationship with God and with one another. He was proud of his Hellenic heritage and its ancient ideals of freedom, justice, and equality. He believed that they dignified human beings and gave them the principles necessary to live righteously and in harmony with others. He was proud to be an American and devoted to his adopted homeland, the United States. He believed that since its founding the United States was a nation that aspired to realize the ancient Hellenic ideals that he revered. Iakovos personally witnessed and experienced the denial of freedom, justice, and equality when growing up within a persecuted ethnoreligious community in Turkey.[17] Those tragic experiences prompted him to leave his nation of birth and fueled his activism well before and long

after his appearance in Selma. Many who were familiar with him considered Iakovos a devout Orthodox Christian clergyman, a proud Hellene, a patriotic American, and those who knew his past, a victim of prejudice. However, in person or print, he rarely appeared victimized or reticent; on the contrary, he was outspoken, even combative, in matters of social injustice. When King biographer Taylor Branch asked Iakovos to define himself within the ecumenical movement that led him to civil rights activism, Iakovos replied sharply, "We were rebels."[18]

As a clergyman and activist, Iakovos rebelled against secularism, materialism, and religious apathy that he felt harmed American society—especially the youth—and robbed the nation of its soul.[19] He believed that authentic Christian beliefs and the humanistic ideals of the ancient Greeks could help resolve many political problems and heal societal ills.[20] He opined that the ancient Greeks bequeathed the ideals of freedom, the utilization of reason, the pursuit of truth and knowledge, as well as justice, and equality to Western Civilization. He believed that the Founding Fathers of the United States established this nation based on those ideals.[21] He was convinced that freedom, justice, and equality for all people regardless of race, sex, or religious affiliation dignified all human beings and was fundamental to Christianity and for citizenship in this world and salvation in the next. He proclaimed the essential need for strong families, vibrant churches, and quality schools to educate, nourish, and nurture those Greek ideals to produce a flourishing and socially just society.

Contextualizing political and social problems within the Gospel of Jesus Christ and his Hellenic heritage, Iakovos saw his role as archbishop and that of the Church as reconcilers. Obedient to the two great commandments of the New Testament—to love God with all one's heart, mind, soul, and strength and to love one's neighbor as one's self—the Church's task was to reconcile human beings to God and one another.[22] As a staunch ecumenist, he believed that

churches too needed to be reconciled to one another and together manifest the healing and saving teachings of Jesus Christ into the moral ills of society. As there are no degrees of citizenship in the United States, Iakovos professed that there is no distinction in our humanity. His belief in the unity and equality of all human beings led him into the ecumenical movement. For instance, Iakovos was a member of Religion and American Life, the Conference of Christians and Jews, a president of the World Council of Churches, and vice president of the National Council of Churches, USA.[23]

In 1963, the National Council of Churches invited Iakovos to join its Commission on Religion and Race that brought him into the frontlines of the civil rights movement and later to Selma, Alabama. For Iakovos, racism, prejudice, segregation, and discrimination were not only ethically and morally wrong but also grievously sinful and capable of depriving racists of eternal salvation. He considered evil anything that dehumanizes human beings, lowers their status in the eyes of God, and separates them from the communal human family. Concerning the sinfulness of racism, Iakovos embraced what the Bible affirms: God made human beings of all races "in his image and likeness," as the Old Testament states in Genesis 1:26. In the New Testament, St. Paul argued that "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus," (Galatians 3:28). Thus, Iakovos fought for human and civil rights not only for the sake of something that was morally good, but also as something sacred, as a means of protecting the image of the divine imprinted upon all people.

Because he believed that the Founding Fathers of the United States utilized many of the ancient Hellenic ideals to establish the nation, Iakovos labored to help America live up to these ideals, which often meant rebelling against the status quo.[24] He respected and admired the Declaration of Independence and United States Constitution, but never hesitated to rebel when their interpretation and application ran against his Orthodox Christian faith and the ancient

Hellenic ideals he admired. For example, Iakovos fervently believed in the Declaration's fundamental principle that "all men are created equal," and strived to express this belief throughout his ministry, especially during the civil rights movement. Although he believed in the separation of church and state, he protested the abolition of prayer in public schools.[25] He agreed that separation meant that the United States government should not endorse any particular religion; however, it should promote and protect religion as a fundamental institution necessary to unite its citizens and to govern their conscious towards the "Good." For Iakovos, separation of church and state meant religious freedom; of course, the argument ran: the state should not impose religious belief on its citizens, which is not the same as imposing atheism.

Throughout his ministry, Iakovos bridged the secular world with the spiritual. He often contextualized and understood events of the political realm within the history of the Greek Orthodox Church. He did not view events such as the wars of the twentieth century, the genocide of the Armenians and Greeks in Asia Minor, the pogroms in Constantinople, the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, or the denial of civil rights in the United States in isolation. Instead, he understood these events in a twofold manner: they were human travesties that were continual reminders of what happens when peoples and nations alienate themselves from God; moreover, these events occur to propel godly people to labor and manifest the Lord's presence in the world so that peace and justice may prevail. Iakovos believed that when human beings lose their relationship with the divine, they become less human and see others as less than human. Mindful of this, Iakovos did not hesitate to join the civil rights movement. Furthermore, he utilized those things he was passionate about to interpret world events and to lead his flock in their response. As indicated, those passions included, Orthodox Christianity and ecumenism, Hellenism and American patriotism, family and youth ministries, public relations and interchurch reconciliation, and of course, human and civil rights.

The influences of the Greek ideals, Orthodox Christianity, history of Greek oppression, and his own experience of ethnoreligious persecution not only shaped Iakovos's ministry and perspective on sociopolitical injustices but also contributed immensely to his evolving identity. During his childhood years, Iakovos identified himself as ethnically Greek and religiously as Christian Orthodox, the same culture that his family and the inhabitants of Imbros possessed. From the beginning of his preadolescent years when Turkey reoccupied Imbros until 1939 when he emigrated, Iakovos and Turkish citizens of Greek descent were pariahs who impeded the Turkish government's "Turkification" of Anatolia. Conditions on Imbros and the Turkish mainland worsened forcing Iakovos to flee. He was a Greek émigré—or, perhaps a refugee—of Turkish citizenship, an inheritor of an ancient culture but of a nationality he never claimed as his own.

In the United States, he was an immigrant of a racially in-between white ethnic group that many Americans still despised as racially inferior and unassimilable only a decade before his arrival. Soon, Iakovos embedded himself into the very fabric of the Greek American community renouncing his ascribed Turkish citizenship and becoming a United States citizen in 1950. Four years later, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople elevated him to the ecclesiastical rank of bishop and assigned him to be Greek Orthodoxy's representative to the World Council of Churches. There, he retained his Greek Orthodox heritage and his American citizenship, but the ecumenical movement's focus on reconciliation, cooperation, and unity, despite religious and cultural discrepancies, inspired Iakovos to look beyond nationalistic identities. Borders and nationality gradually became less significant identifiers of human groups for him. Instead, Iakovos concentrated on a perspective that emphasized a common humanity, one that St. Paul described in his famous speech to the "Men of Athens," that God "made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth," (Acts 17:26). Becoming the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of the

Western Hemisphere in 1959 only reinforced Iakovos's emphasis of a common humanity, a humanity or citizenship that existed in the world, but was not of the world (1 John 4:4). Moreover, while he remained proud of his Greek Orthodox heritage and American citizenship, in time, what mattered most to him was his apperception of a universal, transnational, borderless citizenship of humanity, a citizenship of heaven bequeathed to all by God.

Although Archbishop Iakovos was involved in both ecclesiastical and political affairs for almost four decades, historians have written very few books on him. The archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, located in New York City, contain the papers along with published and unpublished documents of or having to do with Archbishop Iakovos and the Archdiocese.[26] The Archdiocese's archives are invaluable to any historical research pertaining to Iakovos and the Greek American community. In addition to the Archdiocesan archives, among the primary sources utilized for the writing of this dissertation is Demetrios Constantelos's *Encyclicals and Documents of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, Relating to its Thought and Activity the First Fifty Years (1922–1972)*.[27] Published in 1976, *Encyclicals and Documents of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America* contains selected encyclicals and correspondence from the Archdiocesan archives of Archbishops Alexander, Athenagoras, Michael, and Iakovos. Cleopas Strongylis's *Dean James A. Coucouzes as a Model of Priesthood: Archbishop Iakovos' Ministry at the Annunciation Cathedral of New England (1942–1954)* is a collection of Iakovos's correspondence and sermons from when he served as the senior priest at the Annunciation Cathedral in Boston, Massachusetts.[28] Strongylis gathered these documents from both the Archdiocesan archives and from the Annunciation Cathedral's archives.

On April 1, 1959, Iakovos began his thirty-seven-year reign as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America. He was an erudite man and prolific writer, fluent in both

Greek and English. Although most of his writings were of a theological and ecclesiastical nature, Iakovos effortlessly segued into history, politics, philosophy, social ethics, Christian morality, and Greek and American patriotism. Demetrios Constantelos codified many of the writings of Archbishop Iakovos in six volumes known as *The Complete Works of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos*. The title of volume one is *Visions and Expectations for a Living Church*.[29] In this book, Constantelos collected Iakovos's keynote addresses from each biennial clergy-laity congress from 1960 to 1996. The clergy-laity congress was the highest legislative body of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. It convened every two years under the leadership of the archbishop and included the bishops of the archdiocese along with clergy and lay representatives from each of the roughly five hundred parishes. The clergy-laity congresses addressed the ecclesiastical, administrative, financial, and social issues confronting the Greek Orthodox Church of the Western Hemisphere. The archbishop's keynote address to the congress informed the parish representatives of the well-being of the national church and charted a course for the future that the archdiocese should pursue.

Volumes two and three of *The Complete Works* bear the title *The Torchbearer, Part One, 1959–1977 and The Torchbearer, Part Two, 1978–1996*.[30] They include the encyclicals of Iakovos's thirty-seven-year reign. The encyclicals were the official, formal correspondence of the archbishop to the priests of the archdiocese sent to them seasonally on major feast days or on special occasions that required immediate action from the parishes. The archdiocese expected its priests to read the archbishop's encyclicals to their parishioners on designated Sundays. In Iakovos's encyclicals, one can see the theological erudition of this clerical scholar as he weaves the themes of historical and religious commemorations with present-day struggles. Iakovos's encyclicals have timeless relevancy about them in that they convey that the problems that his people faced were not new and that the wisdom of their ancient faith could resolve them.

Based upon Iakovos's many public and written statements, he would concur with those scholars who have argued that racism reifies the concept of otherness and leads to a variety of prejudices and discriminations.[31] However, for Iakovos, racism was not solely a sociopolitical issue but a spiritual one. He believed that racism was a sin that dehumanized fellow human beings and that it resulted from sinful pride and vainglory in oneself or one's racial group and hatred towards others. Pride and hatred were not new phenomena, but ancient sins that the time-honored wisdom of the Orthodoxy had addressed long ago and with which, according to Iakovos, America continued to struggle. He believed that the wisdom of the Church could remind and help America realize its founding principles. For example, Iakovos commended the United States motto of "E Pluribus Unum," celebrating unity through diversity and abhorring divisiveness as much as he believed in what St. Paul wrote to the Romans, "For as in one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same function, so we, though many are one body in Christ, and individually members one of another" (Rom. 12:4-5).[32] Iakovos's many encyclicals reminded readers and listeners that the Church had an invaluable role in creating organic unity and social justice for all Americans.

Constantelos's fourth volume of *The Complete Works* bears the title *Paideia: Addresses to Young People* and contains speeches Iakovos delivered at youth conferences and on college campuses across the country.[33] In this collection, Iakovos's words reveal his concern for the youth and the challenges that they faced in the secular and spiritual realm. He emphasized the significant role that faith plays in life and that young Christians should accord dignity and respect to all peoples in society. He consistently stressed the importance of church, family, tradition, and patriotism to confront these challenges while always remaining optimistic. Likewise, *Paideia* shows that Iakovos was as passionate about the ecumenical movement as he was about youth

ministry. Constantelos's last two volumes of *The Complete Works* focus on Iakovos's participation and leadership in the ecumenical movement. The title of Volume five is *That They May Be One: Position Papers, Essays, Homilies and Prayers on Christian Unity*, and the title of the last is *Ecumenical Dialogues: Iakovos's Role in the Quest for Christian Cooperation and Unity*.[34] Both titles accurately describe the contents of their respective books and signify the importance the ecumenical movement held for Iakovos.

Among other primary sources utilized for this dissertation, I included two audio-recorded interviews of Archbishop Iakovos. Journalist George Malouchos of SKAI 100.3, a news radio station in Greece, conducted an extensive biographical interview with Iakovos. The interview, conducted entirely in Greek, aired shortly thereafter in a series titled *Εγώ, ο Ιάκοβος* [*I, Iakovos* or *Conversations with Iakovos*] on SKAI 100.3. In collaboration with the BBC, Deutsche Welle, the Voice of America, and Sony Music, George Malouchos produced a boxed set of seven CDs with the same title in 2003.[35] In his discussions with Malouchos, Iakovos candidly responded to questions posed to him and offered additional—and at times, emotional—commentary to his responses. The questions dealt with his experience of growing up in Turkey and his years serving as a priest in New England and as archbishop. Although the interviews highlighted Iakovos's labors on ecclesiastical matters, they also included his political activism, especially concerning its effects on Greece. Taylor Branch, a biographer of Martin Luther King Jr., interviewed Archbishop Iakovos in 2002 while researching for the third book of his trilogy on the civil rights movement, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965–68*.[36] Branch audio-recorded his interview with Iakovos, which focused primarily on his participation in the Selma march.[37] Interestingly, having Iakovos in mind, Branch titled chapter nine of *At Canaan's Edge*, "Wallace and the Archbishop."

There are three extant biographies of Archbishop Iakovos, all of which are uncritical and hagiographical in tone. George Poulos's *A Breath of God, Portrait of a Prelate: A Biography of Archbishop Iakovos* was the first, published in 1984.[38] The book commemorated his twenty-fifth anniversary as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of America. It is important as it gives a biography of Iakovos's experiences growing up on the island of Imbros, before and after its annexation to Turkey in 1922. The book describes his education in Constantinople, his ordination, and his coming to America to serve the Greek community as a deacon and then as a priest from the 1930s until the mid-1950s. It proceeds with his elevation to the episcopacy and his service as the representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the World Council of Churches where he became the primary candidate to become the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of the Americas in 1959. The book continues with an overview of Iakovos's many ecclesiastical and administrative achievements as archbishop until the early 1980s. It also briefly mentions his commitment on issues of human rights and suggests that his life experiences influenced his stand against all kinds of oppression.

Another biography of Iakovos, written by Εἰρηνη Δοροφίκη [Irene Dorofiki], also gives a hagiographical description of Iakovos's life but includes accounts through 1989. It is a three-volume series written in Greek and contains oral interviews with Iakovos in his native language as he recalled significant events in his life. Written in the same uncritical tone as the aforementioned Poulos biography, Dorofiki's work differs slightly from Poulos's, but does complete the decade of the 1980s. The books are *Ἰάκοβος, Μιά Ζωή Κοντά Στά Παιδιά* [*Iakovos, A Life with Children*], *Ἰάκοβος, Κοντά Στό Λαό* [*Iakovos, Near the People*], and *Ἰάκοβος Στό Νεό Κόσμο* [*Iakovos in the New World*].[39] The last of the pertinent biographical works on Archbishop Iakovos is *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop*, edited by Nikki Stephanopoulos.[40] This book was the commemorative

album celebrating the retirement of Iakovos after thirty-seven years of ministry as archbishop. Published in 1996, the year of his retirement, it contains many photographs, letters, and essays on his accomplishments. It includes congratulatory letters from United States presidents and political and religious leaders. This album is an excellent synopsis of the life and ministry of Iakovos from people who had worked with or for him over many decades.

These biographies show how Iakovos himself experienced oppression as a marginalized Greek Christian growing up in Muslim Turkey. They also show how fervent he was in his Orthodox Christian faith and how it influenced him to champion the causes of human and civil rights. However, the aforementioned books give little or no indication of what aspects of his faith inspired him to denounce racism and discrimination, nor do they describe what specific actions he took other than his participation in the 1965 march in Selma, Alabama.

In 1996, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese produced a one-hour documentary on the life of Archbishop Iakovos titled, *Iakovos: A Legacy*.[41] The video featured cameo appearances and comments about Iakovos from political and religious leaders including Presidents Jimmy Carter and George Bush, Senator Paul Sarbanes, Governor Michael Dukakis, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, Coretta Scott King, and George Stephanopoulos (one of his former altar boys) among others. The Emmy-Award-winning documentary chronicles the life of Iakovos from his childhood on the island of Imbros until his retirement in 1996.

Iakovos authored and published two books, *Ἰχνογράφημα Μιᾶς Φωτεινῆς Σκιᾶς* [*A Dream That Came to Pass*] and *Faith for a Lifetime*.[42] *A Dream That Came to Pass* chronicles the pilgrimage Iakovos made to Constantinople and his native island of Imbros from August 26, 1985, until September 2, 1985. This was his first journey to his homeland after twenty-eight years of "exile": the Turkish government considered Iakovos a persona non grata due to his political

activism against them. As he visited the sites of his early years under the suspicious gaze of his Turkish security detail, Iakovos offers an emotional reflection of Imbros and how it evolved from an island teeming with life and Greek culture to an unfamiliar, almost barren, and joyless place. In 1988, Iakovos published *Faith for a Lifetime*, with coauthor William Proctor. Iakovos gives some autobiographical information in the text as a backdrop to show how he prayerfully dealt with the serious and mundane issues of his life. He writes about the significance of prayer, meditation, the study of the Bible, and the importance of developing a relationship with God as essential to establishing healthy relationships with others. The book is endearing as it reveals a very intimate portrait of a public figure and provides keen insight into his personality. Interestingly, the book stated that there were several assassination attempts on his life because of his sociopolitical activism.[43]

Chapter one of this dissertation, this introduction, began by introducing Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, the man who served as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America from 1959 until 1996 and who at the height of the civil rights movement marched with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Selma, Alabama. Chapter one also introduced the dissertation's research questions and proposed what influences led him to participate in the civil rights movement and to advocate for human rights until his death in 2005. It also asked how his advocacy for human rights gradually transformed his identity from a white ethnic United States citizen to a citizen of the world. I introduced the argument that the four foundational influences dialectically interacted to inspire Iakovos's human rights activism and contributed to the emergence of a new, universal identity. I argued that the four most significant influences were his conviction to the classical Greek ideals of freedom, reason, the pursuit of truth, justice, and equality, his Orthodox Christian belief in the divinely bestowed dignity that humanity possesses, the history of an oppressed Greek people

and discriminated Greek American immigrants, and his personal experience of bigotry and religious persecution.

Chapter two will begin by offering a sweeping historical survey of Iakovos's Aegean world from the fifth century BC until the early decades of the twentieth century. The chapter will introduce the necessary background information of the Greek Christian world of Imbros, which lay at the midpoint between the classical Greek cultural capital of Athens and the center of Orthodox Christianity in Constantinople. It will then describe the Ottoman conquest of the Greek Christian World and the four hundred years of subjugation and oppression known as the *Turkocratia*. Chapter two will also relate the Greek War of Independence, its aftermath, and how a small, poverty-stricken country surrounded by belligerent neighbors struggled to provide security and a stable economy that in the end resulted in mass emigration at the turn of the twentieth century. It shall then narrow its focus on its protagonist, Demetrios (i.e., Iakovos) Coucouzes from birth and preadolescent years on Greece's Imbros and how as a member of a despised minority he navigated the hazards of an aggressive Turkish state prompting him to migrate to the United States to serve the Greek American Church as a young deacon.

Chapter three will widen its historical lens to describe the Greek America to which Iakovos was migrating (1890s–1939). It will consist of a brief history of a discriminated Greek immigrant community in the United States and the cultural institutions they established to preserve their identity and way of life—the center of which was the Greek Orthodox Church. It will show how the politics of the fatherland fractured the Greek American communities and the turmoil that existed in organizing the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the United States under Archbishops Meletios, Alexander, and Athenagoras.

Chapter four will again narrow the historical focal field on Iakovos, describing his early years in the United States teaching at the Archdiocesan seminary under the seminary's dean and then Bishop of Boston, Athenagoras Cavadas, and the often tenuous relationship he had with Archbishop Athenagoras Spyrou, the leader of the Greek American Church. I have allocated considerable space within this chapter to describe Archbishop Athenagoras's eighteen-year reign as the Greek American Archbishop including his success in uniting most Greek churches to the Archdiocese and the establishment of Archdiocesan institutions that continue to function today. Archbishop Athenagoras would also have a profound and lasting influence on Iakovos.

Chapter four will also cover the years 1939–1958 and will include Iakovos's ordination to the priesthood and eventual assignment to the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of Boston. Iakovos's ministry at the Boston Cathedral was highly successful due to his ability to identify with and reach out to the older—and influential—Greek immigrant generation and their American-born children. He was actively involved in the Greek War Relief Association during the Second World War and afterward focused his attention on youth ministry, which incidentally ushered him into the ecumenical movement in the early 1950s. Reluctantly elevated to the ranks of the episcopacy in 1955, Iakovos was assigned to represent the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland, where he served for four years and where he first met a black minister named Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.

Chapter five includes the years 1958–1964 where Iakovos concludes his service at the World Council of Churches and is elected by the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America in 1959. Inspired by the classical Greek ideals of freedom, justice, and equality, by Orthodoxy's teachings on the inherent dignity of all human beings, and the ministry of reconciliation and unity of the ecumenical movement,

Iakovos seeks to lead his white ethnic church into mainstream America by entering into the fray of the civil rights movement. Chapter five focuses on Iakovos's civil rights activism through the year 1964.

Chapter six maintains its historical focus on Archbishop Iakovos, highlighting his participation in the civil rights march in Selma and the reaction of the Greek American community. After his appearance in Selma, Iakovos endeavored to raise the American media's awareness of the oppressive policies of the Turkish government toward its shrinking Greek community as well as the military dictatorship that seized control of the Greek government after the death of King Paul of Greece. At home, he tried to mobilize the Archdiocese to address the critical issue of urban decay and poverty. Chapter six also briefly covers Iakovos's visits to Vietnam, the Far East, and the Middle East before returning to the United States and attending Martin Luther King's funeral. The chapter concludes at the close of the 1960s.

Chapter seven encompasses the years 1970 to the late 1980s where Iakovos endeavors to increase the number of Orthodox Christians in the United States and, in turn, the sociopolitical influence of his Archdiocese, but events abroad would impede his efforts. In 1970, he suggested the use of more English in the Church's worship services. The result was an immediate backlash from many of his Greek-speaking communicants and the Greek government. The Watergate scandal and the United States' continuing presence in Vietnam fueled the growing number of protests and the counter-culture movement that included not a few of the Archdiocese's youths, which Iakovos tried to restrain. By the summer of 1974, the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and the plight of the two hundred thousand refugees and over one thousand missing persons occupied Iakovos's time and energy and would continue doing so until his retirement. Before the decade of the 1970s concluded, President Carter recognized Iakovos's works in the area of human and civil

rights, awarding him the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Chapter seven continues the biographical narrative of Iakovos into the 1980s, describing his role in making Martin Luther King Day a federal holiday and his first trip to Turkey in almost twenty years.

Chapter eight focuses on the last decade of Iakovos's active ministry from the late 1980s until his unceremonious resignation in 1996. Iakovos remained engaged with news from abroad and rejoiced over the collapse of the Soviet Union but feared that its fragmentation into smaller belligerent nation-states would destabilize the Balkans. For example, he vehemently protested the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia for usurping the name of one of Greece's northern provinces (i.e., "Macedonia") and the history of Greek Macedonia as its own. In America, Iakovos doubled his efforts to strengthen the Orthodox Christian presence in the Americas by entertaining discussions on unifying the dozen or so Orthodox jurisdictions. However, the mother churches of the Old World suspected that Iakovos was attempting to sever their respective churches from them to create his own independent American Orthodox Patriarchate, an accusation Iakovos fervently denied. According to ecclesiastical protocol, Iakovos tendered his resignation to the Ecumenical Patriarchate; to his and the Archdiocese's surprise, the Patriarchate accepted it. The chapter concludes with a brief description of Iakovos's uneventful nine-year retirement and death in 2005.

Finally, the dissertation concludes with an assessment of Iakovos's life and work. Archbishop Iakovos was not outspoken on matters of human and civil rights altruistically, nor did he do so solely in a spirit of humanism or humanitarianism, nor as a matter of legal justification. For him, the ancient Greek ideals of freedom, justice, equality, and the Orthodox Christian teachings on human dignity, love for God and all human beings, and the ecumenical movement's spirit of reconciliation, cooperation, and unity dialectically interacted to inspire his activism. Moreover, his personal memories of discrimination and that of his people not only played a

significant part in his sociopolitical activism, but also contributed to the transformation of his identity as an ascribed Turkish migrant of Greek descent into an American citizen, and finally into a citizen of the world, yet not of this world. For Iakovos, human and civil rights were as sacred as the human beings they were meant to protect. He fervently believed that an intellect cultivated in the ancient Greek ideals and in the teachings of human dignity that his Church professed would not only safeguard human society but save the human soul.

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CHAPTER 2 IAKOVOS COUCOUZES'S AEGEAN WORLD

In his late-eighteenth-century work, *Letters from an American Farmer*, J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur asked the question, "What is an American?" In his lengthy response, Crèvecoeur described the role that culture and environment played in the fashioning of American identity and character.[1] A century later, Frederick Jackson Turner's essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," also attributed to the environment (i.e., the frontier) the making of Americans.[2] Similarly, the present chapter seeks to describe, briefly, the history, culture, and environment that inspired Iakovos Coucouzes's influences and shaped his Greek Christian identity, his priesthood, and sociopolitical activism. The man who was to become the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America was born half-a-world away on the small Aegean island of Imbros, far from the Archdiocesan headquarters in New York City where he would one day serve, and further still from Selma, Alabama, where he made his famous and controversial appearance, and a major milestone on his own journey of becoming.

From antiquity, Imbros—and its sister island Tenedos—was well within the ancient Greek World, the birthplace of Western Civilization. The strategic islands lie in the northeastern waters of the Aegean Sea, opposite the ancient city of Troy. They guard the mouth of the Dardanelles (i.e., the Hellespont) that connects the Aegean and the Black Seas via the Sea of Marmara and the Bosporus. They were at the nexus of European and Asian civilizations. Imbros lies almost equidistant from Athens, the cultural capital of classical Greece (188 miles), and Constantinople (174 miles), the capital of the Christian Roman Empire of the East (ca. 330–1453 AD) and of the Greek Orthodox Church.

South of Imbros is the island of Chios, the birthplace of Homer, the epic poet and alleged author of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. Homer claimed that Poseidon— god of the sea, horses, and

earthquakes—stabled his winged mounts in the depths of the sea nearby. In the *Iliad*, he writes, "There is a vast cave, down in the dark sounding depths, mid-sea between Tenedos and Imbros' rugged cliffs…here the god of the earthquake drove his horses down."[3] The palace of the sea goddess Thetis, mother of Achilles, lay near the island of Imbros at the bottom of the Aegean.[4] Moreover, one of the *Homeric Hymns* "To Delian Apollo" proclaimed that Imbros was a protectorate of the god Apollo.[5] Closer to Imbros is the island of Lesbos where the lyric poet Sappho wrote some of the earliest Greek poems on love and romance during the seventh and sixth centuries BC.

On the Asia Minor coast, south of the Greek islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos is the ancient city of Miletus and its Milesian School. The Milesian School, arguably, invented the discipline of philosophy as early as the sixth century BC. Unlike their non-Greek contemporaries who relied on myths and superstition, the Milesians were among the first to question everything they encountered and sought rational explanations from empirical evidence and critical thinking in their persistent pursuit of knowledge. Among many of its famous students, it included Thales and Anaxagoras. Anaxagoras had the distinction of being the teacher of two famous Athenians, the statesman Pericles and the philosopher Socrates.[6] Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, and generations of Greek philosophers utilized the Milesians' unique characteristic of making everything they encountered an object of rational thought and public debate. Their curiosity and relentless questioning of observable facts compelled them to rationally understand human existence and the natural world around them. Later Greeks adopted their method and applied it within their culture that led to great intellectual and artistic achievements. Among the greatest of these achievements was the distinctly Greek conception of freedom as the supreme human ideal. The Greeks were the

first to recognize that humans were reason-endowed beings, but to employ reason, humans must possess freedom, the freedom to choose among various options.

In *Freedom: Freedom in the Making of Western Culture*, Orlando Patterson argues that the Greeks were the first to identify freedom as the supreme ideal. He chronicled the development of freedom as a "tripartite" ideal that included personal freedom, sovereignal freedom, and civic freedom.[7] The concept of freedom certainly existed before the Greeks and outside Greek culture, but Patterson suggests that only the powerful or ruling class experienced it. Patterson argues that the only ones to recognize the value of freedom in these cultures were slaves, who were social outcasts and nonpersons. He credits the Greeks as the first to develop the social construction of freedom as the supreme ideal and as the quintessential human aspiration. The Greeks imprinted the ideal of freedom on their sense of peoplehood and national identity: to be Greek meant to be free. As Patterson writes, "To be free was thus to be Greek, to be noble, to be politically independent, and to be invincible."[8] Thus, a fierce love of freedom became a unique ethnic and cultural marker among the Greeks.

Further south of Miletus is the coastal city of Halicarnassus, which was the birthplace of Herodotus. Herodotus, the father of history, employed reason and observable evidence in his historical writings. In book five of *The Histories*, he writes that a mythical pre-Hellenic people, the Pelasgians, inhabited the island of Imbros until the Persians conquered it in the sixth century BC.[9] During Greece's war with Persia, the Athenian general Miltiades defeated the Persians and established an Athenian colony on Imbros in approximately 447 BC. The historian Thucydides mentions the Imbriots as Athenian allies in his book *The Peloponnesian War*.[10] The Athenians continued to govern the island after Rome's conquest of Greece in the second century BC. The

Romans granted the Imbriots autonomous rule of their island in the second century AD.[11] The Romans did not colonize Imbros; it remained overwhelming Greek in its language and culture.

By virtue of their location, the Imbriots were among the earliest people to embrace Christianity. They assimilated it within their Hellenic culture that in time became the Greek Orthodox faith. To the Imbriots and early Greek Christians, Orthodox Christianity professed that all human beings possess dignity since God made all people in His image and likeness (Gen. 1:26), and that "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life" (John 3:16). For the Orthodox, God was not merely a Creator, but also the Creator who loved them, and, for this reason, they, in turn, ought to love one another (John 13:34). Simply put, one of the early foundational beliefs of Orthodox Christianity is that human dignity arises from human beings' resemblance to God and God's infinite love for all people.

A number of the original apostles of Jesus Christ traversed the lands and waters around Imbros, establishing churches near the Asia Minor coast. The Apostle Andrew founded a Christian community in the ancient city of Byzantium (i.e., later Constantinople) in the first century AD. The Apostle Paul also established churches and corresponded with them in the Greek-speaking cities near Imbros, as the New Testament attests.[12] Writing from the Aegean island of Patmos, the Apostle John addressed his Book of Revelation to the seven churches on the western coast of Asia Minor,[13] all in relative proximity to Imbros. The Apostle Peter preached along the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor through Galatia and Cappadocia as he traveled toward the Aegean coast bound for Rome and martyrdom. Among the other apostles of Christ that ministered to the earliest Christian communities near Imbros were the Apostles Philip of Bethsaida and his sister Mariamne; Bartholomew; Philip, who was one of the Seventy Apostles, and his four daughters; and Prochorus (Acts 6:5-6).[14]

In the regions around Imbros, the Christian faith continued to spread in the generation that succeeded the first apostles of Christ. One of the earliest written accounts of Christian martyrdom was that of Polycarp, the aged bishop of the Asia Minor coastal city of Smyrna; he was also a disciple of the Apostle John. The martyrdom of countless Christians continued for the next two centuries throughout the Roman Empire, but especially in cities and towns near the island of Imbros where the highest concentration of Christians lived. The persecution of Christians ended when the emperor Constantine the Great issued his Edict of Milan in 313 AD. In the year 330 AD, Constantine transferred the capital of the empire from Rome to the ancient Greek city of Byzantium on the European side of the Bosporus and renamed it Constantinople. Constantinople would become the center of Orthodox Christianity. The Seven Ecumenical Councils that defined and articulated the dogmas of the Christian faith took place in or near the capital city. Constantinople remained the center of classical Greek and Christian learning for well over a millennium. The Imbriots thrived under Constantinople's influence and proximity, living in relative peace for centuries until the arrival of the Ottoman Turks in the mid-fifteenth century.

After a two-month siege and one thousand one hundred twenty-three years since its founding, the city of Constantinople—revered as the New Rome, the Second Jerusalem, and the easternmost Christian bastion against an aggressive Islam—fell to the Ottoman Turks on May 29, 1453. The Ottomans slaughtered two thousand defenders within the first hours of breaching the walls.[15] When resistance evaporated, the invaders turned to pillaging homes, churches, and monasteries. The indiscriminant capture and rape of women and children ensued.[16] After allowing for the customary act of sacking and pillaging, Sultan Mehmet II made his triumphal entrance into the city. He immediately transformed the magnificent sixth-century cathedral of Holy Wisdom[17] into a mosque.[18] On June 2, 1453, three days after the battle ended, the Islamic call to prayer

echoed for the first time within the walls of the one-thousand-year-old cathedral, the symbol of Byzantium and the center of Orthodox Christianity.[19] Mehmet II had the remains of the last emperor beheaded and mounted in a prominent location. He then had the skin removed from the skull, stuffed with straw, and sent to the leaders of the Persians, Arabs, and Turks. He also sent four hundred Greek children to each of the rulers of Egypt, Tunis, and Granada to commemorate his victory.[20] To spare their island a similar fate, the Imbriots surrendered peacefully in 1455.

The Turks settled the few surviving Greeks in the Phanar neighborhood of Constantinople and sold some thirty thousand men, women, and children in the slave markets of Edirne, Bursa, and Ankara.[21] With the conquest of the city, the Ottomans emerged as a world power and a perpetual menace to the Christian peoples of Europe for centuries. The memory of Constantinople's fall and the brutalities suffered by its people embedded itself into the psyche of generations of Greek Orthodox Christians. Lamentably, the Turks would repeat similar atrocities like those perpetrated on the inhabitants of Constantinople against Greek and Armenian Christians well into the twentieth century. After the fall of Constantinople, the Greeks—including the Greeks of Imbros—entered into a four-hundred-year era of enslavement and Islamic domination known as the *Turkocratia*.[22] Initially, the Ottomans recognized the cosmopolitan nature of their empire and were tolerant of their non-Muslim subjects' religious beliefs and way of life, but that tolerance fluctuated and decreased drastically over time and place. For the Greek Orthodox who valued freedom and human dignity, the *Turkocratia* came at the highest of prices.

The Ottomans did not permit their Greek and Christian subjects to forget that they were a conquered people possessing an inferior religion. The Turks required non-Muslims to wear distinctive clothing.[23] In addition to a distinctive dress code, no Christian could ride a horse in the presence of Turks with the exception of the Patriarch of Constantinople.[24] A Christian man could

not engage in casual conversation with a Turkish woman; a sexual encounter between them was punishable by death.[25] The severity of societal and religious laws repressed Christian minorities, alienated them from their Ottoman overlords, and impeded their amalgamation with the Turkish populace. The Turks prohibited Christians from bearing arms or serving in the armed forces of the empire; instead, the government and the provincial governors forced Christians to pay an assortment of exorbitantly high imperial and arbitrary local taxes of which Muslims were exempt.[26] A Christian's unwillingness or inability to pay the taxes imposed upon him could mean confiscation of land, seizure of possessions, enslavement, or death. One way of escaping excessive taxation, the inferiority of second-class citizenship, or the violence and rapacity that accompanied their social status was for a Christian to convert to Islam. However, the Turks permitted no one to revert to their previous religion or any other religious belief than Islam. Apostasy from Islam, whether voluntary, forced, or feigned, meant immediate death.[27]

Mass conversions and forced population resettlement decimated the non-Muslim subjects of the empire. Since the time of the conquest, the Ottomans forced their Christian subjects away from fertile lands or select urban neighborhoods only to have them reoccupied by Turks. With the exception of cities like Constantinople and Smyrna, and pockets of small villages scattered along the Aegean and Black Seas, the Greek presence in Asia Minor, which had existed there centuries before the time of Homer, all but disappeared. By right of conquest, confiscation of churches also occurred throughout the Ottoman Empire. The Turks confiscated the structurally sound churches and converted them into mosques or utilized them for secular purposes, often as stables.[28] They did not permit the building of new churches or the repair of existing ones without permission from the government. The Turks removed crosses that adorned churches' rooftops and forbade the ringing of bells that summoned the Christians to worship.[29]

The Ottomans frowned upon any language that was not Turkish, Persian, or Arabic. Throughout the empire, Greek language schools that had existed for centuries in the European provinces closed; they all seemingly disappeared in the provinces of Asia Minor where teaching Greek existed since before the first millennium BC. Schools were expensive to operate, and the high taxes Greek Christians paid to the government left very little to fund a school, not to mention the incessant harassment the students and faculty endured by their oppressors.[30] It was far easier to abandon their school, allow it to fall into a dilapidated state, and, like their churches, have it subsequently confiscated by the Turks to use the property as they saw fit.

Undoubtedly, the Ottoman policy that Christians dreaded most and that vividly reminded them of their subservience was the selective forced abduction and religious conversion of their children into the sultan's army or seraglios. Initially, the child-collection took place every five years; later, the child-collection took place at arbitrary intervals depending on the needs of the empire. The Turks selected one-fifth of the total population of Christian children between the ages of fourteen to twenty. They selected youths who were the most handsome, physically robust, and intelligent. In two recorded incidents, in Albania (1565) and in the northern Greek town of Naousa (1705), Christians resisted the conscription of their sons by hacking the Turkish collection officer to death. In retaliation to the Christians of Naousa, the sultan had them all decapitated, and the severed heads displayed in Naousa and Thessaloniki.[31] Historians estimate that the Ottomans forcibly conscripted between five hundred thousand to one million Christian children in the child-collection's two-hundred-year existence.[32]

Despite the continued violence and various oppressions perpetrated against them, a few Greeks under the Ottoman yoke proved resourceful. They comprised the wealthiest and best-educated segment of the empire's Christian population. Besides being a source of taxation, these

Greeks provided other services that were vital to the economy of the empire. Many lived in the Constantinopolitan neighborhood called the Phanar and were known as the Phanariots. They were successful merchants, ship owners, and were adept in various business enterprises, especially banking and trade. Due to the high cultural value they placed on education, many served as physicians or in the empire's diplomatic corps as secretaries, translators, and as diplomatic aides.[33] However, the Phanariots and other wealthy Greeks also had a hidden agenda that included the preservation of Hellenism, the overthrow and removal of the Turks from all lands that were previously Greek, and the reestablishment of the Byzantine Empire with a Greek hegemony. One way that they implemented their hidden agenda was through the creation of secret societies.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Phanariots, along with the emerging Greek aristocracies of Smyrna and Thessaloniki, sent their sons and other promising young Greeks to the best universities in Western Europe where among many academic disciplines they studied the ideals of the Enlightenment and learned of the emerging ideology of nationalism, especially after the American and French Revolutions. The new Greek intelligentsia embraced the richness of classical Greek culture and joined it with an emerging spirit of nationalism. They soon came to accept not only the superiority of classical Greek culture but also its essentialization in a contemporary superior—although enslaved—Greek race. Therefore, the new Greek intelligentsia, the secret societies, along with the Phanariots determined that their ultimate task was the atavistic education and mobilization of the Greek race, the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire, and the establishment of a Greek imperial nation. They dreamed of a restored Byzantium, whose language, culture, and leadership was Greek, but ecumenical with respect to Orthodox Christianity. In a short time, many Greeks accepted this stratagem and called it their *Megali Idea* or the Great Idea of a Greater Greece.[34]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was well into its long and precipitous decline that had begun in the early seventeenth century. The expansion of the empire had ceased, and endemic internal corruption had weakened the sultan's once powerful centralized government. Provincial Ottoman governors, sensing this weakness, broke out in open rebellion, which further depleted the sultan's resources and power. Many Greeks allied themselves with the provincial governors, not out of loyalty to them, but as a means to initiate the pursuit of Greek Independence and the Great Idea.

For the Greeks, the revolution began in the Peloponnese in late March of 1821 with the battle cry, "Freedom or death!" After receiving the news in Constantinople, a Turkish mob seized Patriarch Gregory V and lynched him from one of the gates of the Patriarchate on April 10, Easter Sunday.[35] Turkish authorities also lynched a number of bishops and priests while still wearing their vestments. They arrested and hanged leading Phanariots whom they believed complicit in the Greek uprising. Many Ottoman officials viewed the reprisals as a holy war against the Greek Christians. They hanged Greek sailors serving in the Ottoman navy from the masts of their ships, which they positioned in the harbor to face the Greek neighborhoods. They tortured and strangled those whom they had arrested and held in their prisons. Turkish mobs roamed the streets of Constantinople, Smyrna, Thessaloniki, and Arta murdering Greeks by hanging or decapitation. The mob broke into Greek homes, assaulted the inhabitants in indescribable ways, and then lynched entire families from their balconies.[36] In cities and towns where a mixed population of Greeks and Turks existed, the majority populace brutalized the minority; both sides reciprocated atrocities against the other. In the Peloponnese, the Greeks quickly overwhelmed the Turks; however, in the densely populated Greek cities in Asia Minor, the Turkish army and mob plundered the homes and indiscriminately slaughtered its men, women, and children.[37]

The first two years of the revolution went relatively well for the Greeks, but not without great sacrifices. Many leaders of the rebellion died within the first two years, some horribly. The Ottomans impaled the deacon and revolutionary Athanasios Diakos. Brewer writes, "The sickening reality of impalement was that the victim was spread-eagled face down and held in place by ropes attached to each leg while a man with a heavy mallet drove a long-sharpened pole into his anus. The pole was then set upright, and he was left to die of his internal injuries."[38] Civilians also experienced the atrocities of war. On April 7, 1822, the Turks slaughtered approximately twenty-five thousand Greeks on the island of Chios and carried off another forty-five thousand civilian women and children to slave markets throughout Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Barbary Coast. The Turks were intent on making an example of the Chians. They pillaged and burned every town on the island. Upon returning to Constantinople, they threw the severed heads of the slain into the streets. Paroulakis writes that the heads and limbs "lay rotting or became food for the packs of scavenging dogs that roamed the city. Crushed under the wheels of carriages and trampled by the hooves of horses, they lay beneath the unconcerned gaze of pedestrians who had become immune to the horrible but now common sight of mutilated Greek bodies, victims of the sultan's revenge."[39] About twenty-three thousand Chians managed to escape to the nearby island of Psara. Over half the Chian refugees along with three thousand Psarians would face the same fate two years later.[40] The inhabitants of the once privileged island of Chios that boasted of a population of over one hundred thousand Greeks perished or disappeared into the Asiatic interior of the Ottoman Empire.

The war took a drastic turn in the early months of 1824 when the sultan called upon his Egyptian vassal Mehmet Ali and his son Ibrahim for military and naval assistance against the Greeks. By February of 1825, Ibrahim and his army set sail from their winter quarters on Crete

and landed on the southwestern shores of the Peloponnese. He planned to crush the Greek rebellion by sweeping across the Peloponnese, destroying all insurgent armies, their supplies, munitions, and strongholds. For almost two years, Ibrahim's forces were unstoppable. Decimated by almost a decade of war, the Greeks could do little to defend themselves and their homeland. The Egyptians sacked and burned towns and villages; arable lands were set ablaze, depriving the inhabitants of the opportunity to either plant or harvest their crops. Food quickly became scarce for the Greek revolutionaries and even more so for the civilian population. The invaders slaughtered any Greek man of fighting age along with the elderly and infirm. Captured women and children were first at the mercy of Ibrahim's troops before being marched to the ships where they remained defenseless before the ships' crewmen. The women and children who survived the brutalities committed against them soon found themselves sailing toward the slave markets of Egypt and Asia.

By the early months of 1826, the imminent defeat of the Greeks appeared inevitable. Ibrahim was already devising his plans for a conquered Greece: he intended to remove the entire Greek population from the Peloponnese and to repopulate it with Egyptians.[41] When the disturbing news of Ibrahim's plans reached the West, Great Britain, France, and Russia responded swiftly to provide diplomatic, economic, and military aid to the nearly vanquished Greek people. The war finally ended after the navies of these Western Powers destroyed Ibrahim's navy at the Battle of Navarino in October 1827. After almost four hundred years of oppression and six years of war, the modern Greek state was born; it included the Peloponnese, Attica, southern Roumeli (i.e., from the cities of Arta in the west to Volos in the east), and only the Aegean islands near its mainland. However, the new nation-state contained less than one-third of the Greeks that once inhabited the Ottoman Empire before the Revolution.[42] This reality served to keep the irredentism of the Great Idea alive among the populace in the new nation and those yet unredeemed in the empire.

As the leaders of the new kingdom of Greece struggled to establish the new state, they also strived to create a shared Greek identity, a Greek race. They saw themselves as the embodiment of a glorious classical Greek and Christian Byzantine culture. No longer were Greeks to be loyal only to their families, villages, or regions, but to their new socially constructed identity, which they nurtured by appealing to their history, language, culture, and to their new emerging nation.[43] The organizers of this new Greek identity utilized what Hobsbawm called an ideology of "proto-nationalism"[44] and "ethnic nationalism" in order to consolidate their new identity and to promote the Great Idea of a "Greater Greece."[45] As Prime Minister Ioannis Kolettis stated before the assembly of Greece in 1844, "The Greek kingdom is not the whole of Greece, but only a part, the smallest and poorest part. A native is not only someone who lives within this Kingdom, but also one who lives…in any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race."[46]

The emergence of messianic nationalism was not a unique phenomenon. Many Poles and Polish migrants to the United States, for example, also believed in various messianic ideologies and adapted familiar religious symbols that served to promote their nationalistic and ethnic identity in Europe and working-class America.[47] Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, and Albanians also considered themselves a "chosen," messianic people who aspired for nationhood and that God had ordained them to rule others. However, unlike the other Balkan peoples that had settled in specific regions, the Greeks had scattered throughout the Balkans, Asia Minor, and the Middle East. Greek irredentists, led by Theodoros Diligiannis, made it their priority to aggressively envelope all the lands "associated with Greek history or the Greek race" into a Greater Greece. Diligiannis's political opponent, Charilaos Trikoupis—who also embraced the Great Idea—believed that Greece's immediate concern was to address myriad domestic infrastructure and economic problems affecting the kingdom before embarking on military exploits.[48] During the last two

decades of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, the factionalism created by these two political leaders led to military defeats and general disillusionment in their dream of the Great Idea; moreover, it accelerated Greece's political instability and perpetual economic decline.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire continued to crumble from corruption within, from the nationalistic fervor gripping the Balkan states, and from a series of wars throughout the nineteenth century with an increasingly aggressive Russia, which saw itself as the protector of Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman Empire. Russia also desired complete control of the Black Sea and alliances with the emerging nations of the Balkans that were also Orthodox Christian. Control of the Black Sea and alliances with Greece and other Balkan states would give Russia access to the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. Since the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Ottoman Empire secured a series of loans from the Western Powers to improve infrastructure and to modernize its military forces. By the 1870s, the Ottomans were unable to pay their debts to Britain and France and subsequently raised prohibitive taxes on its Christian subjects in the Balkans, who—with the support of Russia—broke out in open rebellion, which prompted the Russo-Turkish War that ended with an Ottoman defeat in 1878. Much to the alarm of the Western Powers and the neighboring Balkan nations, the Russians advocated for the creation of a Bulgarian state that included a large territory coveted by Greece. To placate the Greeks, the Western Powers demanded that the Ottoman Empire surrender the provinces of Thessaly and Epirus to the kingdom of Greece, which brought Greece's new borders to the provinces of Ottoman-held Albania and Macedonia, Serbia, and the new Bulgarian state, each having its own irredentist designs for a greater nation.

Greek incursions into Ottoman territory continued in the last decades of the nineteenth century, which further destabilized the Balkans. The island of Crete was in a constant state of rebellion against the Ottomans from 1841 until they joined the kingdom of Greece in 1897. By the

beginning of the twentieth century, the Ottomans continued their slow retreat from the Balkans, as the competing nationalisms of Greeks, Albanians, Serbs, and Bulgarians fought each other for land in the wake of the Turkish withdrawal. Seeking to take advantage of Turkish vulnerabilities, the Greeks attacked Ottoman forces in 1897 and suffered a crushing defeat in a war that lasted only thirty days. After the traumatic loss of this latest war with the Turks, many Greeks abandoned hope in the Great Idea and lost faith in a bankrupt Greek economy. As a result, many chose to emigrate seeking economic opportunities elsewhere, especially in the United States.

After several years of economic malaise, the kingdom of Greece began to turn its economy around, and a new optimism permeated its citizenry. The political figure who led Greece's remarkable economic recovery was the Cretan Eleutherios Venizelos, whose Liberal Party controlled three hundred of the three hundred sixty-two seats in Greece's parliament after the 1910 elections.[49] With a clear mandate, Venizelos initiated many modernizing political, social, and economic reforms that not only rescued Greece from extinction but also transformed the kingdom into an emerging Mediterranean power. Consequently, Venizelos's political successes rekindled the spirit of Greek irredentism that continued to destabilize the Balkans and placed it at odds with a changing Ottoman Empire. Despite Greece's annexation of the Ionian Islands, the island of Crete, and the provinces of Thessaly and Epirus, Venizelos realized that over half of the Greeks in the Balkans and in Asia Minor remained unredeemed in Ottoman lands.[50] Thus, the charismatic Venizelos re-ignited the dormant Great Idea of a Greater Greece in the minds of his people, which would plunge Greece into the Balkan Wars, into World War I, and into another disastrous war with Turkey and divide Greeks into two hostile political parties (i.e., royalists and Venizelists) both in Europe and in the United States.[51]

The beginning of the twentieth century was also a transitional period for the Ottoman Empire. The spirit of nationalism permeated its borders. Within the first decade, the empire was losing its European provinces to the nationalistic fervor of its former dependencies. The Balkan rebellions carved out large portions of their lands, which either became independent nations or were administered by one of the Western Powers. A younger generation of Turks protested the intrusion of the Western Powers in the former provinces and the ineptness of the sultan to respond to the challenges it confronted. Consisting predominantly of students of the ruling Turkish elite, secularists, and young army officers, the Young Turks—as the movement came to be called—sought the reforms needed to protect the empire's sovereignty and the integrity of its borders and to infuse the empire with a new identity.[52]

The Young Turks advocated for a constitutional monarchy as opposed to the absolute monarchy enjoyed by the sultans for centuries. As Mango writes, "The Ottoman state was to be run from the center by a parliamentary government applying a uniform set of laws, allowing no exceptions and no foreign interference. Freedom, justice, and brotherhood would prevail since all the sultan's subjects, irrespective of religion or mother tongue, would be equal before the law."[53] Equality under the rule of law for Muslims, Christians, and Jews enthused the non-Muslim subjects within the empire as well as those outside. However, the vision of a constitutional monarchy proved temporary, and the representative parliament was ethnically Turkish. The Young Turks succeeded in implementing many reforms, but they also replaced the Pan-Islamic and multicultural Ottoman Empire with a European concept of nationalism that was exclusively Turkish and aggressively intolerant of anything or anyone that was not.

After the first decade of the twentieth century and hundreds of brutally oppressive years, the Balkans and the Aegean littoral remained a powder keg of competing nationalisms among the

Turks, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbs. In the midst of this endemic, interethnic belligerence and persistent political uncertainty, the future Greek Orthodox archbishop of the Americas was born. Iakovos Coucouzes was born on July 29, 1911, in the village of Hagioi Theodoroi[54] on the island of Imbros to Maria and Athanasios Coucouzes. His parents named him Demetrios, and he was the youngest of their four surviving children, Panagiotis, Virginia, and Chrysanthi.[55] Demetrios's father owned and operated a general store that also doubled as a coffeehouse where islanders gathered to discuss news and current events. His mother and older siblings cared for the home and worked their fields. Virginia, however, had quit school to care for her youngest brother so that their mother could continue her arduous labor in the fields.[56]

At the time the Coucouzes's youngest and last child was born, Imbros was an island that belonged to the Ottoman Empire. According to an 1893 Turkish census, Imbros had a population of 9,357 Greek and only 99 Turkish inhabitants. In 1912, the Ecumenical Patriarchate conducted its census and counted 9,207 Greeks and no Turkish inhabitants.[57] The village of Hagioi Theodoroi, located at the island's center on the slope of Mount Kastri, had a population of 1,200.[58] The remaining Imbriots lived in the other six villages of the island's 108 square miles, surrounded by fertile fields that produced its mainstay produce of almonds, wheat, honey, cheese, olives, and grapes.[59] Despite the island's long history within the Ottoman Empire, the Turks permitted the overwhelming Greek populace to live in relative peace and practice their faith in twenty-five churches and over two hundred chapels and shrines throughout the island.[60] Imbros also had ten Greek schools with fifteen teachers and over one thousand students in 1907.[61]

After the formation of The Balkan League, consisting of Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, the First Balkan War commenced in October of 1912. The League's objective was to remove the Ottoman Empire's presence from Europe and to divide the acquired lands among

themselves. Within a month, Greece effortlessly occupied Imbros and the remaining Greek islands of the Aegean. For the first time in four hundred fifty-seven years, since their surrender to the Ottomans in 1455, the Imbriots rejoiced at their restoration to Greek Christian suzerainty; however, peace proved elusive for the Imbriots and the Balkans. The First Balkan War against the empire ended in May of 1913, but in two weeks, the Second Balkan War commenced when a disgruntled Bulgaria, angered at its unfair share of lands gained by the League, attacked its former allies, Greece and Serbia. Hostilities concluded in August 1913 after Greek, Serbian, and Romanian counter-attacks overwhelmed the Bulgarians. The Ottomans joined the short-lived engagement and regained some of their European lands. The Balkan Wars did little to bring stability to the region. In fact, the continuing crises there plunged the world into the First World War, in which Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania sided with the Allied Powers, and Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire with the Central Powers.

Iakovos's earliest childhood memories were of WWI when Imbros—now within the kingdom of Greece—served as a military base and hospital for the British forces fighting on Gallipoli.[62] He witnessed the naval engagements near his island's shores and the aerial bombardments in the skies above. He would later vividly recall the sight of watching soldiers transporting the wounded to the base hospital from the Gallipoli campaign. A young Demetrios recollected seeing bombs dropped on a British hangar containing planes and ordinance that resulted in a deafening explosion and flames filling the sky. On another occasion, he remembered the destruction of a house near his own that neglected to heed the blackout by leaving a candle lit near a window.[63] In an instant, he saw his idyllic, peaceful island transformed by the brutal forces of war. As the war raged on, Imbros became a settlement for Greek refugees from Russia escaping the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and for Greeks fleeing from the Turkish government's religious-

and ethnic-cleansing policy against non-Turks in Asia Minor. Demetrios witnessed the poor Imbriots providing shelter and what little food they had to the refugees. The refugees were among the first survivors to report the Bolshevik and Turkish efforts to eliminate Christianity from their lands.[64]

Although the word "genocide" did not exist in the early twentieth century,[65] no other word seems to summarize the tragic events that occurred in Turkey in what Ureneck referred to as "the slaughterhouse years between 1912 and 1922."[66] A religiously nationalistic group of the Young Turks had vied for control of the empire during the war years and was eventually victorious. They abandoned their idea of a liberal and tolerant multicultural empire, preferring a radically religious nationalism that was Islamic and Turkish. Ureneck writes that they "saw the expulsion of Christian minorities and the creation of a homogeneous Muslim nation as the way to rescue the empire."[67] As a result, the Turks killed perhaps as many as 1.5 million Armenians and 1.5 million Greeks during the first two decades of the twentieth century.[68]

Despite the horrific losses, the Turks succeeded in creating a smaller and more homogeneous nation that was ninety-six percent Turkish. Success came at a considerable cost: Clark states that twenty percent of the population died violently during these years.[69] By any standard, the violence perpetrated upon the Anatolian Christians was unimaginable, the enormous loss of life incalculable, and its tragic effects on the survivors inconsolable. Some of these fortunate few found refuge among young Demetrios's Imbriots. Poulos writes that during this refugee crisis on Imbros, the future archbishop saw for the first time genuine "Christian compassion" and first encountered "the full meaning of the brotherhood of man."[70] Iakovos himself later stated, "There is nothing on this earth that transcends the combined power of faith, freedom, and goodwill

towards each other. And freedom—which is man's most treasured estate—is beyond assessment."[71]

While still a preadolescent working in his father's coffee house, Demetrios learned of the Turkish atrocities inflicted upon the Greeks and Armenians in the city of Smyrna, located on the western coast of Asia Minor. After WWI, the victorious allies oversaw the liquidation of Turkish territories, following the Wilsonian principle of nationality,[72] by awarding Turkish areas to Greece that had a majority of Greek inhabitants. One such place was the city of Smyrna, which claimed to have more Greeks living there than in Athens.[73] On May 15, 1919, a Greek force occupied Smyrna to protect the Greek population until its annexation to the kingdom of Greece. After securing the city, the Greek armed forces attacked the Turkish quarter killing or wounding about three hundred fifty Turkish residents,[74] claiming it a reprisal for the four hundred years of oppression that their Greek ancestors had suffered. This act incensed the up-to-then cowed Turks into a renewed spirit of nationalism and acrimony towards the Greeks.

In July of 1920, the Greek army launched an offensive into the heart of Anatolia. The military offensive mobilized the Turks to fight and avenge the attacks of the occupying Greeks. In the spring of 1921, the Greek offensive ceased. Political turmoil in Greece and the Allies' declaration of neutrality left the ill-supplied Greek army stretched across the Anatolian peninsula vulnerable and practically defenseless. On August 26, 1922, the Turks, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (i.e., Atatürk), launched a massive counterattack. The furious Turkish army butchered the fleeing Greeks throughout their long retreat to Smyrna. On September 8, what remained of the army evacuated the city, leaving the civilian population at the mercy of an enraged enemy. Turkish revenge was horrific upon the defenseless Christian population. As Smyrna burned, the Turkish army and mob massacred some thirty thousand Greek and Armenian Christians.[75] The

rape of women and children ensued amidst the bloodbath. The Turks looted and burned shops, homes, churches, and schools. A Turkish mob tortured the Greek Archbishop of Smyrna, Metropolitan Chrysostomos, by tearing out his beard and gouging out his eyes with their hands, cutting off his ears, nose, hands, and finally lynching him.[76] Regarding the destruction of the Greek community of Smyrna, Clogg writes, "Eyewitnesses reported panic-stricken refugees jumping into the water to escape the flames and that their terrified screaming could be heard miles away. In such an ignominious fashion a two-thousand-five hundred-year Greek presence in Asia Minor came to an abrupt end."[77] Survivors of the Smyrna massacre found refuge on Demetrios Coucouzes's Imbros and other nearby Greek islands.

Despite the tumult of war surrounding him, Demetrios attended his humble village school where he learned the essentials of an elementary education that included the Greek language, religion, mythology, "and a full range of classical masterpieces."[78] The three most important influences in his early years were his home, the church, and school.[79] His village school was next to the church of St. George and both were only three houses away from his home. The school bell that rung before school began was the same bell that called the faithful to worship.[80] In later years, Iakovos reminisced, "In those days, intellectual and spiritual freedom were the roots of our peaceful society. We Imbriots were a sturdy folk. In spite of a lack of industry, we were an amazingly industrious people. Following the precepts of our worthy ancestors, we viewed life philosophically. This expedient attitude enabled us to accept the turbulent as well as the calm aspects of life."[81]

Demetrios's immediate and extended families were very devout. Attending church services several times a week and observing the numerous feasts and fasts of the Orthodox faith was the norm. Religious icons and symbols decorated his home and inspired in everyone the importance

of prayer and piety. His maternal grandmother's brother, Chrysanthos, was the abbot of the revered Athonite monastery of Vatopedi, and a maternal uncle was a seminarian at the theological school of Halki, before his ordination as a deacon.[82] Demetrios served as an altar boy and often assisted the village priest on his liturgical and pastoral calls to the faithful. However, young Demetrios never dreamed of becoming a clergyman. As a student, Demetrios excelled in his studies. When one of the two schoolteachers had passed away prematurely, the other instructor called upon Demetrios to assist him when he was only eight years old; he wanted to pursue becoming a teacher ever since.[83] After school, he and his siblings worked in his father's coffeehouse or assisted their mother in the fields that they farmed. By 1923, Demetrios was near the end of his studies on Imbros, and he contemplated pursuing a career in education, but political circumstances and agreements made in Lausanne, Switzerland, would lead him in a different direction.

The aftermath of the First World War and the Greco-Turkish War of 1919–1922 saw the replacement of multiethnic empires with sharply defined nation-states and territorial disputes. The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne sought to protect the integrity of cultures and new national borders and resolve issues of territorial conflicts primarily between the new Republic of Turkey and the Kingdom of Greece. The treaty participants realized that moving people was easier than shifting land and borders. Therefore, Greece expelled four hundred thousand Muslim Turks to Turkey, and Turkey expelled 1.2 million Greek Orthodox Christians to Greece. The treaty participants tacitly acknowledged that Turkey would be ethnically Turkish and religiously Muslim, while Greece would be ethnically Greek and Christian. The result was a forced, but "legal," population exchange between the two countries with three important exceptions.[84] In lieu of a mass expulsion of Greeks from Constantinople, Imbros, and Tenedos, the Lausanne Treaty dictated that Constantinople would remain in Turkish lands and that Greece would surrender Imbros and Tenedos to Turkey.[85]

Although spared the travesty of expulsion, the Imbriots, who rejoiced in Greek citizenship for eleven years, found themselves once again as "alien subjects" to a more hostile government.

The reversion of Imbros to Turkish control occurred swiftly. A twelve-year-old Demetrios Coucouzes watched the Turkish army's arrival on a grey, melancholic day in September of 1923, less than a month after the treaty went into effect. The soldiers marched to the town square and assembled all the Imbriots they could muster for the official proclamation. They lowered the flag of Greece and hoisted the Turkish flag. After the Turkish commander announced that Imbros was again under Turkish rule, the soldiers cheered and fired their rifles into the air in a celebratory manner. They then lowered their gun barrels and took aim at the double-headed eagle—the symbol of Orthodox Christianity—above the cathedral's door mantel, opened fire, and obliterated it.[86] Terrified and angry, Demetrios fled for home. On his way, he saw a group of villagers walking towards the town carrying a white flag. He recalled yelling and spitting at them in disgust, refusing to accept even a life of temporary enslavement to the Turks. He remembered that his father was able to assuage his despair by the end of the day.[87]

Demetrios recalled the garrisoning of the army on the island. There were summary arrests. Greeks filled the jails for the slightest infractions or for protesting their mistreatment. Turkish soldiers compelled young Imbriots to work under harsh conditions, treating them as slaves. Women were afraid to leave their homes and work in the fields or in the town unprotected. Without appropriate notification, the Turkish currency, the lira, replaced the Greek drachma, which confused the Imbriots and fueled their financial insecurity. People were afraid to venture out from their homes. The Coucouzes's coffeehouse lost its patrons, and Demetrios's family became subsistence farmers. Many fled to the mountains. More chose to flee Imbros, never to return. Turkish became the only language permitted in school and in public.[88] Before 1912, Ottoman

government officials communicated with the Imbriots in Greek; now, they communicated exclusively in Turkish, which few Imbriots knew. Soon, the Greek schools closed.[89] Demetrios's dream of becoming a teacher evaporated into the nightmare of Lausanne. Watching the Turkish army assume control of his island, Demetrios's first and lasting thought was, "What could I do to be free. I want to leave this place where freedom is impossible and live as a free citizen."[90]

By 1927, Demetrios was sixteen years old and had completed his education. He still desired to be a teacher or possibly a physician, but that meant he would have to attend schools on the nearby island of Lemnos, in Constantinople, or in Alexandroupolis, but his family lacked the necessary funds. That year, his mother discovered that her deceased uncle, Abbot Chrysanthos of the Vatopedi Monastery, had established a scholarship for a student from Imbros to attend Halki Theological School. She immediately requested the village priest to see how her son could receive this scholarship. Fr. Anesti contacted Metropolitan Iakovos Papapasisiou of Imbros and Tenedos to inquire about this scholarship. The Metropolitan responded that the scholarship no longer existed, but that he would personally provide the funds for Demetrios to attend Halki if he was a good student. After a family meeting, the Coucouzes family agreed to send Demetrios to Halki for theological studies; Demetrios did not know what "theology" was, only that he wanted to leave Imbros.[91]

In September of 1927, Demetrios and his father boarded a ferry bound for the Dardanelles. From there, he would take a ship to Constantinople and on the following day a small boat to the island of Halki. Archbishop Iakovos later recalled his farewell to his father,

> "He kissed me on the forehead and hugged me for the first time that I could remember. His parting words were to promise him that I would be 'a good Greek and a good Christian.' I boarded the boat for Constantinople. Everyone spoke Turkish, which I did not speak. The next day, I arrived in Constantinople and was received by Metropolitan Iakovos's nephew, who took me to his home. On the next day, he put me on a little boat that brought me to Halki. When I arrived, they led

> me to the dormitory, to my room, and was told that tomorrow I would take the entrance exams comprised of religion, history, and mythology. It was September 17, 1927."[92]

Demetrios passed his exams and began the first of seven years of study at Halki Theological School. He completed his schooling on July 2, 1934, and still had no intention to seek ordination; instead, he wished to pursue a doctorate or return to Halki and teach religion and history, but he also desired to leave Turkey.

After his graduation, Demetrios returned to Imbros to contemplate his future. The Metropolitan of Imbros offered him the position of lay-preacher and teacher of religion on the island. He accepted the job, and Demetrios began preaching on July 9, 1934. Two months later, two of his favorite professors from Halki theologian Ioannis Panagiotidis and philologist Fotios Paschalidis came to Imbros to hear him preach. Demetrios's sermon had to do with the relationship between the church and the school since it was the beginning of both the ecclesiastical and the academic year. Upon exiting the church with his professors, a Turkish police officer stopped him and said that the Turkish police commander had summoned him to the station. Escorted by the police, Demetrios and the two professors appeared before the police commander who informed Demetrios that "he was forbidden to preach again because his sermon was offensive to Turkish governmental sensitivities and policies."[93] Since the Turkish authorities did not permit him to preach, it was impossible for Demetrios to earn a living. At that moment, he decided to leave Imbros for Constantinople with his two professors who had witnessed the arbitrary nature of law enforcement and the injustice that the police commander inflicted upon Demetrios.

While in Constantinople, Metropolitan Iakovos of Derkon (a suburb of Constantinople) learned from the two professors of Demetrios's talents and of his unfortunate incident. The Metropolitan offered to ordain and make him his archdeacon and preacher of his metropolis. With no money in his pockets and no way to earn a living, and with a diploma that was useless in an

Islamic or secular Turkey, Demetrios pondered whether to accept the Metropolitan's offer. Although his pious parents were devout and revered the Church, they did not want their youngest son to become a priest, having heard of the hostilities that Greek clergymen endure in the new Turkish republic. Demetrios had other aspirations as well, but after a dream in which he saw Christ beckoning him to follow, he reluctantly and with a heavy heart decided to accept ordination. After a restless and sleepless night, he attended the Divine Liturgy at the Patriarchal Church of St. George on November 25, 1934; he bowed his head before the Metropolitan of Derkon who ordained him a deacon, giving him the name Iakovos [James].[94]

The day after his ordination, Deacon Iakovos began working in the offices of the Metropolitan of Derkon. He continued to ponder his future, and whether he had made the right decision to pursue the priesthood. One thing was certain: he did not wish to remain in Turkey. As his ruminations continued, a Greek physician arrived to convey his congratulatory wishes to him. They had a pleasant conversation that Iakovos fondly remembered decades later. Within a few days, Iakovos became ill and developed a high fever, which prompted a return visit by the same Greek doctor. After the examination and a prescription of liquids and bed rest, the doctor listened to Deacon Iakovos's vocational concerns, whether he should have become a physician rather than a clergyman. The doctor's response was something Iakovos never forgot and reassured him that he had made the right decision, "My dear Deacon, medicine always comforts, rarely heals, but never saves."[95] Iakovos inferred in the doctor's words that although the art of medicine is beneficial to humanity, it has limits; whereas, the ministry of a priest can both comfort and heal, and do something medicine cannot, save souls. From that moment, Iakovos never regretted becoming a clergyman. Physically recovered and reassured in his vocational calling, Deacon Iakovos resumed his work in the metropolis offices.

As the 1930s proceeded, Iakovos recalled that the Turkish government was becoming more hostile towards its Christian minorities, especially against the Greeks, Armenians, and Assyrians. Turkey was for Turks only. Even after the mass expulsion of the Greeks that followed the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, the Atatürk-led government endeavored to gradually expel all non-Turks and non-Muslims from Turkey without any regard to the indigenous Greek population that had lived there millennia before the arrival of the Turks. According to Iakovos, freedom was a relative phenomenon for Christian minorities: cities, where most of the dwindling Christian population existed, were more free than rural areas. The Turks permitted Greek schools to operate but forbade the speaking of Greek outside the schools. There were signs posted throughout the Greek neighborhoods of Constantinople forbidding the public speaking of Greek. The Turkish government permitted the Greek Orthodox churches to function but forbade the ringing of bells or the evangelization of the Turkish people. As in the days of the Ottoman Empire, permits to repair or build new churches were near impossible to obtain. Instead, the government often confiscated dilapidated churches or buildings owned by Greeks for other purposes. With the exception of the Patriarch of Constantinople, the government banned Greek clergymen from wearing any clerical garb in public or having the customary long beard that Greek priests traditionally wore. Iakovos witnessed the arrest of an elderly priest whom Turkish authorities seized and publicly humiliated by cutting his beard. The priest wept silently, trying to maintain his dignity.[96]

As the clouds of war were brewing over Europe in the latter 1930s, many Greeks in Turkey opted to migrate toward freedom and uncertainty in the West rather than to remain in the certainty of oppression and discrimination in their homeland. Iakovos recalled that the government issued a directive for Greeks who wished to remain in Turkey to change their names to sound and appear Turkish.[97] Furthermore, the emigration of Greek minorities spiked when the Turkish government

included non-Turks in the military draft. The Turkish armed forces often allocated conscripted Christians to serve in menial and unfavorable tasks. As a Turkish citizen, Iakovos had to fulfill his obligatory military service for an eighteen-month period. The army assigned him as a clerk and orderly in a Turkish army hospital. These were the darkest days of his life. Turkish officials took every opportunity to harass, verbally abuse, and humiliate him, especially when they learned he was a clergyman. He endured the taunts and provocations patiently and silently.[98] Iakovos carried the emotional scars and memories of human degradation inflicted upon him at this time throughout his life.[99] He believed that no person should live under such circumstances, deprived of basic human dignity and human rights. These were formative years for Iakovos, and they prepared him for his later years in the civil rights movement. Upon completion of his military service, he renewed his determination to leave Turkey. Years later, Iakovos would say, "I must have been born with a very strong sense of freedom, and I knew that somehow I would have to find a way to leave Turkey."[100]

Iakovos wished to continue serving the Orthodox Church as a cleric, but he also desired to further his theological education. He considered applying to the Sorbonne in Paris or to the University of Warsaw, Poland, but he lacked the necessary funds.[101] He then contemplated going to the United States. Metropolitan Gennadios of Elioupolis discouraged him from doing so, saying, "Why do you wish to go to America where every Greek seems to be a dishwasher?" Even his spiritual father, Metropolitan Iakovos of Derkon, did not wish his protégé to go to America "where Greeks were looked down upon."[102] As Iakovos pondered his limited options, he decisively acted upon the advice of an American-born Halki classmate to request a transfer to the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the United States, which was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. Iakovos petitioned Archbishop Athenagoras, the Greek Orthodox

Archbishop of North and South America, to consider his request to serve as his archdeacon or as an instructor at the newly established Greek Orthodox seminary in Pomfret, Connecticut. Athenagoras accepted his request, and Deacon Iakovos rejoiced that he would finally leave a homeland that had denied him freedom and human dignity. Ironically, the young deacon crossed the Atlantic in the Nazi-German ocean liner *Bremen*,[103] and he arrived in New York City on May 4, 1939.

Iakovos departed the land from whence his ancestors lived since the time they stood before the gates of Priam's Troy. He left the land whose greatest intellectual achievement—among the many it originated—was the definition of freedom as the essential human attribute and supreme ideal for all humanity. He withdrew from the region that was among the earliest to hear the Apostles of Jesus Christ proclaim a gospel of God's love for humankind, a love that dignifies all human beings to such an extent that God had become human so that all human beings could be godlike. He retired from the country in which his forbears were martyred and oppressed for centuries. Finally, he escaped the nation that discriminated against and compelled his parting words, "[All] I wanted [was] freedom and dignity."104 Although he left his homeland and family behind, Iakovos brought with him the Greek ideal of freedom, the Orthodox Christian belief in human dignity, the tragic history of his people, and his memories of ethnic hostilities perpetrated against him and his people to the United States.

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[1] J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 66–90.
[2] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (AHA, 1893).
[3] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 342; 13:40–42.
[4] Homer, 591; 24:96–102. According to Greek mythology, the ancients attributed the origin of the Trojan War with the wedding of Thetis and King Peleus. According to the myth, Zeus had invited all the deities to the wedding feast except the goddess Eris (Ἔρις, or "Strife") in order to

spare the bridal couple from any discord. Nevertheless, Eris attends the feast and brings a golden apple with the inscription, "for the fairest." Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite each claim the apple whereupon they ask Zeus to decide to whom it belongs. Reluctant to make a decision, Zeus defers the decision to Paris, a prince of Troy. The three goddesses attempt to bribe Paris for his judgment: Hera promises him kingship over Europe and Asia; Athena promised him wisdom and victory in battles, and Aphrodite vows to give him the most beautiful woman in the world, Queen Helen of Sparta. Paris decides on Aphrodite who promptly delivers Helen to him. Helen was the wife of King Menelaus of Sparta, whose brother was Agamemnon, the king of Mycenae. To retrieve his brother's wife, Agamemnon launched the Greek expedition against Troy that initiated the Trojan War.

[5] Homer, *The Homeric Hymns*, trans. Thelma Sargent (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 16.

[6] Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 1 (Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1985), 66, 97.

[7] Orlando Patterson, *Freedom: Freedom in the Making of Western Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 3–5.

[8] Patterson, 86.

[9] Herodotus, *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*, ed. Robert B. Strassler, trans. Andrea L. Purvis (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), 377.

[10] Thucydides, *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Robert B. Strassler, trans. Richard Crawley (New York: Free Press, 1996), 161, 239, 306, 461.

[11] Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Third (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), s.vv. "Imbros," "Pelasgians."

[12] See St. Paul's Letters to the Galatians, Colossians, and Ephesians. John also spent a considerable amount of time in Ephesus before his exile to Patmos.

[13] The seven churches mentioned in the Book of Revelation 1:11 were Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

[14] Matheos Laggē, ed., *Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ΣΥΝΑΞΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΧΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ [The great collection of the lives of the saints of the Orthodox Church]*, 5th ed., vol. 6 (Athens, Greece: Monastery of the Transfiguration of the Savior, 1997), 465–473.

[15] Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks: An Annotated Translation of "Historia Turco-Byzantina," 1341–1462*, trans. Harry Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), 224.

[16] An eyewitness to the atrocities described its gruesome details: "As soon as the Turks were inside the city, they began to seize and enslave every person who came their way; all those who tried to offer resistance were put to the sword. In many places, the ground could not be seen, as it was covered by heaps of corpses. There were unprecedented events: all sorts of lamentations, countless rows of slaves consisting of noble ladies, virgins, and nuns, who were being dragged by the Turks by their headgear, hair, and braids out of the shelter of churches, to the accompaniment of mourning. There was the crying of children, the looting of our sacred and holy buildings. What horror can such sounds cause....Our greatest and holiest Church of Saint Sophia, the earthly heaven, the throne of God's glory, the vehicle of the cherubim and second firmament…became a place of feasting; its inner sanctum was turned into a dining room, its holy altars supported food and wine, and were also employed in the enactment of their perversions with our women, virgins, and children….There were lamentations and weeping in every house, screaming in the cross roads, and sorrow in all churches; the groaning of grown men and the

shrieking of women accompanied by looting, enslavement, separation, and rape." Makarios Melissenos (Melissourgos), "The Chronicle of the Siege of Constantinople, April 2 to May 29, 1453," in *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle By George Sphrantzes, 1401–1477*, trans. Marios Philippides (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 130–131.
[17] Built by the Emperor Justinian, the cathedral of Holy Wisdom was an architectural wonder and symbol of Byzantium's religious zeal, wealth, and power. Upon its completion in 537, the Emperor Justinian is said to have proclaimed, "O Solomon, I have outdone thee." John W. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 183. The cathedral of Holy Wisdom remained a mosque until 1935 when Republic of Turkey converted it into a museum.
[18] Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium*, 231–232.
[19] Roger Crowley, *1453: The Holy War for Constantinople and the Clash of Islam and the West* (New York: Hyperion, 2005), 237.
[20] Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium*, 232, 239; Crowley, *1453*, 240.
[21] Crowley, *1453*, 235.
[22] Even today, the few Christian Greeks of Asia Minor continue their precarious existence in Turkey with an inferior citizenship and limited civil rights.
[23] Viziers wore green, chamberlains scarlet, muftis white, ulemas violet, mullahs sky blue; moreover, government employees wore green boots, while palace employees light red. Kinross notes that only Muslims wore turbans; non-Muslims wore red, black, or yellow bonnets and that the footwear of "Greeks, Armenians, and Jews were respectively black, violet, and blue." Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1979), 142–143. On the other hand, Vacalopoulos writes that Christians might dress similarly to Turks, except that their turbans were blue or striped blue, not white, and that Greeks usually wore a black or red fez with the approved colored turban wound around it. Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation, 1453–1669: The Cultural and Economic Background of Modern Greek Society*, trans. Ian and Phania Moles (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1976), 29.
[24] Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 179.
[25] Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation, 1453–1669: The Cultural and Economic Background of Modern Greek Society*, trans. Ian and Phania Moles (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1976), 29.
[26] Often, the taxation of the Christian populace did not reflect the ever-changing demographics of a particular area. Turkish authorities expected to collect the same amount in taxes from a particular province even though many had fled, leaving those who remained to contribute more. Serfs who were bound to the land had few options. Non-serfs often fled to regions where taxes were less. David Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle for Freedom from Ottoman Oppression and the Birth of the Modern Greek Nation* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2001), 8–11; Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation, 1453–1669*, chap. 1; William W. McGrew, *Land and Revolution in Modern Greece, 1800–1881: The Transition in the Tenure and Exploitation of Land from Ottoman Rule to Independence* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1985), 36–40, 227–228.

[27] Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, 179, 205; Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge Concise Histories (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 14; Vacalopoulos, *Greek Nation*, 122, 141, 339n159, 350n320.
[28] Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, 188.
[29] Runciman, 179, 184–185, 187, 189, 191; Vacalopoulos, *Greek Nation*, 120–122; Peter H. Paroulakis, *The Greek War of Independence* (Darwin NT, Austrailia: Hellenic International Press, 2000), 11.
[30] Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, 224–225.
[31] Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 11; Vacalopoulos, *Greek Nation*, 37.
[32] Paroulakis, *Greek War of Independence*, 11; Vacalopoulos, *Greek Nation*, 41.
[33] Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity*, 168, 203, 213, 229, 360, 363–364, 376.
[34] Runciman, 378–379.
[35] Describing the execution of the Patriarch, a British eyewitness wrote, "His person, attenuated by abstinence and emaciated by age, had not weight sufficient to cause immediate death. He continued for a long time in pain, which no friendly hand dared to abridge, and the darkness of night came on before his last convulsions were over." Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 105.
[36] Paroulakis, *Greek War of Independence*, 65–66; Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 100–109.
[37] Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 100–101.
[38] Brewer, 86. Paroulakis writes that after his impalement, Athanasios Diakos was slowly roasted alive, and as death approached, witnesses heard him sing, "Look at the time Charon [death] chose to take me, now that branches are flowering, now that the earth sends forth grass." Peter H. Paroulakis, *Greek War of Independence*, 69–71.
[39] Paroulakis, *Greek War of Independence*, 90.
[40] Paroukalis, 112–114.
[41] Brewer, *Greek War of Independence*, 246.
[42] Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 45.
[43] Benedict Anderson argues that nation, nationality, and nationalism are difficult to define, but that a nation is a cultural construct of a particular kind (3). He states that the concept of nation began at the end of the eighteenth century by a complex crossing of historical forces; and once created become adaptable and transferrable, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a variety of societies, to merge and be merged with a variety of political and ideological constellations and why there exists such deep attachments (4). His definition of nation is "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). Nations are imagined as limited because they have finite boundaries. Nations are imagined as sovereign, because they were born in the ages of the Enlightenment and Revolution, "destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm" (i.e., a nation is sovereign as opposed to the sovereignty of a monarch); the nation is imagined as comradeship with others who belong to it (e.g., common language, newspaper, sports teams, etc.), and a nation protects its physical and cultural borders. One can't know everyone in an imagined community, but each has a sense of belonging. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Revised (New York: Verso, 2006), 3–7.
[44] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, second (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 46–79.
[45] Hobsbawm, 51, 58–59, 64–65, 77.
[46] Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 48.

[47] John J. Bukowczyk, "The Transforming Power of the Machine: Popular Religion, Ideology, and Secularization among Polish Immigrant Workers in the United States, 1880–1940," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 34 (Fall 1988): 28–30; John J. Bukowczyk, "Mary the Messiah: Polish Immigrant Heresy and the Malleable Ideology of the Roman Catholic Church, 1880–1930," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 4, no. 2 (spring 1985): 12–13–25.
[48] McGrew, *Land and Revolution in Modern Greece, 1800–1881*, 1–19; Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 67–69.
[49] Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 77.
[50] Clogg, 71.
[51] Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 15–18.
[52] Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1979), 585–586.
[53] Andrew Mango, *Atatürk: The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey* (New York: Overlook Press, 2002), 81.
[54] The actual name of the village of Iakovos's birth was "Saints Theodores" (Ἅγιοι Θεόδωροι). The village bears the name of two Orthodox Christian saints identified as St. Theodore of Tyre and St. Theodore the Commander.
[55] According to Eirini Dorkofikē, Maria and Athanasios Coucouzes had seven children, but only four survived their birth. See Eirini Dorkofikē, *Iakovos: Mia Zoe Konta Sta Paidia [Iakovos: A Life with Children]*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Athens, Greece: Ellinikē Eurōekdotikē, 1989), 1:22.
[56] Eirini Dorkofikē, *Iakovos: Konta sto Lao [Iakovos: Near the People]*, vol. 2 (Athens, Greece: Ellinikē Eurōekdotikē, 1990), 2:32.
[57] Alexis Alexandris, "Imbros and Tenedos: A Study in Turkish Attitudes Towards Two Ethnic Greek Island Communities since 1923," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 6.
[58] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: A Life with Children]*, 1:19.
[59] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:21.
[60] Julie Charles, "A Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 183.
[61] Alexandris, "Imbros and Tenedos," 6.
[62] Charles, "Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," 187.
[63] George Poulos, *A Breath of God, Portrait of a Prelate: A Biography of Archbishop Iakovos* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984), 40.
[64] Poulos, 41; Charles, "Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," 187.
[65] The first to introduce use of the word "genocide" was Raphael Lemkin, a Polish lawyer of Jewish descent. He coined the word to describe the horrific mass extermination of the Armenians by the Turks and the Jews by the Nazis. See Raphael Lemkin, "Genocide - A Modern Crime," Prevent Genocide International, April 1945, http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/freeworld1945.htm.
[66] Lou Ureneck, *Smyrna, September 1922: The American Mission to Rescue Victims of the 20th Century's First Genocide* (New York: Harper Collins, 2015), 9.
[67] Ureneck, 42.
[68] Ureneck, 9.

[69] The Turks killed eight hundred thousand Armenians and three hundred thousand Greeks in Asia Minor. Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions That Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 13. Historians dispute the figures. See Thea Halo, *Not Even My Name* (New York: Picador, 2000), 121–131.
[70] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 41.
[71] Charles, "Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," 187.
[72] Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, chap. 5.
[73] Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 93.
[74] Clogg, 94.
[75] Clogg, 97–99. See also Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, *Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a City* (New York: Newmark Press, 1972) and Lou Ureneck, *Smyrna, September 1922: The American Mission to Rescue Victims of the 20th Century's First Genocide* (New York: Harper Collins, 2015).
[76] Ureneck, *Smyrna, September 1922*, 172–173; Dobkin, *Smyrna 1922*, 133–134; Poulos, *Breath of God*, 36–37.
[77] Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 97–99.
[78] Charles, "Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," 183.
[79] T. Peter Limber, "The Iakovian Era," in *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop*, ed. Nikki Stephanopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996), 72.
[80] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: A Life with Children]*, 1:25–26.
[81] Charles, "Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," 186.
[82] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, interview by George Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, CD, 7 vols. (Athens, Greece: SKAI Records, 2003), compact disc 1, track 2.
[83] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 43; Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 1, track 2.
[84] See Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions That Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
[85] The Lausanne Treaty also exempted the Turks of western Thrace from being expelled to Turkey.
[86] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:44–45.
[87] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 1, track 1.
[88] Alexandris, "Imbros and Tenedos," 17–18.
[89] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People],* 2:45–46; Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 1, track 2.
[90] Malouchos, compact disc 1, track 2
[91] Malouchos, compact disc 1, track 3.
[92] Malouchos, compact disc 1, track 3.
[93] Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 74.
[94] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 1, track 4.
[95] Malouchos, compact disc 1, track 5.
[96] Malouchos, compact disc 1, track 5.
[97] Malouchos, compact disc 1, track 5.
[98] Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 75.
[99] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 66.
[100] Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 76.
[101] I was not able to find why Iakovos considered Paris and Warsaw to further his studies.

[102] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 70–71.
[103] Charles, "Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," 190.
[104] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations for a Living Church: Addresses to Clergy-Laity Congresses 1960–1996*, vol. 1, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998), vi; George Papaioannou, *The Odyssey of Hellenism in America* (Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1985), 347.

CHAPTER 3 GREEK AMERICA AND THE GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE

In the spring of 1939, Deacon Iakovos Coucouzes left his ancestral land yearning for freedom, justice, equality, and opportunities denied to him by a nation-state that was hostile to his ethnic and religious identity. Whereas the previous chapter described the long and violent history associated with Iakovos Coucouzes's land of origin and the people he left behind, this chapter endeavors to introduce the historical background of the volatile Greek American community that Iakovos immigrated to in the spring of 1939. Beginning with the arrival of the Greeks and their migration across the United States, it will relate instances of racial hostilities and discriminatory actions perpetrated against them in the early decades of the twentieth century. This chapter will introduce the major institutions that the Greek immigrants created or transplanted in their ethnic enclaves, especially the parish church, and describe the establishment of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Having related the historical background of the first three decades of Greek America, this chapter will prelude Iakovos Coucouzes's continuing biographical narrative for the subsequent chapters.

In the two decades before the First World War, racial nativism and ethnic xenophobia against nonwhites and "inferior" whites prevailed in the minds of many Americans and all levels of government. The hysteria of the Americanization campaigns and the aggressive displays of patriotism defined the highly charged sociopolitical climate of the early twentieth century. Ethno-racial hostilities against immigrants, hyphenated Americans, and peoples of all colors abounded.[1] In the face of foreign peoples and "alien" races flooding into the United States, the dominant ruling-class of Nordic Anglo-Saxon Americans identified themselves as white and Protestant. As such, they believed that immigrants were invading and threatening their nation and culture. They sought to restrict and exclude those they deemed inferior or unassimilable, and they discriminated

against them in workplaces and neighborhoods across the country. Among the dozens of immigrant cohorts arriving in the United States at the turn of the century were the Greeks. Despite the racial discrimination and nativistic hostilities inflicted upon them, many Greek immigrants endured and remained in America, some even prospered.[2]

The prevailing pseudo-scientific belief in distinct races and their respective essentialized stereotypes stirred American nativism and fueled a variety of hostilities against immigrants that included a series of immigration restrictions at a time when the mass immigration of Greeks and southern Europeans occurred (i.e., from the 1890s to the mid-1920s). The Immigration Act of 1891 completely federalized all immigration laws and created a Bureau of Immigration to enforce them. The law excluded immigrants who were paupers and polygamists and those suffering from contagious diseases or convicted of "crimes involving moral turpitude."[3] The 1903 Immigration Act excluded epileptics, prostitutes, beggars, and anarchists; those already present in the United States were susceptible to deportation. The 1907 Act further banned disabled immigrants from entering, and it provided for rigorous enforcement of all immigration laws.[4] The Immigration Act of 1917 barred all Asians from entry and introduced a literacy test for admission.[5] Alarmed that immigration from central and southeastern Europe continued to rise, Congress passed the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 "that restricted immigration to 355,000 a year, set a quota for each European country at three percent of the number of foreign-born of that nationality residing in the United States in 1910."[6]

Since the number of immigrants from central and southeastern Europe arrived in greater numbers after 1890, the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 sought further control and restriction of these "undesirable" immigrants whom nativists considered racially inferior and unassimilable. The new law "restricted immigration to 155,000 a year, established [national origins] quotas based on two

percent of the foreign-born population [according to the 1890 U.S. Census]."[7] The new immigration law racially excluded all nonwhite immigrants and drastically reduced the entrance of inferior white immigrants from central and southeastern Europe. For example, approximately seventeen thousand Greeks immigrated to the United States per year from 1901–1910.[8] The Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 reduced the quota of Greek immigrants to one hundred per year but later increased it to three hundred seven in 1929.[9] It would remain in effect until its repeal in 1965.[10] The Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 revealed how the United States government promoted a racist agenda: it reified race and ethnicity as "eternal and essential," while it legitimized and legalized racism.[11]

According to the United States Congress Joint Immigration Commission (i.e., the Dillingham Commission) and its *Dictionary of Race or Peoples* (1911), Greeks were one of forty-five "inferior races" immigrating to or residing in the United States.[12] They began arriving en masse in the early 1890s. By World War II, an estimated five hundred thousand Greeks would eventually settle in the United States; the majority having come within the first two decades of the twentieth century.[13] The early Greek migrants came to the United States primarily seeking economic opportunities[14] and political stability that their homeland seemed incapable of providing.[15] They were itinerant unskilled laborers who often took dangerous jobs or "ones confined to Italians and Negroes."[16] They were willing to work in hazardous conditions while receiving the lowest wages. They often hired on as strikebreakers or union busters much to the indignation of those in the labor movement.[17] Because of their lack of English, employers confined them to menial tasks as dishwashers, bootblacks, and street peddlers selling cigars, sweets, or flowers.[18] They lived on next to nothing in order to send money home to sustain their families, provide dowries for sisters and daughters, or have on hand when they intended to repatriate.[19]

Before World War I, ninety percent of Greek men who immigrated to the United States intended to return to Greece; approximately thirty percent may have repatriated.[20] Initially, many of the early Greeks who came to the United States had little incentive to learn English and little interest to become "Americans." Nativists reviled them for their lack of language skills, resistance to "Americanization" and plans of repatriation, parochial attitude, and competitiveness in business. As Georgakas writes, "Their mother tongue would be Greek: they would be Greeks in America, not Greek Americans, and, most certainly, not Americans."[21] The American press ascribed inflammatory appellations to the Greeks calling them the "scum of Europe," "undesirable," possessing "the savage bloodlust of this Southern European peasantry," "ignorant, depraved, and brutal foreigners."[22] Newspapers often highlighted the nationality of a criminal suspect if he happened to be Greek.[23] As Georgakas states, "Pioneer Greek immigrants were among America's most despised minorities, considered to be unruly and unpatriotic quasi-Europeans who frequently resorted to violent means to settle personal—and political—disputes."[24]

In the first several decades of the twentieth century, bigotry toward the Greek immigrant often expressed itself in violence across the United States. American nativists, government officials, private citizens, and even the Ku Klux Klan justified their violence towards Greeks based on their racial inferiority and unassimilability.[25] In June of 1908, nativists who objected to the presence of Greeks in their town killed three Greeks in McGill, Nevada,.[26] In February 1909, the citizens of South Omaha, Nebraska, rioted in response to a report that a Greek had fatally shot a police officer. In the melee, they destroyed most of the Greek homes and businesses and succeeded in driving twelve hundred Greeks from the city.[27] In April of 1909, residents of Montana held a mass meeting in Great Falls to rid their city of "undesirables." In an article appearing in Ogden, Utah's *Standard* newspaper, the journalist states, "Within [the] past six months many Greeks have

located in this city and invested money in business blocks, restaurants, and other small business enterprises…. The Resolution provided that a committee be appointed to confer with the Greeks and induce them to leave the city."[28] In the same year, the Rhode Island legislature passed a law banning noncitizens from lobster fishing in their waters: the law targeted successful Greek fisherman.[29] Legally, the federal government classified the Greeks as white, yet many New Englanders believed that they were racially inferior "Orientals"[30] and discriminated against them. In 1911, sociologist Henry Pratt Fairchild wrote his dissertation on the Greek immigrant communities in the United States. In describing the Greeks of Lowell, Massachusetts, he writes, "Taking them altogether, the Greeks in Lowell hold an unenviable reputation in the mind of the average American citizen of the place. On the whole, they are considered a quarrelsome, treacherous, filthy, low-living lot."[31]

In the years shortly before and after World War I, many cities adopted ordinances that discriminated against Greeks, blacks, and Mexicans. In Pocatello, Idaho, "Greeks were restricted to segregated seating in theatres and could not live in most neighborhoods."[32] Labor camps in the West often barred Greeks from white-only areas and forced them to bivouac with other presumably inferior minorities such as the Japanese. The citizens of Gray's Harbor, Washington, chased Greek lumbermen from their homes and jobs in 1912.[33] The Greeks of Tarpon Springs, Florida, dominated the sponge trade from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1940s when synthetic sponges flooded the market. During the first decades of the twentieth century, Greeks competed fiercely with white Floridians for the sponge trade. Floridians detested the Greeks who had employed blacks to work for them. In the end, the Greeks triumphed over their competitors but at a significant cost: Greeks and blacks in Florida endured many assaults from both the Ku Klux Klan and local police.[34]

Racial nativistic atrocities against the Greeks continued sporadically throughout the early twentieth century. In 1917, rioters almost lynched a Greek man in Salt Lake City, Utah, for allegedly killing the brother of white boxer Jack Dempsey.[35] Successful Greek restaurant owners faced attacks from their white competitors in cities like Chicago and Phoenix during the World War I anti-foreigner hysteria.[36] In 1923, local citizens of Price, Utah, rioted against Greek-owned businesses, and the Ku Klux Klan harassed the Greek population throughout the state of Utah.[37] Virulent racial attacks extended to Greek patrons: in 1924, a California restaurant boasted in one of its advertisements, "John's Restaurant, Pure American. No Rats, No Greeks."[38]

Moskos states that between the years 1900–1910 "less than one in twenty Greek immigrants were women, and only one in five between 1910–1920."[39] Saloutos writes, "About ninety-five percent of those arriving from 1899 through 1910 [approximately 175,000] were males."[40] It was not until Greek women began arriving in substantial numbers that more men decided to remain in America creating families and subsequently Greek American communities. Nevertheless, the majority who remained established ethnic enclaves in urban areas throughout the mill and factory towns of the northeastern states, as well as in the industrial cities in the Mid-Atlantic and Midwest. Some braved the journey to the railroad, mining, and timber towns of the West, and a few ventured into the Deep South. Although scattered throughout the United States, Greek immigrants preferred to settle in larger cities rather than in small towns or isolated rural areas.[41] Except for the World War I years (1914–1918), the population numbers of Greek immigrants continued to grow until the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924. However, as indicated, the Greeks who remained in the United States encountered a strange and hostile culture informed by a popular racist pseudo-science of the time, steeped in anti-immigrant nativism, and widespread discrimination.

The Greek American communities—like their communities in Greece—were not monolithic. Admittedly, chain migration resulted in Greeks from particular regions of Greece settling in enclaves of their immigrant predecessors to the United States.[42] However, as in the Old World, Greeks in America were a disparate and often divided people: some came from cities, others from rural areas; many were from the mainland, others from the islands.[43] Moreover, Greeks arrayed themselves across a broad political spectrum. There were conservative royalists, liberal republicans, socialists, communists, and every political persuasion in between. According to Saloutos and other scholars of Greek immigrants, the majority of Greeks valued freedom and were fiercely independent, competitive, and equally contentious with other Greeks and non-Greeks alike.[44] These characteristics fueled an entrepreneurial spirit that prompted many Greek migrants to become small business owners, often monopolizing particular commercial enterprises such as bootblack shops, diners, confectionary shops, flower shops, and other business ventures.[45] As Fairchild stated in 1911, "Give a Greek a start in business, and he will do the rest."[46] According to Moskos, many Greek migrants were more reluctant to work for wages than other immigrant groups, preferring instead to go into business for themselves.[47] Saloutos states that owning a "business represented a form of freedom" for the Greeks as opposed to working for wages; it also "meant freedom from the domination of others."[48] With their pre-migration urban experience, many Greek immigrants thrived under capitalism and may explain why few were socialists, communists, or labor activists.[49] For the Greeks, individualism and Greek nationalism trumped all other class or group identities, except for their common Greek Orthodox Christian identity.

There was little love lost if two Greek immigrants were from the same region of Greece but held opposing political views. The trans-Atlantic crossing did little to temper the Greek migrant's political opinions or his passion for politics. The early Greek immigrants were—for the

most part—indifferent to American politics, local or otherwise; rather, they consumed themselves with the political and economic news from Greece, even if they never intended to repatriate.[50] In the early twentieth century, the major political fault line existed between the conservative supporters of King Constantine I (i.e., the royalist faction) and of the charismatic liberal Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos (i.e., the Venizelists).[51] Tactical and strategic differences during the Balkan Wars strained their relationship, but the break and the factionalism among the Greeks that later ensued did not occur until World War I. King Constantine I of Greece was a pro-German monarch whose wife, Queen Sophia, was the sister of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany. Constantine favored Greece's neutrality in the worldwide conflict whereas Venizelos favored joining the Western Allies. The break between King Constantine I and Prime Minister Venizelos would divide the Greeks of Europe and of the United States into two hostile factions that would have terrible, long-lasting effects on the Greek American communities and their institutions.[52]

Like other immigrant groups, the Greeks established cultural institutions within their ethnic enclave wherever they settled. Coffee houses, Greek American newspapers, mutual aid societies, language schools, and churches helped them transplant and perpetuate their familiar culture while transitioning and navigating their lives in an American society that was foreign and often hostile to them. The coffeehouse was the earliest and simplest Greek immigrant institution to organize and operate. Wherever even a small number of Greek immigrants settled, one would rent a small store, procure a few tables and chairs, playing cards, patriotic artwork, and pounds of Greek coffee. Within a few hours and minimal effort, the ubiquitous Greek coffeehouse would suddenly appear.[53] Greeks often established coffeehouses according to political persuasion or region of origin.[54] In the latter case, the coffeehouse was equally a social refuge for immigrants needing a

place to rest, look for work, or just to hear the Greek language, but the atmosphere could quickly turn into an intense verbal battlefield whenever the conversation turned political.[55]

Beginning in 1892, an assortment of Greek American newspapers catered to a variety of political tastes but also fueled the political animosities that also migrated across the Atlantic.[56] Each American city with an appreciable number of Greek immigrants had at least one local or regional Greek-language newspaper. Within the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Greeks in New York City published thirty-nine newspapers and journals, Chicago had twenty, Boston had eight, and San Francisco had six.[57] Local newspapers were published weekly or monthly, and in addition to reporting news from Greece, they usually carried local news of the Greek community such as baptisms, weddings, and deaths.[58]

Founded in New York City in 1892, the *Atlantis* was the first Greek American newspaper to publish a daily edition in 1905 and had reached its peak circulation in 1914 with thirty thousand subscribers.[59] The *Atlantis* was an ardent supporter of the king of Greece and became the favorite newspaper of the royalist Greek American faction. The other Greek American daily was the liberal *National Herald*, which began in New York City in 1915 and staunchly supported Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos. The *National Herald* became the mouthpiece of the Venizelist faction in the United States with over twenty thousand subscribers.[60] Both newspapers played a significant role in stoking the flames of animosity that perpetually consumed Greek American communities throughout the United States.

Mutual aid societies were another common feature in the Greek American enclaves. Saloutos cites that over one hundred were in the United States as early as 1907.[61] Moskos writes that "The large majority of these associations were *topika somateia* (i.e., local or regional societies) whose members came from the same region or village in the old country."[62] Their purposes

included helping immigrants from their region of Greece adapt to their new life in America and to occasionally host banquets for the sake of fellowship and fund-raising projects that would benefit their region in the old country. Like other ethnic mutual aid societies, some offered insurance and disability benefits to their members. However, they also fostered their old-world provincialism that often fragmented the Greek American community.[63] Like the Italians,[64] the Greeks usually identified themselves provincially as Messenians, Arcadians, Thessalians, Cretans, Macedonians, and by dozens of other regional, town, and village ascriptions. For the most part, the provincial mutual aid societies had few members and with immigration from Greece almost halted after 1924, they could not sustain their membership except in the largest cities.

By 1922, the Greeks of Atlanta, Georgia, had succeeded in establishing the first national Greek American fraternal organization called the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA). Unlike the provincial Greek mutual aid societies, AHEPA focused its energies on assimilating the Greeks into mainstream America by coordinating efforts to teach immigrants English, to promote loyalty to the United States, to conduct American citizenship classes, to promote education, to offer benevolent aid, and to educate the American public on the Hellenic ideals of morality and democracy.[65] AHEPA's official language was English, and they did not require Hellenic descent for membership. Some Greek Americans believed that AHEPA's assimilationist agenda went too far, fearing not so much the Americanization of Greek immigrants but the de-Hellenization of the immigrant and subsequent generations. Thus in 1923, Greek Americans who had objected to AHEPA's agenda established the second national fraternal organization called the Greek American Progressive Association (GAPA). As Georgakas states, "As a conscious response to AHEPA, [GAPA] extolled 'Greekness.' Its organizational language was Greek, and at one point, it contended that anyone not of the Greek Orthodox faith was not

truly Greek. GAPA charged that AHEPA was actually anti-Greek and that its policies would result in the destruction of Greek culture in America."[66]

Although all the ethnic institutions played a vital role in the emerging Greek American communities, the church was by far the most significant. Before 1870, only three Orthodox Christian churches existed in the United States where they ministered to several ethnic groups. The parish priests conducted the worship services in Greek, Slavonic, and English, but parish records and meeting minutes were in English.[67] Fifty years later, there were two hundred fifty Orthodox parishes established across America.[68] The Greek immigrants established one hundred thirty-eight of the two hundred fifty parishes from 1900–1921, which attests to the critical role the church played in the Greek American communities.[69] As Fairchild wrote in 1911, "A Greek is born to his religion just as he is to his nationality."[70] Saloutos concurs by stating, "In the United States Hellenism and Greek Orthodoxy—the one intertwined with the other—served as the cord that kept the immigrant attached to the mother country, nourished his patriotic appetites, and helped him preserve the faith and language of his parents."[71] Not only was the church among the first institutions the Greeks established, but it also served to anchor and preserve their ethnic neighborhoods and identity.[72]

In addition to meeting the liturgical, pastoral, and sacramental needs of the immigrants, the Greek Orthodox Church—as during the time of the *Turkocratia*[73]—provided religious education and Greek language schools for children; teachers utilized the parish's facilities to offer English and American citizenship classes to adult immigrants.[74] The parish church served as a meeting place for the Greek community's many ecclesiastical celebrations, banquets, political rallies, and fund-raising events. Fellowship, business networking, and job searches were also common activities after Sunday morning church services. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the lay

Greek immigrants of a particular city took the initiative to elect a committee or "community council" for the specific purpose of establishing a church and Greek language school.[75] Upon raising the necessary funds to either rent or build a church and school, the community council would petition the Mother Church (i.e., either the Ecumenical Patriarchate or the Church of Greece) for a priest.[76] Eventually, the community councils that oversaw the communal life of the Greeks in their respective locale either dissolved or became the parish council of the local church.[77] Thus, the parish church with its Greek language school and fellowship hall became the center of Greek life for the immigrant community and for the generations that succeeded them.

From its inception, the administrative structure of the immigrant-established Greek Orthodox Church in the United States was a canonical and historical anomaly. Although the parishes had priests, there were no bishops to oversee the parishes regionally or nationally.[78] From antiquity, the bishop oversaw that the parishes within his domain followed the dogmatic teachings and the liturgical practices dictated by the Sacred Tradition of the Church and that the parishes functioned uniformly and harmoniously. Moreover, it was always the bishop's prerogative to validate the canonicity of a priest and to assign, dismiss, or transfer him within his diocese. In the United States, the parish council administered the parish church autonomously according to its bylaws. As Saloutos writes, "Each church community was a democracy unto itself. It was governed by a board of trustees…many of whose members were small independent businessmen, marked by that commanding proprietary air so often found in the self-made man. Authority was vested in these laymen."[79] With the Church's hierarchy thousands of miles away and without a local bishop, the Greek immigrant church in America was, although democratically administered, completely in the hands of the laity. The priest did not lead the parish; he was little more than an employee of the council who hired or fired him at will.[80]

On the other side of the world, the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople and the Church of Greece had more immediate issues to address than the Greek American churches. Political upheaval, the Young Turk movement, and a reinvigorated spirit of Turkish nationalism threatened the already precarious position of the Greek Christian population in Constantinople. In 1907, the Patriarchate's position became more perilous when informants of the Turkish government learned of the anti-Turkish rhetoric in the Greek churches of the United States.[81] Since the Greek American churches were under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and fearing Turkish reprisals against the Patriarchate and the Greek community in Constantinople, Patriarch Joachim III issued a tome on March 8, 1908, placing the Greek churches in America under the jurisdiction of the Church of Greece.[82] While the Patriarch's actions may have made him less culpable to the Turkish authorities, the Patriarchal Tome of 1908 did little to bring canonical order or unity to the Greek American churches. On the contrary, under the custodianship of the Church of Greece, the political problems of the Greek government—of which the Church of Greece was a part—only served to intensify and exasperate the problems in Greek America.

The World War I years found the Greeks in Europe and the diaspora (especially in the United States) bifurcated into two hostile political factions. The royalists supported the pro-German monarch King Constantine's neutrality in the First World War; the Venizelists supported Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos and his liberal political reforms along with Greece's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. The royalists and Venizelists held rallies, marched, and clashed not only in cities all over Greece but also on the streets of New York and Chicago.[83] As Saloutos writes, "The royalist-liberal struggle was fought in the United States with the same degree of partisanship and vehemence that it was fought in Greece."[84] Shortly before Germany's defeat, King Constantine I abdicated the throne in June of 1917, leaving Venizelos free to break

diplomatic relations with the Central Powers and to bring Greece in the war on the side of the Allies.

The new Venizelos government filled the vacancies of the nation's political bureaucracy created by the departing royalists with their own political sympathizers. Moreover, since the Church of Greece was a state church, the newly elected government deposed the royalist synod of bishops in Athens and replaced it with bishops who were Venizelos supporters. The new synod of the Church of Greece elected Meletios Metaxakis, a Cretan bishop and ardent supporter of Venizelos (who himself was from Crete), as the new Metropolitan of Athens and Archbishop of all Greece. Like Venizelos, Metropolitan Meletios was a liberal reformer and a progressive hierarch of the Greek Church. Saloutos writes, "With characteristic determination and energy, Metaxakis proceeded to reorganize and revitalize the churches of Greece, mindful always of his loyalty to the political philosophy of Venizelos."[85]

Ten years had passed since the Ecumenical Patriarchate placed the Greek churches in the United States under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church of Greece. As a state church, the Church of Greece was embroiled in the volatile and protean politics of the Greek government, and they paid little to no attention to the struggling Greek parishes in America. In addition to the often-violent royalist-Venizelist controversy that divided parishes or pitted one parish against another, other problems plagued the Greek American parishes. Parishioners complained that many priests lacked proper training, had deficient knowledge of the Church's teachings, or lacked theological and spiritual qualifications.[86] Many priests came from the rural hinterlands of Greece and simply could not adapt to an industrialized urban American culture. Indeed, some priests were imposters; laymen disguised as priests in order to more easily enter the United States continued to assume their "self-ordained" role for financial gain.[87] Greek American journalists railed against "greedy,

stingy, grasping priests" and clerical commercialism. Saloutos writes, "Lengthy court trials, criminal waste, and the extravagant use of church funds for litigation and lawyers' fees had become a disgrace."[88] As continual internecine fighting weakened the Greek immigrant churches, they became vulnerable to evangelical Protestant proselytizers who sought to convert the bewildered Greeks to greener pastures. Moreover, bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church in the United States also recognized the lack of episcopal authority among the Greek churches and attempted to persuade them to come into their fold. However, their efforts diminished shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the arrival of the first Greek prelate the following year.[89]

On July 14, 1918, Metropolitan Metaxakis and the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece passed a resolution to organize the one hundred forty Greek Orthodox parishes in the United States. By August 8 of the same year, Metaxakis arrived in New York City accompanied by Bishop Alexander of Rodostolou, Fr. Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, and Dr. Amilkas Alevizatos, a distinguished professor of canon law. For eighty-two days, Metaxakis and his entourage met with prominent clergy and lay representatives to plan, organize, and establish an Archdiocese in America.[90] Before returning to Greece, he appointed Bishop Alexander of Rodostolou as the representative of the Holy Synod of Greece and charged him to "bring unity and direction to the parishes" under his episcopal authority in preparation of establishing a Greek American Archdiocese.[91] Bishop Alexander labored tirelessly to unite the Greeks in the United States. He traveled to parishes, and he corresponded with priests and lay leaders to accept him as their bishop. However, many parish councils refused to surrender their autonomy and administrative control of their parishes to the new bishop. Moreover, many Greek American royalists refused to accept a hierarch who was an ally of Prime Minister Venizelos.

The situation in both Greece and the United States would soon worsen. Despite Venizelos's beneficial political reforms and territorial gains for Greece following the First World War, he surprisingly lost the November election of 1920. King Constantine returned from exile, and his supporters resumed their governmental posts. Venizelos fled Greece, and the king deposed Metropolitan Meletios, restoring his royalist predecessor, Metropolitan Theokleitos, as the reigning hierarch of all Greece. Meletios appealed to the king's mother, Queen Olga, and the Ecumenical Patriarchate who supported his claim, and objected to his episcopal dethronement; nevertheless, King Constantine and the Greek government refused to relent. Without further recourse, Metaxakis fled to the United States in February of 1921 contending that his dethronement was uncanonical and that he remained the legitimate Metropolitan of Athens and all Greece since only an ecclesiastical court had the authority to depose him. While Metaxakis was en route to New York City, Metropolitan Theokleitos ordered Bishop Alexander to return to Greece, but Alexander refused and placed himself under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.[92] Upon Metaxakis's arrival, Bishop Alexander recognized Metaxakis as his immediate superior, agreed to serve as his auxiliary bishop, and together they resumed their efforts to unify the Greek American parishes and establish an archdiocese.[93]

Angered by the blatant disobedience of Metropolitan Metaxakis and Bishop Alexander, Metropolitan Theokleitos appointed Metropolitan Germanos Troianos as the Church of Greece's exarch (i.e., representative-bishop of the Church of Greece) to the United States. Metropolitan Germanos arrived in New York City in June of 1921. A new schism appeared among the Greek American churches that had already exasperated the preexisting royalist-Venizelos division: on the one hand were the deposed Venizelist Metropolitan Meletios Metaxakis and Bishop Alexander, now a hierarch of the Patriarchate, and, on the other hand, was royalist Metropolitan Germanos,

the exarch of the Church of Greece and official representative of the Greek government. As Constantelos writes, "Priests and communities were now divided not only between royalist and Venizelist churches but also between churches that belonged to two ecclesiastical jurisdictions."[94] Both sides of the dispute competed with each other for the one hundred forty Greek American parishes; moreover, they also labored greatly to wrest control of the parishes from their independently minded lay leaders and to submit to their respective episcopal authority.

The situation between Meletios and Alexander on the one side and Theokleitos and Germanos on the other were as much divisive as complex. According to Church canon law, Meletios was deposed uncanonically and remained the leader of the Church of Greece, but according to Greek constitutional law, Theokleitos was the leader of the Greek Church. Nevertheless, acting in the capacity as the canonical, pro tem Greek Archbishop of America, Metropolitan Meletios issued an encyclical to the priests and lay leaders of all the Greek American parishes on August 11, 1921, calling upon them to attend the first Clergy-Laity Congress. Meletios convened and presided over the congress in New York City from September 13–15, 1921, for the sole purpose of establishing a Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the Americas. At the conclusion of the congress, Metropolitan Meletios signed the document of incorporation and filed it with the State of New York. On September 19, 1921, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America became a legal incorporated ecclesiastical entity thereby taking the first step in formally separating itself from the Church of Greece.[95] In just over two months after the incorporation of the new Greek American Archdiocese, Meletios received the surprising news that the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate had elected him as the new Patriarch of Constantinople and worldwide leader of the Orthodox Christian Church. He departed for Constantinople on December 31, 1921, and ascended the Patriarchal throne on February 8, 1922. One of his initial actions as

Patriarch was to revoke the Tome of 1908 that had placed the Greek churches in the Americas under the jurisdiction of the Church of Greece, and on May 17, 1922, Patriarch Meletios IV canonically established the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America under the aegis of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.[96] He subsequently appointed Bishop Alexander of Rodostolou as its first archbishop.[97]

Along with Alexander as the archbishop, who oversaw the continents of North and South America and the Archdiocesan District of New York City (i.e., the headquarters of the new archdiocese), Patriarch Meletios's plan included the creation of three other dioceses besides the Archdiocesan district. They included the dioceses of Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco. As Papaioanou writes, "Each diocese would have its own annual conference of the elected clergy and laity representatives. The plan also provided for a biennial conference of the entire Archdiocese, and for at least two meetings of the bishops with the Archbishop annually."[98] Patriarch Meletios urged the adoption of his plan "to ensure the independence of the Church in the United States, and place it beyond the intervention of outside forces."[99] On August 8, 1922, the Second Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress convened in New York City, which adopted Meletios's plan;[100] moreover, the congress appointed Bishop Philaretos Ioannides as the Greek American bishop of Chicago and the Midwest and Bishop Joachim Alexopoulos as the bishop of Boston and the New England States. The San Francisco diocese remained vacant until 1927 when Bishop Kallistos Papageorgakopoulos was enthroned.[101]

The establishment of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese did little to curb the political turbulence and enmity that persisted within the Greek American community. Although the Church of Greece recalled its royalist Metropolitan Germanos to Greece in January 1923,[102] the royalists

and Venizelists continued to battle in the press, within the churches, and meeting halls across the United States to persuade the parishes to join their respective side.[103] Kourides writes,

> Our churches and communities had become divided battlegrounds in which Venizelists…and royalists used physical violence even within the sanctuary of the holy altar. Police were stationed at strategic positions within some of the churches to prevent bloodshed. And of course, these shameful and disgusting incidents were duly reported on the front pages of the American press to the awful humiliation and irreparable damage of the Greek people throughout the country.[104]

Greek American royalists continued to consider Patriarch Meletios, Archbishop Alexander, and the new bishops of the Archdiocese as supporters of Venizelos, and traitors to the kingdom of Greece. Royalist parishes fought their inclusion in the "Venizelist-led" Archdiocese, or they continued to fight against surrendering their local administrative power to the Archdiocese in New York; moreover, they often bristled at the imposition of the Archdiocese's new rules and regulations upon their erstwhile self-governing parishes. Matters would soon worsen.

Patriarch Meletios's liberal inclinations and policies continued to the growing consternation of the more conservative clergy in Europe and America. For example, since the first century of Christianity, the Orthodox Church followed the Julian calendar, which was approximately thirteen days behind the Gregorian calendar of the West. In 1923, Meletios introduced the new calendar (i.e., revised Julian calendar) for church feast days except for Easter and feast days associated with it, which created a rift among some of the autocephalous Orthodox churches.[105] Moreover, he recognized the validity of the Anglican Church's clergy and was instrumental in bringing the Ecumenical Patriarchate and some of the autocephalous Orthodox churches into the ecumenical movement. As Patriarch, Meletios advocated other liberal innovations such as permitting priests and deacons to marry after ordination, especially in cases of widowed clergymen.[106] However, after the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, the Kemalist Turkish government considered Meletios persona non grata, fearing that his ecumenical outreach would

bring sympathy from the Western churches on the plight of the Christians in Turkey. As a result, the Turkish government forced him to abdicate. On July 10, 1923, Meletios left Constantinople; his short tenure as Ecumenical Patriarch ended, as did many of his liberal aspirations for the Greek Orthodox Church.[107]

As Meletios departed Constantinople, a new Greek hierarch arrived unexpectedly in the United States to further aggravate the tumult that existed in the Greek American community (only a few months after the royalist Metropolitan Germanos's recall to Greece). Metropolitan Vasilios Kombopoulos, a fanatic royalist, came to the United States without permission from his superiors to rally the royalist churches. Upon arriving, he immediately traveled to Lowell, Massachusetts, a royalist stronghold, where thirteen representatives from the royalist parishes in New England proclaimed him the "head of the autocephalous [i.e., independent and self-governing] Metropolis of America and Canada."[108] Always politically and religiously conservative, Metropolitan Vasilios vehemently attacked Archbishop Alexander and the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese for supporting Venizelos and for adopting the new calendar (i.e., revised Julian calendar). With politics and religion enmeshed, the rift within the Greek American Church broadened. As Fitzgerald writes, "The rival metropolis under the leadership of Metropolitan Vasilios retained the use of the old calendar. Thus, in addition to their political stance, the royalist parishes also had an ecclesiastical issue to employ in their struggle against the Archdiocese and Patriarchate. The political views of the royalists were merged with the religious views of the 'old-calendarists,' and the union led to the increase of hostility."[109]

On February 13, 1924, an embattled Archbishop Alexander telegraphed the Ecumenical Patriarchate to recall and punish Metropolitan Vasilios. When Metropolitan Vasilios refused to return to Greece, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, on May 10, 1924, defrocked him, stripping him of

his ecclesiastical rank and title.[110] The controversy raged through the mid-1920s: Venizelists battled royalists, the Archdiocese with the old-calendar royalists, and the Archdiocese against parish councils that did not wish to surrender control over their parishes. Divisive political and religious leaders from Greece came, and along with the divided Greek American press continued to fuel the controversy. However, by the close of the 1920s, the conflicts and hostilities began to wane. By 1929, the United States consisted of almost two hundred Greek Orthodox churches: one hundred thirty-three were under the aegis of Archbishop Alexander and the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese; fifty remained under the jurisdiction of the defrocked Metropolitan Vasilios; the remaining seventeen churches were either totally independent or under the Patriarchates of Jerusalem or Alexandria.[111]

On April 9, 1930, Ecumenical Patriarch Photios II and Archbishop Chrysostomos of Greece cooperated to resolve the crisis in America: the Patriarch appointed the learned and revered Metropolitan of Corinth, Damaskinos Papandreou, as Exarch (i.e., Patriarchal episcopal representative) and "as interim head of the canonical Greek Archdiocese in America."[112] Papaioannou writes, "[Metropolitan Damaskinos's] mission was to take over sole authority in the Church and submit a report to the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate with recommendations for the final solution to the problem."[113] The daily Greek American newspapers, the royalist *Atlantis* and the Venizelist *National Herald*, along with the government of the kingdom of Greece endorsed the mission.[114] Metropolitan Damaskinos arrived in New York on May 20, 1930, and before the end of the month, issued his first encyclical to the priests and parish councils of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese.[115] Included with the encyclical were three documents: a letter from the Patriarch designating Damaskinos as his exarch, a letter to Greek American Orthodox Christians,[116] and a

letter from Archbishop Chrysostomos of Greece indicating his support of Damaskinos's mission.[117]

Having the Patriarch's approval and the support of the Church and kingdom of Greece, Damaskinos swiftly enacted his plan for the Archdiocese. The plan included the dismissal of Archbishop Alexander and all the bishops in the United States—except for Bishop Kallistos Papageorgakopoulos of San Francisco—and for their reassignment to metropolises in Greece. To the surprise and disappointment of Damaskinos, Archbishop Alexander refused to resign and issued his own encyclical on May 26, 1930, appealing to his flock to protest to the Patriarch and the kingdom of Greece regarding Damaskinos's intervention into the affairs of the Archdiocese and his removal from office. Wearied by years of constant infighting and anxious to move forward, the people did not respond; only a few supported Alexander. Belligerent to the end, Alexander was deposed by the Patriarch on June 19, 1930, and reassigned to the island-metropolis of Kerkyra (Corfu) where he served as Metropolitan bishop for twelve years before his death in 1942.[118]

In his place, Damaskinos recommended Athenagoras Spyrou, the Metropolitan of Kerkyra, as the new archbishop of the Americas. Moreover, Damaskinos recommended to the Patriarch that he should issue a new charter that would promote harmony and unity among the parishes of the Archdiocese. The new charter should transfer the administrative authority from the regional dioceses to the new archbishop. Instead of one archbishop and three diocesan bishops administering the Archdiocese synodically, Damaskinos suggested one archbishop oversee the entire Archdiocese and its parishes, and to serve as exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (i.e., episcopal representative). The three new diocesan bishops would become auxiliary bishops and would serve the archbishop as the sole ecclesiastical and administrative authority of the Greek American churches.[119] Before the arrival of Athenagoras, Damaskinos departed for Greece on

February 9, 1931, where he would eventually serve as Archbishop and Regent of Greece during World War II. In this capacity, Metropolitan Damaskinos would save thousands of Greek Jews claiming they were Greek Orthodox Christians, and as proof, issued them baptismal certificates protecting them from Nazi deportation to the concentration camps in March of 1943.[120]

Upon the recommendation of Metropolitan Damaskinos, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected Metropolitan Athenagoras of Kerkyra as the new archbishop on August 13, 1930. Athenagoras was born Aristoclis Spyrou on March 25, 1886, in the village of Vasilikon in northwestern Greece. He attended the Patriarchal Theological School of Halki in 1903 at age sixteen and was ordained to the diaconate in March of 1910, taking the name Athenagoras. Upon completion of his studies, he served within the diocese of Pelagonia in northern Greece and after showing an exceptional talent for administration became its chancellor in 1912. Hearing about the talented young deacon, the archbishop of Athens, Meletios Metaxakis, transferred Deacon Athenagoras to Athens in 1916 where in less than seven years was ordained a bishop and became the metropolitan of the Ionian island of Kerkyra (Corfu).[121]

On November 14, 1930, Patriarch Photios II sent an encyclical to the parishes in the United States formally announcing the election of Athenagoras as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America.[122] Athenagoras arrived in New York on February 24, 1931, to a crowd that was exhausted after years of political infighting but hopeful for a fresh start with their new religious and cultural leader. Papaioannou cites that even the two rival newspapers joined in praising Athenagoras and offered him "respect, cooperation, and loyalty."[123] Two days later, Athenagoras's enthronement ceremony took place within the overcrowded St. Eleutherios Church in New York City.[124] Shortly thereafter, he met with religious leaders, with President Herbert Hoover, and with other leading officials in the federal, state, and municipal governments.

With much to do and few financial resources at his disposal, Athenagoras acted quickly to address what was for him "the alarming Greek problem in America," namely, the administrative disorganization at the national and diocesan levels, parish parochialism, the lack of national leadership, and insufficient funds. He embarked upon a tour of fifty cities in the United States where large Greek Orthodox churches existed in order to meet and hear the concerns of the priests and lay members while also introducing to them the proposed new charter of the archdiocese.[125] While meeting with congregants across the United States, Athenagoras called for the Fourth Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress to convene in New York City on November 14, 1931, for the expressed purpose of adopting the new archdiocesan charter and bylaws. The proposed charter would abolish the autonomously functioning dioceses and their parishes and place them under the governing regulations established by the archdiocese, which would be under the sole ecclesiastical authority of the archbishop.[126]

The three hundred delegates that attended the congress adopted the new charter but not without dissent. Some called Athenagoras an autocrat wielding dictatorial powers. As Saloutos writes, "The opposition to Athenagoras manifested itself in several forms. At least one member of the Mixed Board of Trustees [Archdiocesan Council] resigned…. In Detroit, anti-Athenagoras riots broke out. For a time, the movement of a Reverend Kontogeorge of Lowell to establish a new church administration seemed to be gaining ground…. Some strongly suggested that the…prelate take the road back to his native land."[127] Despite the resistance of a few who either acquiesced or left the archdiocese, Athenagoras prevailed, and the charter that he had championed remained in effect until 1977.

Athenagoras's primacy began in the midst of the Great Depression. The Greek archdiocese's finances were meager, and its resources were few. In 1932, the archdiocesan

headquarters consisted of the archbishop's residence and offices in an antiquated wood-frame house at 25–19 30th Drive, in Astoria, New York.[128] The annual budget of the archdiocese was $22,000. Athenagoras's salary was $200 per month in 1931 and increased to $400 per month at the end of his tenure (January 23, 1949).[129] The two hundred parishes and two hundred fifty priests of the archdiocese fared little better in the 1930s. Constantelos writes, "During the Great Depression several small Greek Orthodox churches were closed because many of their parishioners had moved to larger cities seeking employment. Other churches were threatened with foreclosures or bankruptcies because of large mortgages."[130] Nevertheless, the economic woes of the archdiocese and its parishes did little to detract Athenagoras from his mission. Empowered with supreme authority—responsibility and accountability—from the new charter and despite his limited economic resources, Athenagoras labored tirelessly to coalesce the Greek Orthodox parishes and to raise the status and relevance of the archdiocese in the hearts and minds of Greek Americans.

During his eighteen-year tenure as Archbishop (February 26, 1931, to January 23, 1949), Athenagoras exceeded his supporters' and critics' expectations. In addition to succeeding in reconciling the royalist and Venizelist factions that divided the Greek communities and gradually bringing all but a few Greek parishes into the archdiocesan fold, Athenagoras established archdiocesan institutions that exist to the present day. In the midst of the Great Depression, 1931, he established the Ladies Philoptochos Society, which continues to function as the philanthropic ministry of the Church to the poor and needy at both the local and national levels.[131] In 1936, he mandated a fair salary for his priests and sought to establish a pension fund for clergy and employees of the archdiocese.[132] In 1937, Athenagoras spearheaded the effort to raise funds for the founding of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Seminary in Pomfret, Connecticut.[133] At the 1942

Eighth Clergy-Laity Congress in Philadelphia, Athenagoras introduced an archdiocesan stewardship campaign named *the monodollarion* (i.e., the single dollar) where each Greek Orthodox family—in addition to their parish contributions—would contribute one dollar to the archdiocese for its ministries and operating costs. At the same congress, Athenagoras succeeded in raising funds to purchase a four hundred fifty-acre plot of land on the banks of the Hudson River, directly opposite West Point Military Academy where he established St. Basil's Teachers College and Orphanage.[134]

Under Athenagoras, the archdiocese grew in breadth and scope. Despite the Great Depression and the war years that followed, Athenagoras oversaw the establishment of approximately one hundred additional churches and the erection of several new church buildings.[135] An ecumenist at heart, he initiated many ecumenical efforts not only with other national Orthodox churches but also with other Christian and non-Christian faiths.[136] He introduced and represented Greek America to three United States Presidents. He was a great admirer of President Franklin D. Roosevelt who considered Athenagoras a friend. However, Athenagoras was especially close to President Harry S. Truman.[137] Because of his distinguished episcopal ministry in the Americas and with the backing of the United States government,[138] when the time came to elect a new Patriarch, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected Athenagoras to succeed him on November 1, 1948. Before Athenagoras departed for Constantinople on January 26, 1949, President Truman had provided his private plane to transport the newly elected Patriarch to his new assignment. As Kourides writes, "[Although] he was thoroughly unknown when he came to New York Harbor on February 24, 1931, and not a single American newspaper carried a line about his arrival, eighteen years later when he left, his photograph was on the cover of *Life* magazine."[139]

Upon his arrival in New York City in the spring of 1939, Deacon Iakovos Coucouzes encountered a substantially different United States and Greek America from that of his immigrant predecessors. The Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924 drastically reduced immigration into the United States in general—especially from central and southeastern European countries like Greece.[140] When the waves of "undesirable" immigrants all but ceased, "Americanization" crusades and campaigns against hyphenated Americans diminished. The pseudo-racial science of the previous generation that professed the existence of hierarchically different races or categories of human beings based on particular phenotypes and their respective essentialized behavioral stereotypes waned with respect to the European immigrant at the threshold of the 1940s. Instead, European immigrants—Protestant, Roman Catholics, and Orthodox Christians—gradually began to assimilate with the dominant white American mainstream. Furthermore, Roosevelt's campaign strategy of appealing to the urban ethnic vote helped him and the Democratic Party not only regain the White House but also assured passage of his New Deal policies and reelection bids.

At the close of the 1930s, most Greeks relinquished their dreams of repatriating to Greece for several reasons. They feared the gathering storm of another world war, which was certain to include if not engulf small Greece. Many struggled to keep their businesses afloat during the Great Depression and thought it inconceivable to abandon them; others had lost everything or were unemployed, while lacking the funds to repatriate. The royalist-Venizelist controversy had long passed, but they kept abreast of the political news from Greece. Realizing that they would remain in America, more Greek immigrants became naturalized United States citizens. For example, according to the United States Census of 1920 and 1930, of the 74,975 Greek immigrants in the United States, only 4,946 gained citizenship or 6.6%. By 1920, 23,786 of 175,972 were naturalized or 16.6%, and by 1930, 62,649 of 174,526 or 49.9% became United States citizens.[141] Saloutos

notes that "the peak in naturalization was reached during the late 1920s"; it had tapered off for a while but "began rising again during the late 1930s and the first half of the 1940s."[142] America was their home, where family and close friends resided. The ethnic enclave persisted, but already Greeks had ventured out into other neighborhoods. Their children were bilingual, but their primary language was English. They recognized that their children's future lay in America, but they also relied on their Greek Orthodox parish to teach their children the faith, language, and culture of their ancestors, which was very much alive in the home.

In the early years, the Greek Orthodox churches had a tumultuous beginning in the United States. The laity alone governed the churches independently like little fiefdoms. There were no bishops to organize and oversee the parishes and their clergy. The majority of the few priests available lacked proper theological training; some were even imposters. Moreover, politics from half a world away embroiled the parishes in a feud that lasted almost two decades. With the organizational foresight and persistent effort of men such as Archbishops Meletios, Damaskinos, and Athenagoras, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese brought order to the chaos and established both administrative and liturgical uniformity among the erstwhile autonomous and independent Greek American communities. Although the archbishop assumed exclusive administrative powers over the national church under the 1931 charter, the priests and laypeople cooperatively administered the local parishes. As the United States struggled through a decade of the Great Depression and with the brewing storm of war approaching, a newfound, but fragile, peace appeared to settle among the parishes of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of the Americas when a young Deacon Iakovos Coucouzes first set foot on American soil in the spring of 1939.

[1] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (1955; New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008), chap. 9; Gary Gerstle, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans," *The Journal of American History* 84, no. 2 (September 1997): 524–558.
[2] Moskos states that over four hundred thousand Greeks immigrated to the United States between 1900 and 1920. Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 12. Thistlethwaite estimates that the repatriation rate for European immigrants may have been over 30%. He also states that "between 1908–1923 the repatriation rate was as high as 86–89% for Balkan peoples and as low as 11% for the Irish and 5% for Jews." Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Population Movements in Modern European History*, ed. Herbert Moller (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), 76. Saloutos states that accurate repatriation or return migration figures for Greek immigrants are unavailable. Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 116.
[3] Erika Lee, "Immigrants and Immigration Law: A State of the Field Assessment," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1999): 90–91.
[4] Douglas C. Baynton, "Defectives in the Land: Disability and American Immigration Policy, 1882–1924," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24, no. 3 (Spring 2005): 31–44; Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 225.
[5] Lee, "Immigrants and Immigration Law," 90–91; Jones, *American Immigration*, 231.
[6] Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 20.
[7] Ngai, 23.
[8] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 45.
[9] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 84; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 28.
[10] Archbishop Iakovos vigorously campaigned for the repeal of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act in the early 1960s. See Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 1, 1959–1977*, vol. 2, 6 vols., The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1999), 102–103.
[11] Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 22–37.
[12] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 78. See also Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), and Thomas Burgess, *Greeks in America: An Account of Their Coming, Progress, Customs, Living, and Aspirations* (Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1913).
[13] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 44–45. The five hundred thousand-number includes migrants from the Kingdom of Greece and "non-Greek territories" (e.g., Greeks from the Ottoman Empire). Saloutos stated that some "ardent nationalists" believed that the population of Greek immigrants to the United States was between six hundred thousand to one million. See also Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 9–12. Moskos estimates the population of Greeks in the United States at about four hundred thousand, and the majority

arrived between the years 1900–1920. He also mentions that most Greek migrants in the early decades of the twentieth century were men.
[14] Thomas Burgess, *Greeks in America: An Account of Their Coming, Progress, Customs, Living, and Aspirations* (Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1913), 9–10, 17.
[15] Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), chap. 4; Burgess, *Greeks in America*, chaps. 1–3.
[16] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 48.
[17] Saloutos, 62–63; Dan Georgakas, "The Greeks in America," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 14 (April 1987): 20; Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 14–15.
[18] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 46; Burgess, *Greeks in America*, chap. 4; Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, chap. 7.
[19] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 70.
[20] Saloutos, 30–32. Greeks from Asia Minor were least likely to repatriate to the Ottoman Empire or, later the Turkish Republic. See Moskos, *Greek Americans:Struggle and Success*, 10. Thistlethwaite states that the repatriation rate for Balkan peoples from 1908–1923 was as high as eighty-six to eighty-nine percent. Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Population Movements in Modern European History*, ed. Herbert Moller (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), 76.
[21] Georgakas, "Greeks in America," 7–8.
[22] Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1970): 112.
[23] Papanikolas, 155.
[24] Georgakas, "Greeks in America," 6.
[25] Papanikolas, "Toil and Rage," 177–178.
[26] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 16.
[27] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 66–69.
[28] Papanikolas, "Toil and Rage," 113.
[29] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 69.
[30] Georgakas, "Greeks in America," 26.
[31] Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, 144.
[32] Georgakas, "Greeks in America," 22.
[33] Georgakas, 22.
[34] Georgakas, 46–48.
[35] Papanikolas, "Toil and Rage," 155–156.
[36] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 163; 266–267.
[37] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 16.
[38] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 269.
[39] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 27.
[40] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 45.
[41] Saloutos, 45. As early as 1908, the greatest concentration of Greeks settled in cities such as, New York (20,000), Chicago (15,000), Lowell (7,000), Pittsburgh (3,500), Manchester, New Hampshire (3,000), San Francisco (3,000), St. Louis (2,000), Salt Lake City (2,000), and Philadelphia (1,800). Boston, Omaha, and Portland, Oregon each had approximately one thousand five hundred Greeks. In the Midwest, Detroit, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and Milwaukee had between four hundred to a thousand Greek residents in 1908. In the South, Greek immigrants concentrated in Tarpon Springs (1,000), Birmingham (500), Atlanta (500), and Charlotte (500).

For Greek population figures in leading cities of the United States in 1908, see Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), 258–260.

[42] Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas, 80–81. Thistlethwaite argues that European migration is more complex than simply a "push-pull" migration pattern of sending and receiving countries. He points out that migration historians have tended to focus on the United States as the receiving country. Thistlethwaite points out that Europeans migrated to other European countries and other continents besides the United States, and that there were many reasons (i.e., over population, skilled and unskilled labor demands, etc.) and types of migration patterns (seasonal, cyclical, chain, return migrations, etc.). See also, Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 12–13.

[43] Although many Greek migrants may have fit Oscar Handlin's "ideal-type peasant migrant," in his work, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*, 2nd ed. (1951; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), the Greek immigrants were more like Rudolph J. Vecoli's *"Contadini."* See Rudolph J. Vecoli, "*Contadini* in Chicago: A Critque of *The Uprooted*," *The Journal of American History* 51, no. 3 (December 1964): 404–417, and John J. Bukowczyk, "Homage to the *Contadini*: The Influence of Rudolph J. Vecoli on Immigration and Ethnic History," *Italian Americana* 20, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 125–134. Furthermore, most Greek migrants were not helpless victims of the migration experience, but active agents who often successfully negotiated their transition and upward economic mobility in urban capitalistic America. See John E. Bodnar, *The Transplanted* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

[44] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 258; Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 19–25; Burgess, *Greeks in America*; Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, chap. 2. Fairchild's description of the Greeks is often derogatory and heavily influenced by pseudo-racial science and race theory essentialization. Like many of his time, he believed that different races possessed character traits that were biologically inherent. See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (1955; New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008), chap. 6.

[45] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 23.

[46] Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, 167.

[47] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 23; Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, chap. 13.

[48] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 258–59.

[49] Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, 209–10.

[50] Fairchild, 210.

[51] Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge Concise Histories (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chaps. 3–4. Venizelos had played a critical role in expelling the Turks from his native island of Crete and for the successful annexation of Crete. His tactical success in the Balkan Wars secured Greece's second largest city of Thessaloniki to the Kingdom of Greece. He was the statesman who had introduced many political reforms that benefited and modernized Greece's economy. His military and diplomatic successes had also expanded Greece's borders and influence in the Balkans.

[52] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, chaps. 7–8, 10.

[53] Saloutos writes, "The coffee house was a community social center to which the men retired after working hours…. Here they sipped cups of thick, black Turkish coffee…played cards, or

engaged in animated political discussion. Here congregated gesticulating Greeks of all kinds: railroad workers, factory hands, shopkeepers, professional men, the unemployed, labor agitators, amateur philosophers…. The air of the average coffee house was choked with clouds of smoke rising from cigarettes, pipes, and cigars. Through the haze, one could see the dim figures of card players or hear the stentorian voices of would-be statesmen discussing every subject under the sun," Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 79.
[54] Saloutos, 76.
[55] Saloutos, 78–83.
[56] Georgakas, "Greeks in America," 10.
[57] S. Victor Papacosma, "The Greek Press in America," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 5, no. 4 (winter 1979): 46.
[58] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 88–95; Georgakas, "The Greeks in America," 10–14.
[59] Georgakas, "Greeks in America," 10.
[60] Georgakas, 10.
[61] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 75.
[62] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 39.
[63] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 74–76.
[64] Rudolph J. Vecoli, "*Contadini* in Chicago: A Critque of *The Uprooted*," *The Journal of American History* 51, no. 3 (December 1964): 413.
[65] George J. Leber, *The History of the Order of AHEPA, 1922–1972* (Washington, D.C.: The Order of AHEPA, 1972), 147–148.
[66] Georgakas, "Greeks in America," 15.
[67] Thomas E. Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 23–24.
[68] Fitzgerald, 23.
[69] Fitzgerald, 26.
[70] Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, 46.
[71] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 122.
[72] Burgess writes that a Greek American community is in essence "a regularly organized colony, centering on a church organization and always called 'The Orthodox Greek Community.'" The Greek Orthodox parish-church was the heart of the Greek American community. As Burgess states, "Life at home without the Orthodox Church and the parish priest had been unknown [to Greeks], and so the immigrant had before this felt the necessity of such a step," (i.e., to establish a church). Thomas Burgess, *Greeks in America: An Account of Their Coming, Progress, Customs, Living, and Aspirations* (Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1913), 53. The same was true for ethnic Roman Catholics, see John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
[73] The word *Turkocratia* is still used by the Greeks to define the four centuries of Turkish and Islamic oppression their country endured.
[74] Burgess, *Greeks in America*, 155–157, 173–174.
[75] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 34.
[76] Saloutos described the method that the Greek immigrants employed to establish a church, as in the case of the establishment of the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Manhattan, "The immigrants in New York City established a pattern of church organization and administration that more or less set the pace for the other communities. During 1892, about five hundred Greeks met in a small hotel on Roosevelt Street where they organized the Society of Athena, which, among other

things, was to secure a priest and establish a church…. As soon as a sufficient number of pledges and money had been collected, the society arranged to build a church and appealed to the Holy Synod of Greece [or the Ecumenical Patriarchate] for a priest," Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 123. The Greek immigrants of other American cities followed the same pattern when they established the Holy Trinity Church in Chicago (1892), the Annunciation Church in New York City (1893), the Holy Trinity Church in Lowell (1894), the Annunciation Church in Philadelphia (1901), and the St. Nicholas Church in Newark (1901). See also Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Introduction," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, ed. Miltiades B. Efthimiou and George A. Christopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 4.

[77] George Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan: The Greek Orthodox in America under Athenagoras I* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1976), 27–28; Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States*, 123–126.

[78] Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church*, 26–27.

[79] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 127, 129.

[80] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 34; Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church*, 26–27.

[81] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 30.

[82] "Patriarchal Tome," March 8, 1908, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. A "tome" is a formal ecclesiastical proclamation concerning church governance.

[83] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 145–150.

[84] Saloutos, 209.

[85] Saloutos, 281–282.

[86] Saloutos, 130–131.

[87] Saloutos, 129, 131–132.

[88] Saloutos, 129–131, 134.

[89] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 30; Constantelos, "Introduction," 11–12; Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church*, 33–35, 42; Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 119, 122, 127–128, 132–133.

[90] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 32.

[91] Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church*, 38.

[92] Constantelos, "Introduction," 12, 14.

[93] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 32–33.

[94] Constantelos, "Introduction," 16.

[95] "Certificate of Incorporation of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America," Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. The certificate of incorporation states that the purpose of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America is "to edify the religious and moral life of the Greek Orthodox Christians in North and South America on the basis of Holy Scripture, the rules and canons of the Holy Apostles and of the Seven Ecumenical Councils of the ancient undivided Church as they are or shall be actually interpreted by the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople and to exercise governing authority over and to maintain advisory relations with Greek Orthodox Churches throughout North and South America and to maintain spiritual and advisory relations with synods and other governing authorities of the said Church located elsewhere."

[96] Letter of Patriarch Meletios to Bishop Alexander Revoking the Tome of 1908, March 1, 1922, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. See also Telegram of Patriarch

Meletios to Bishop Alexander: the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate Elected Him Archbishop, May 11, 1922, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, New York; see also, The Founding Tome Establishing the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, May 17, 1922, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church*, 39–40.

[97] Letter of Patriarch Meletios Metaxakis to Bishop Alexander, May 17, 1922, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[98] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 34.

[99] Papaioannou, 34.

[100] "Minutes of the Second Clergy-Laity Congress," August 8, 1922, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[101] Constantelos, "Introduction," 18.

[102] For a comprehensive description of the conflict between Archbishop Meletios, Bishop Alexander, and Metropolitan Germanos, see Metropolitan Silas of New Jersey, "Greek-Americans in Crisis: The Period of Upheaval in the Greek Orthodox Church of America (1918–1923) and the Synodical Exarch, the Bishop of Monemvasia and Lakedaimonia, Germanos Troianos," in *The History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, ed. Miltiades B. Efthimiou and George A. Christopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 37–62.

[103] Constantelos, "Introduction," 16–18; Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 35.

[104] Peter Kourides, *The Evolution of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America* (New York: Cosmos Greek-American Printing, 1959), 8.

[105] Lewis Patsavos, "The Calendar of the Orthodox Church," in *A Companion to the Greek Orthodox Church*, ed. Fotios K. Litsas (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 78–79. The autocephalous Orthodox churches that adopted the new calendar included the Churches of: Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Greece, Cyprus, Romania, Poland, and eventually Bulgaria (1968). The churches that continue to observe the traditional Julian calendar include the Churches of Jerusalem, Russia, Serbia, and the monasteries of Mount Athos.

[106] George Bebis, "Metaxakis in Profile: The Controversial Visionary and His Contributions to Orthodoxy and the Founding of the Archdiocese," in *The History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, ed. Miltiades B. Efthimiou and George A. Christopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 102–105.

[107] Bebis, 93–113.

[108] Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church*, 40; Constantelos, "Introduction," 18; Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 38.

[109] Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church*, 41.

[110] Patriarchal Encyclical on the Degradation of Metropolitan Vasilios, May 10, 1924, Protocol No. 2022, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[111] Constantelos, "Introduction," 20.

[112] Constantelos, 20–21.

[113] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 38.

[114] Constantelos, "Introduction," 21.

[115] Metropolitan Damaskinos Encyclical to the Priests and Parish Councils, May 31, 1930, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[116] Patriarch Photios II Encyclical to the Greek American Faithful, April 9, 1930, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[117] Archbishop Chrysostomos of Athens and Greece Letter to Metropolitan Damaskinos, May 3, 1930, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[118] Constantelos, "Introduction," 21–22; Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 39.
[119] The new charter proposed by Metropolitan Damaskinos would be instituted at the Fourth Clergy-Laity Congress in New York on November 14, 1931. As Patsavos writes, "The first two charters [1922 and 1927] display the idealism of a Church struggling to establish itself in a new land by upholding its traditional synodal for of administration…. The Charter of 1931 displays the pragmatism of a Church committed to preserving its identity, even though for a time adopting a monarchial administrative structure foreign to its essence." See Lewis Patsavos, "History of the Charters: The Structure of the Archdiocese According to the Charters of 1922, 1927, 1931, and 1977," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, ed. Miltiades B. Efthimiou and George A. Christopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 67–92.
[120] John Couretas, "The Greek Orthodox Bishop Who Stood Up to the Nazis," Acton Institute, *Acton Institute Powerblog* (blog), March 25, 2015, accessed September 3, 2017, http://blog.acton.org/archives/77044-the-greek-orthodox-bishop-who-stood-up-to-the-nazis.html.
[121] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, chap. 3. Metropolitan Athenagoras served the island-metropolis with highest distinction believing that the Church must provide religious as well as social aid to all people regardless of religious affiliation. He initiated a youth movement patterned on the YMCA and implemented philanthropic ministries and job training for the islanders. His more conservative peers pejoratively called him a liberal and an ecumenist, but their criticism had little effect on Athenagoras. On the contrary, Athenagoras fervently believed and often preached that "schisms and divisions among Christians…hatred, animosity, and political divisions that caused the churches to drift away from the Spirit of Jesus who wished the Church to be one and undivided" must not exist in the Church. Papaioannou writes, "[Athenagoras] invited all the island's inhabitants to work together in the service of the poor, the sick, and the needy," Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 52–53.
[122] Patriarch Photios II Encyclical to the Greek American Parishes, November 14, 1930, Protocol Number 2298, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[123] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 58.
[124] Archbishop Athenagoras's enthronement occurred at the St. Eleutherios Church on East 24th Street in Manhattan instead of the Holy Trinity Cathedral, which had burned to the ground on January 18, 1927. Website of the Holy Trinity Cathedral, "About the Cathedral," accessed September 1, 2017, http://www.thecathedralnyc.org/about-us/
[125] Lewis Patsavos, "History of the Charters," 82–85; Constantelos, "Introduction," 22; Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 60. The proposed charter that Athenagoras advocated was essentially the one Metropolitan Damaskinos recommended for the Greek American Archdiocese to the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.
[126] The primary concern for the new charter was unity for the autonomously governed parishes and conformity under the auspices of the Archdiocese in the person of its Archbishop. The 1931 Archdiocesan Charter transformed the dioceses of Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco into Archdiocesan districts, and the titular bishops became auxiliary bishops to the Archbishop. They would no longer exist as autonomous entities. At the parish level, the Archdiocese via its biennial clergy-laity congresses and Archdiocesan councils, which met at least twice a year,

would issue administrative Archdiocesan bylaws for the parishes' adherence; moreover, parishes might have their own bylaws, but could not supersede the Archdiocesan Bylaws. The Archbishop convened and presided over both the biennial clergy-laity congresses and meetings of the Archdiocesan council. Interestingly, the 1931 Archdiocesan Bylaws stipulated that members of the parish were all "persons of Greek descent"; although, the bylaws recognized Orthodox Christians not of Greek descent, it identified them as "believers"; they did not have the privileges of membership. Likewise, the bylaws stated that priests of the Archdiocese must "also be Greek by race." Parish councils could no longer hire or fire priests. The Archbishop alone assigned and transferred priests and was the priests' superior; moreover, only the Archbishop had the authority to resolve disputes between the priest and parish council. The Charter of 1931 remained in effect until 1977. See "Bylaws of Holy Churches and Communities of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America as Adopted by the Fourth Clergy-Laity Congress in New York, November 14–22, 1931," Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. See also Lewis Patsavos, "History of the Charters," 67–92.

[127] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 307–308; Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 98–113.

[128] George Papaioannou, *The Odyssey of Hellenism in America* (Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1985), 409; Stanley Harakas, "Reflections from Brookline: Archbishop Iakovos and the Development of Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, ed. Miltiades B. Efthimiou and George A. Christopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 249. Kourides writes, "The headquarters could neither be waterproofed from heavy rains nor heated in the winter months," Peter Kourides, *The Evolution of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America* (New York: Cosmos Greek-American Printing, 1959), 172.

[129] Kourides, 172.

[130] Constantelos, "Introduction," 23.

[131] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 122–126. Athenagoras also sent numerous appeals to his congregants to help those in poverty, victimized by wars, or natural disasters. See Demetrios J. Constantelos, ed., *Encyclicals and Documents of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, Relating to Its Thought and Activity the First Fifty Years (1922-1972)* (Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1976), 109–476. He was also a key figure in the Greek War Relief Association during World War II. For more on the GWRA see Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, chap. 17.

[132] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 78–80.

[133] Papaioannou, 151–168. In 1946, the seminary moved to Brookline, MA. In addition to the seminary, catechetical and Greek Education programs for the youth were at the forefront of Athenagoras's concerns. As early as 1931, Athenagoras had mandated that each parish should have both a religious and a Greek Language school. George Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 139–151.

[134] Papaioannou, 168–172.

[135] Constantelos, "Introduction," 27.

[136] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 172–178.

[137] Papaioannou, 179–182.

[138] Papaioannou, 196–197.

[139] Kourides, *Evolution of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese*, 175.

[140] The United States immigration authorities issued Iakovos a visa to enter and work in the United States as an ordained minister and thus a non-quota immigrant. Section 4(d) of the Immigration Act of 1924 states, "An immigrant who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of, carrying on the vocation of minister of any religious denomination, or professor, or a college, academy, seminary, or university…." Immigration Act of 1924, United States Statutes at Large, 68th Congress, Session 1.
[141] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 239.
[142] Saloutos, 240.

CHAPTER 4 IAKOVOS COUCOUZES AS DEACON, PRIEST, BISHOP, AND EMISSARY

Deacon Iakovos Coucouzes would leave the land of his ancestors, a land whose ethnic, political, and religious conflicts were as old as civilization itself. It was a land of gods and men where the mysticism of the heavenly intermingled with earthly history and human philosophy, a land that extolled the past in the epic, in elegy, and in the tragedy. Greek grandparents and parents communicated the saga of their oppression and struggle for freedom in the form of oral histories, stories, songs, and myths. For Iakovos and generations of Greeks, their history of oppression and struggle and the pursuit of freedom was a living epic, an *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined, which shaped and contextualized their Hellenic identity and infused it with meaning. For the Greek, Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides were more than poets and playwrights: they were ageless prophets who explored the depths of human experience and articulated it with contemporary—yet eternal—understanding and context.

For Iakovos and Greeks like him, they respected their past and their culture as much as they revered the Bible and their ancient Greek Orthodox Christian faith. They likened their historical struggles to an existential crucifixion, the pursuit and achievement of freedom, equality, and human dignity as their resurrection. Bearing the cross of their past and pursuing the sacred value of freedom, Iakovos and the Greek immigrants continued their messianic saga of crucifixion and resurrection, their *Iliad*-like struggle and *Odyssey* towards success, in the United States.

What Iakovos knew of the United States was anecdotal at best. Before his arrival, he did not know of America's history of racialization of nonwhites and European immigrants. Nor was he aware of the various forms of nativism and discrimination that his predecessors had experienced in "the land of the free, and the home of the brave." In an interview some decades later, he said

> Having witnessed and endured the agony of Turkey's unjust exercise of power…I envisioned a land where Greek Orthodoxy…could grow untrammeled. I had always

> borne in my mind the history…of struggle…when Constantinople and the vast lands of Asia Minor fell to the invading Muslims and the brutality that followed for centuries. I believed with full assurance that America was the land I dreamed of, where God intended Greek Orthodoxy to grow. This was a nation which from the beginning of history…safeguarded the most fundamental of human rights—one's own rule of divine worship.[1]

For Iakovos, the United States was a land of freedom, of unlimited opportunities, and of wealth. He soon discovered that the freedom his immigrant predecessors sought was often relative or illusive. Before his journey to America, Iakovos remembered thinking, "I was keen to learn what was new about the New World…. I found nothing new… [or] original. Geographically, yes, America was newborn. But I did not…find great dissimilarities between this country and the world I left behind."[2]

Many Greeks believed that the acquisition of material wealth could secure their freedom as well as assist the families they had left behind; therefore, they allocated much of their time and energy in the pursuit of wealth.[3] However, in this new ethnically diverse land, their pursuit of wealth came at the risk of losing their identity and assimilating into a foreign, materialistic culture.[4] Iakovos would soon discover that in addition to the liturgical and salvific value he believed inherent in the Greek Orthodox Church, the Church had an immediate purpose, to safeguard the culture, language, and identity of the Greeks in the "melting pot" of America.[5] Moreover, Iakovos aspired to communicate the best qualities of his culture not only to safeguard the ethnic identity of Greek Americans but also to ennoble all people with human dignity that can only exist under the aegis of freedom, justice, and equality, which his cultural ancestors first defined and articulated. As he would later say, "Our ideals shall be the Greek Christian ideals because they are of value to all the world. And our ancestral tongue, as the language of such ideals but also as the language in which Orthodox theology, dogma, ethics, and worship were expressed shall ever be retained and

cultivated by us."[6] Within this social reality, the living epic of Iakovos and the Greeks continued in a Greek America that revolved around the Greek Orthodox Church.

While still in Constantinople, Deacon Iakovos contemplated how he would leave Turkey. Furthering his education at the Sorbonne in Paris was improbable since he lacked the funds necessary to live and study there. When his situation appeared hopeless, Iakovos received a letter from Dionysios Nestorides,[7] a Greek American friend, a Halki theological school classmate, and clergyman serving in America. Fr. Nestorides encouraged Iakovos to write a letter to an acquaintance, Fr. Athenagoras Cavadas, who was the chancellor of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in New York, requesting a faculty position at the new preparatory theological school of the Holy Cross in Pomfret, Connecticut.[8] Deacon Iakovos wrote a letter listing his qualifications and requested consideration for employment. Fr. Cavadas's reply was laconically abrupt: he asked if Iakovos knew how to use a typewriter and whether he knew anything about accounting and logistics.[9] The young deacon was disheartened and about to abandon his dream of coming to America when he received news that Archbishop Athenagoras Spyrou had established a scholarship fund for students wishing to study theology in the United States. Iakovos immediately sent a letter to Archbishop Athenagoras, but he received no response. He sent a second letter requesting consideration for the scholarship but received an unanticipated reply. The letter stated that the St. Spyridon Church in New York would hire him as a deacon and would send him a letter to that effect, which Iakovos could take to the United States Consulate in Constantinople for the necessary travel visa and work permit. The letter also assured him that once he had settled in New York, he would serve as archdeacon to Archbishop Athenagoras.[10]

Deacon Iakovos made all the necessary arrangements and began his journey to the New World on April 22, 1939. He departed by ship to Romania, and from there traveled by train to

Bremen, Germany, where he boarded an ocean liner bearing the same name. It was the same ship that had brought Archbishop Athenagoras to the United States eight years before in February of 1931.[11] Poulos writes that his voyage was uneventful,[12] but Charles stated that "it was an extremely stormy voyage." As Iakovos later remembered, "Throughout the turbulent crossing I could not but wonder if the boiling sea and violent wind were predictive of the future. Up until that time my own world was a small, hedged-in area and my horizon did not extend much beyond the mountains of my native environment."[13] Iakovos arrived in New York City on May 4, 1939.

A priest from St. Demetrios Church in Astoria, New York, met Deacon Iakovos upon his arrival and led him to the archdiocesan headquarters that was at that time also in Astoria.[14] The city quickly overwhelmed Iakovos as the two made their way through the streets toward the Archdiocese. He began to regret his decision to leave the more familiar surroundings of his small island or even the predominately Turkish city of Constantinople. His regret turned to despair when he saw the dilapidated archdiocesan headquarters. Within his third-floor room, he contemplated returning to Turkey but soon realized that he had only twenty Turkish liras (approximately ten American dollars), hardly enough for a return voyage. Iakovos later recalled that he wept and prayed all night.[15] The following day was the feast day of St. Irene the Great Martyr (May 5). Deacon Iakovos attended the Divine Liturgy that morning at the church of St. Demetrios in Astoria. After the service, Fr. Germanos Polyzoides and Iakovos walked through the streets of Astoria talking about the Greek American community and the young deacon's feelings of regret and homesickness. Iakovos remembered feeling better after having attended the church services and conversing with Fr. Germanos who at the end of their walk offered him his first can of soda pop to drink. Handing him the sweet carbonated beverage, Fr. Germanos told him, "If you drink this, you will never want to return to Imbros or Constantinople."[16]

At the time of Deacon Iakovos's arrival in New York, Archbishop Athenagoras was on an extended trip to Mexico to tour the Greek community and to learn Spanish.[17] Within a week of coming to America and while working at the archdiocesan offices, Deacon Iakovos met Bishop Athenagoras Cavadas, the dean of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Preparatory Theological School in Pomfret, Connecticut.[18] Bishop Cavadas gazed at the newly arrived deacon, who was very thin, gaunt, and appeared undernourished. He candidly told Iakovos he appeared unfit to carry the archbishop's luggage and was thus unsuitable to serve as archdeacon.[19] After learning of Deacon Iakovos's graduation from the esteemed Halki theological school, Cavadas offered him a faculty position at the recently established school in Pomfret. Thrilled at the opportunity to teach—an opportunity the Turkish government had denied him on Imbros—Iakovos and Bishop Cavadas arrived in Pomfret on May 9, 1939, only five days since coming to America.

Despite the demise of the St. Athanasios Preparatory Theological School in 1923, Archbishop Athenagoras believed that the establishment of a Greek Orthodox seminary in the United States was essential for the training of American-born Greek men to serve as priests in the churches of America. For the first three decades of the twentieth century, the priests that served the Greek communities in the Western Hemisphere were all from Greece or Asia Minor and spoke little or no English. When Archbishop Athenagoras learned of the availability of the Pomfret estate, he acted quickly. Greek businessmen, the Greek press, the two national fraternal organizations (i.e., AHEPA and GAPA), and Greek Americans throughout the United States raised the thirty-five-thousand-dollar sale price for the idyllic estate in 1932.[20]

Shortly after the purchase of the Pomfret property, Archbishop Athenagoras had already begun recruiting American-born Greeks to study for the priesthood. However, the only option at the time was to send the new recruits to theological schools in Athens, Greece or Halki (an Aegean

island in Turkey near the city of Constantinople). After completing their studies, they would return to the United States where Athenagoras would ordain and assign them to parishes in the Americas.[21] In an encyclical dated June 2, 1937, Archbishop Athenagoras, with the support of the Archdiocesan Council and the Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress, announced the establishment of the two-year Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Preparatory Theological School

> This is a natural, realistic decision deriving from the fact that our roots are very deep in this country and we shall remain here, having as the center of our religious and cultural life, the Church, and the community. Our priests and teachers of tomorrow must come from our young generation here. The Archdiocese invites the young generation to give to Hellenism in America its future priests and teachers. Brethren, under the protection, enlightenment, and direction of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Archdiocese establishes the Orthodox Theological School with the assurance that its saving program will be supported by all.[22]

Students who had completed the two-year program of theological studies in Pomfret would then matriculate to theological schools in Athens or Halki for an additional four years of study before returning to the United States for ordination and assignment.[23] The school began its first academic year on September 15, 1937, with fifteen students.[24]

By the time Deacon Iakovos arrived at the seminary on May 9, 1939, the seminary was completing its second year of operation with fourteen students; the academic year ended on June 11, 1939.[25] Iakovos utilized the remaining spring and summer months to acclimate to his adopted homeland. It was inconceivable for him to return to the land of his birth where the Turks oppressed and often persecuted the Christian faith. America was his home, so he immersed himself in learning English. He quickly befriended the faculty members, and he familiarized himself with the some of the seminarians who were to be his students in the fall. The dean of the seminary, Bishop Cavadas of Boston, informed Iakovos of the courses he would teach: they included Old and New Testament exegesis, church history, and homiletics.[26]

Deacon Iakovos began the 1939 academic year with tempered enthusiasm. He had escaped the religious and cultural oppression of the Turks, and he had finally realized his lifelong dream of being a professor of four significant theological disciplines at the young age of twenty-eight.[27] The new seminary welcomed twenty-nine students from sixteen states and two students from Mexico, which not only diversified the student body but infused it with renewed energy and excitement.[28] However, with Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, and the onset of World War II, the uncertainty of the seminarians' future and that of their school weighed heavy on their minds and hearts. As indicated previously, the Pomfret school was a two-year "preparatory" theological school that prepared its graduates for formal theological training in Greece or at Halki. The war was sure to make travel to Europe impossible. As a result, Archbishop Athenagoras called a special session of the Board of Trustees of the seminary and formally changed its status to a "complete theological school."[29] Seminarians would receive all their education and training at the Archdiocese's seminary henceforth known as Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

The seminarians admired Deacon Iakovos who was born, raised, and educated near Constantinople, which they believed conveyed the classical Greek culture well into the modern era and was the spiritual center of the Orthodox Christian faith since late antiquity. Iakovos's teachings went beyond the classroom.[30] He strived to shape the young seminarians' priestly formation with respect to their personal hygiene, appearance, and comportment as icons of Christ patterned after the priestly mannerisms of Constantinople.[31] He taught that the priest's movements within the liturgical services and outside the church should be refined, graceful, dignified, and never abrupt or mechanical, and that a genuine priest should always strive to exemplify and personify the integrity of the God-man Jesus Christ in every aspect of his life.[32] Moreover, Deacon Iakovos's Greek, classical and modern, was flawless.[33] The students, many of whom struggled

with the language as children of immigrants, admired the young deacon's command of the ancient language. The seminary immersed its students in the Greek and expected them to speak it in and out of the classroom. [34] The faculty taught their courses in Greek and expected the seminarians to be fluent enough to attend theological schools in Greece or Constantinople upon graduation. Poulos writes, "The dean [Bishop Cavadas] never let the student forget that his every utterance, in or out of class, should be in Greek."[35]

Iakovos was aware of the seminarians multifaceted spiritual and linguistic struggles, which served to endear him to his students and helped him overcome his homesickness and feelings of despair. He would later remember, "I lost the anxieties that accompany the bewildered immigrant and felt right at home…. My nostalgia vanished and my spirits, which had been sagging since arriving on American shores, were uplifted in the presence of spirited youth with infectious high hopes and aspirations…. I became acquainted with freedom for the first time…. The students instilled in me a confidence in myself, which had all but vanished."[36] Iakovos immersed himself in his lesson plans and in the lives of his students. He also learned a great deal from his new mentor, Bishop Cavadas, whom Iakovos described as one possessing "grace, strength of character, and fortitude, from which emerged the classical priest."[37] Both Bishop Cavadas and Deacon Iakovos would make an indelible impression on the seminarians' priestly formation and ecclesiastical consciousness. [38] The faculty, seminarians, clergy, and laypersons of the Greek American Archdiocese revered Bishop Athenagoras Cavadas as the prototypical Greek Orthodox priest that all clergymen were to emulate.[39] Referring to Bishop Cavadas, Iakovos would later state, "He was the kind of man I wanted to be."[40]

Athenagoras Cavadas was born on the Greek island of Corfu in 1884. He graduated from the theological school of the University of Athens and was ordained a deacon in 1909, and a priest

in 1910. During the same year as his ordination to the priesthood, the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece elected him to be the assistant dean of the Rizarion Seminary in Athens where he served with distinction until 1917. In 1918, Cavadas studied at Oxford, and upon completion returned to Athens. In 1921, Metropolitan Meletios Metaxakis of Athens, who was at that time in the process of establishing the Greek American Archdiocese in New York, invited Fr. Cavadas to the United States. As a priest, Cavadas ministered the Greek parishes in San Francisco, California, and Haverhill, Massachusetts, where he played a decisive role in healing the royalist-Venizelist conflict in those communities until the early 1930s when Archbishop Athenagoras selected him as chancellor of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. When Archbishop Athenagoras established the seminary in Pomfret, Connecticut in 1937, he called upon the charismatic, erudite, and experienced Cavadas to be its first dean. The Archbishop elevated him to the office of the episcopacy a year later as the Greek Orthodox Bishop of Boston and the New England states while serving as dean of the seminary and intermittently as chancellor of the Archdiocese. Cavadas's close association with the progressive Patriarch Meletios Metaxakis and his command of the English language that he attained at Oxford would make him one of the leading Orthodox Christian protagonists in the ecumenical movement.[41]

Under the guidance of Bishop Cavadas, Deacon Iakovos's transition to academic and clerical life in the United States continued successfully from the fall of 1939 until the end of his first year of teaching in the spring of 1940. As a professor, Iakovos earned eighty dollars per month, an amount the seminary could barely afford.[42] Iakovos must have made a significant impression not only upon his students, but also on the faculty and dean who recommended his ordination to the priesthood to expand Iakovos's responsibilities, his role at the seminary and in the Greek American community. On July 16, 1940, Bishop Cavadas ordained Iakovos to the priesthood at

the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in Lowell, Massachusetts. A month later, Cavadas elevated him to the priestly rank of archimandrite,[43] and in September of 1940, as the assistant dean and dean of students of the seminary.[44] To supplement Iakovos's meager income, Bishop Cavadas assigned him as pastor of St. George Greek Orthodox Church in Hartford, Connecticut—approximately forty miles from Pomfret. He would serve the St. George parish in Hartford while teaching and acting in the capacity of assistant dean at the Pomfret seminary for the 1940–1941 academic year.

At the beginning of Fr. Iakovos's second year at the seminary in the fall of 1940, the Second World War escalated across Europe and in the Pacific. Hitler's European expansion had reached the oilfields of Romania, which alarmed his Italian ally Benito Mussolini and threatened to extend German occupation in areas Mussolini planned to conquer and control himself, namely, the Balkan nations and Greece. Mussolini already had amassed a large military force in Albania by summer's end. On October 28, 1940, at three o'clock in the morning, Mussolini issued an ultimatum to the Greek prime minister, Ioannis Metaxas, demanding the use of strategic sites in Greece or face invasion. The prime minister's immediate reply was simple and direct, "No." Mussolini promptly declared war on Greece, ordering his army to invade from Albania. Within two weeks, the Greek army had stopped the Italian invasion just within Greece's borders and launched a counterattack that pushed the Italian forces back into Albania. Greeks throughout Greece and as far as America were euphoric at their countrymen's heroic resistance and victory. The defeat of the Italian forces was one of the first suffered by the previously undefeated Axis Powers.[45]

With respect to the Greek victory over the Italian army in late 1940, Moskos writes, "The initial successes of the Greek army in throwing back the Italian invaders had an exhilarating effect on the Greek American community. The heroism of the Greeks was given laudatory coverage in

the American media, and Greek Americans basked in unaccustomed glory."[46] In a similar vein, Saloutos writes, "Greek Americans who had 'washed their hands' of Greek affairs or had lost their earlier enthusiasm for the mother country suddenly wanted the entire world to know that they too were Greeks…. Unlike the World War One period, when the American populace viewed Greek Americans with contemptuous amusement or as undesirable aliens, World War Two brought them status and dignity."[47] With the invasion of Greece, Greek Americans quickly rallied to support their motherland. On November 7, 1940—a week after the Italian invasion of Greece—leaders of the Greek American communities across the United States assembled in New York and formed the Greek War Relief Association (GWRA).[48] The GWRA assembly elected the Greek American magnate, Spyros Skouras (president of the National Theaters Company), as its national chairman and Archbishop Athenagoras as honorary chairman. The assembly determined to raise ten million dollars in its initial drive and to send it to Greece "for the relief of the civilian population."[49]

Saloutos writes that the entire Greek American community mobilized its "widely scattered clubs, societies, national organizations…. [c]ommunity and church leaders, businessmen, professional groups, wage earners, and housewives."[50] On November 20, 1940, the first press release of the GWRA announced the creation of over three hundred local GWRA committees to coordinate the fund-raising activities of the approximately two thousand Greek organizations in the United States.[51] The conflicts and animosities of the past (e.g., the royalist-Venizelist controversy) were quickly forgotten as Greek Americans rallied to support Mother Greece. Even before the GWRA distributed its first press release, Archbishop Athenagoras issued an encyclical to all the parishes of the Archdiocese on November 11, 1940, calling upon all the faithful "to put aside all other programs and projects and assist in the work of the GWRA."[52]

Archbishop Athenagoras also sent the charismatic Bishop Cavadas, the Pomfret seminary dean and bishop of Boston, to deliver patriotic speeches to Greek American communities across the country to raise funds for the GWRA, and he also placed the seminarians at the forefront of the GWRA's multifaceted efforts. Papaioannou writes

> The students took an active participation in the Greek War Relief, giving their time as secretaries in the school office, printing pamphlets in the school's printing shop and other source material to be distributed to the people, collecting clothing and money, organizing Greek patriotic programs, stage plays, musicals. The dean, who was also the Bishop of the Third Archdiocesan District [Boston and New England region], had to devote all his energy in arousing the patriotic feelings of the Greek Americans by visiting parishes, addressing organizations and societies, and meeting influential Americans for financial and [other] help.[53]

The unprecedented unification of the Greek American community that the GWRA brought was an enormous success not only to a previously fragmented Greek American community but also to the people of Greece.[54] From the time of its establishment in early November of 1940 until the Nazi occupation of Greece at the end of April 1941, nine hundred sixty-four chapters of GWRA sent $3,336,700 to its GWRA committee in Athens to purchase ambulances, to build bomb-proof shelters and soup kitchens, and to provide food, medicine, and clothing to the civilian population before the privations of the Nazi occupation would begin.[55]

During the academic year of 1940–1941, Bishop Cavadas was frequently absent from the seminary for extended periods of time campaigning on behalf of the GWRA. In the absence of the bishop, Fr. Iakovos served as the acting dean of the seminary. In addition to teaching his own courses, he taught Bishop Cavadas's classes while concurrently serving the parish of St. George in Hartford. At the beginning of the fall term of 1941, Iakovos continued teaching and functioning as assistant dean at the seminary. However, recognizing Iakovos's priestly qualities and personal charisma, Archbishop Athenagoras transferred him from the Greek American community in Hartford to the Holy Trinity Archdiocesan Cathedral in Manhattan to minister on weekends as

associate pastor and preacher. Fr. Iakovos would serve the seminary and the Archdiocesan Cathedral in this capacity until June of 1942.[56]

Although Iakovos had achieved his lifelong dream of being a teacher, he still had the desire to further his studies. Without informing the dean or the archbishop, Iakovos applied to the theological school of Princeton University in early 1942. To his surprise, Princeton accepted him to begin his graduate studies in the fall of that year; however, Iakovos had to obtain the permission from the dean of the seminary and Archbishop Athenagoras. At the seminary's commencement ceremonies in the spring of 1942, Iakovos made his request to Bishop Cavadas who deferred his decision to the archbishop. When Iakovos asked Archbishop Athenagoras for his blessing, the Archbishop was visibly disappointed and said, "You are ungrateful." When Iakovos asked why he felt this way about him, the Archbishop replied, "I have never received a clergyman who had so many expectations. I had assigned you as an instructor at the seminary; I had assigned you as a pastor and preacher at the Archdiocesan Cathedral, and I elevated you to assistant dean of the seminary, and instead of being grateful for all I have done for you, you ask to leave and be a student again."[57] Archbishop Athenagoras feared that Iakovos would abandon his priestly ministry and pursue an academic career instead. The archbishop brusquely told Iakovos that he would transfer him to parish into America's hinterland. When Iakovos pleaded that this transfer "would be the death of me," Athenagoras responded, "Then I send you there to die."[58] Archbishop Athenagoras denied his request and immediately transferred Fr. Iakovos to the St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church in St. Louis, Missouri.[59]

Iakovos's "exile" in St. Louis, away from the Archdiocesan Cathedral, Princeton University, the seminary, and far from Archbishop Athenagoras, lasted less than three months; however, within those three months, Fr. Iakovos conducted Monday evening Bible classes that

averaged two hundred parishioners attending. He also increased enrollment of the parish's Greek school to one hundred twenty-five students.[60] When Archbishop Athenagoras transferred the Boston Cathedral's priest to the Archdiocesan Cathedral in the early summer of 1942, Bishop Cavadas requested of the Archbishop to have Fr. Iakovos Coucouzes fill the vacancy at the Boston cathedral. With some hesitation, the Archbishop verbally acquiesced. In a letter addressed to Archbishop Athenagoras dated July 21, 1942, Iakovos expressed his deep gratitude to Athenagoras for agreeing to his imminent transfer from the St. Louis parish to the Annunciation Cathedral of Boston and his reinstatement to the faculty of the Pomfret seminary; he received no response.

Iakovos sent an additional letter to the Archbishop on August 4, to confirm his transfer but again received no reply. He sent a third—more anxious—letter on August 18, 1942, and finally received a response on August 24, 1942, stating that his transfer will take effect in September—but at a lower salary than his predecessor—and that he has the Archbishop's permission to register as a graduate student at Harvard Divinity School.[61] Fr. Iakovos Coucouzes began his tenure as the dean of the Annunciation Cathedral in Boston on September 1, 1942;[62] he enrolled as a graduate student at Harvard Divinity School, and he assumed a part-time faculty position at the seminary but received no compensation for teaching. Iakovos believed that teaching without pay or reimbursement for travel expenses from Boston to Pomfret and back was Archbishop Athenagoras's way of reprimanding him for being "ungrateful," a price he would gladly pay to return to New England.[63]

Fr. Iakovos began his priestly ministry at Boston's Annunciation Cathedral in earnest. The cathedral had four hundred paid members and one hundred fifty children enrolled in the Sunday catechetical school in 1942. Within a decade of Iakovos's arrival, the cathedral flourished and experienced unprecedented growth: paid membership increased to one thousand two hundred

members and Sunday school enrollment to two thousand students.[64] Contemporaries of Iakovos attributed the exponential growth in the cathedral's membership primarily to him. In 1949, Fr. Vasilios Efthimiou, who was Iakovos's predecessor at the Boston cathedral before his appointment as chancellor of the Archdiocese, wrote, "The community of Boston in the last five years under the leadership of Archimandrite[65] Iakovos Coucouzes has reached such great heights that not only the Holy Archdiocese but all its communities have it as a model."[66]

As a celibate priest without familial obligations, Iakovos devoted all his time and energy to the parish community. In a letter to Archbishop Athenagoras requesting an assistant priest, Iakovos writes, "I serve from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day, no exceptions. I have no time for my own personal training, lectures, or even sermons."[67] His passion for the Orthodox Christian faith and fervency for the Greek heritage and its values—classical and Byzantine[68]—appealed to his parishioners, many of whom were immigrants and who had experienced the pain of racial discrimination by American nativists less than a generation ago. Because of this discrimination, some Greeks anglicized their names or publicly hid their Greek identity.[69] Many feared losing their Greek identity and language in a faraway land where Greeks were but a drop in an ocean of ethnicities and races, and in a country where race and ethnicity mattered considerably. Many Greeks also feared for their children's and grandchildren's complete assimilation into a culture they considered alien.[70]

Iakovos confronted these fears directly with zeal, passion, and conviction whether with fiery oratory from the pulpit or in personal encounters in the church's community center or his parishioners' homes and businesses. He sought to instill pride and confidence in his parishioners' Greek Orthodox heritage along with their American patriotism. As he wrote in the cathedral's monthly bulletin, *Annunciation*, "Anyone of the number of terms can be used to define *The Greeks*,

a justifiable pride, a sincere sense of worthiness, consciousness of heritage, cultivated, quick thought, a progressive mind, or free conscience. All are characteristic of a civilized man living within the sphere of Greek, Christian society."[71] He believed that the Greek Orthodox Church in America was relevant not only for liturgical and pastoral services, but he recognized a more immediate, tangible, and equally relevant purpose that the Orthodox Church in America possessed. In the time of the *Turkocratia*,[72] the Orthodox Church was the repository of the ancient Christian faith and the Greek language and culture that have transcended history. As he often reminded his flock, "We do not wish to be branded as being nationalistic. Greek…does not refer to any national character but to the philosophical background and the intellectual light under which Christianity in the first four centuries…was…formulated."[73]

Iakovos believed that the Church's mission was to communicate the ancient Christian faith and the Greek language and culture to its faithful and eventually to all Americans.[74] As he addressed his parishioners:

> When we speak of our church we mean our community, the institution devoted to the preservation of our racial traditions and ideals…. In my opinion, the main objects of our community's existence are as follows: to communicate to our young the principles of Christianity in accordance with the teachings of the ancient Orthodox Church to the end of developing Christian character and good American citizenship; to enrich the American scene by the introduction of the finest Greek culture and idealism, and to maintain unalterable bonds with Greece.[75]

For Iakovos, the Orthodox faith and a mind educated in Greek thought was the medicine that holistically heals what ails the human person and human society and ultimately dignifies all human beings. To this end, Iakovos sought to make the Greek parish the religious, cultural, social, and philanthropic center of the Greek American community.[76] He succeeded in gathering many of the educated and the affluent Greek Americans of Boston who shared in his vision of making the cathedral a center of Orthodox Christianity that stressed the dignity of humanity and of Hellenic philosophical ideals, namely, freedom, justice, and equality.[77] As Iakovos said, "Man being a

creature of God…the crowning glory of all creation is…created according to the image of God and for the sole purpose of reaching the ultimate goal of resemblance to God. This attainment is possible through the careful use of man's freedom of will. For man was created free, with all the potentialities of attaining or abstaining from perfection."[78] With respect to the significance of Greek culture, Iakovos stated, "We, of Greek origin, have a heavier responsibility in securing [all] freedoms because our historical background and cultural heritage are a cry for spiritual and creative freedom. If our churches, our communities, our race, and religion are to survive, it is we who must make it survive. No other individuals are more qualified for this great challenge than you, my dear friends."[79]

Having assumed the deanship of the Boston cathedral during the early years of World War II, Fr. Iakovos zealously campaigned for the Greek War Relief Association. He sold war bonds and charismatically encouraged his flock to participate and support the efforts of the Red Cross. He mailed Bibles, Orthodox prayer books, and other religious items to men and women serving in the armed forces. In addition to the many church services of the Greek Orthodox Church, he frequently conducted special prayer services for allied combatants, for an end to the war, and for their safe return home.[80] Although he was not an advocate for war and violence, he believed in a "just war" doctrine as a last resort to overthrow tyranny and oppression as was the case in Greece's revolution against the Ottoman Turks a little more than a century before. Iakovos agreed wholeheartedly in Archbishop Athenagoras's definition of a just war, which the archbishop articulated in a letter sent to the seven hundred-fourteen parishioners of the Boston cathedral who served in the United States Army: "America joined the war not to conquer but to liberate, not to gain riches but to give a better life to the entire world, not to create hatred but to spread the love of Christ to all people, not do an injustice to anyone but for justice to prevail in the world."[81]

Despite the horrific cost in human lives, the Second World War unified an erstwhile fragmented Greek American community around their churches and cultural centers where they participated in a variety of services and fund-raising campaigns to support the war effort. Greeks in America wholeheartedly supported the war effort. Before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Greek support for the war focused on contributing an assortment of financial aid, medicine, and clothing to Greece. After Pearl Harbor, their emphasis was on the American effort. Saloutos opines, "The sons and daughters of immigrants joined the armed forces or were drafted. Since the average Greek family was large, it is reasonable to assume that at least one son in each family was in uniform or engaged in an essential operation."[82] Iakovos recalled that during the war years Greek Americans possessed a euphoric patriotism and that Americans had a newfound respect for Greeks. He said, "All Americans were Philhellenes, and they all spoke with admiration for Greece. Until [World War II], Americans did not know very much about contemporary Greeks or associated them among the lower strata of American society. Suddenly, when they mentioned the name 'Greek,' people would respond, 'Greek the brave, the victor…. After World War II, no one hid the fact that we were Greek; we would say it with pride."[83]

Greek Americans rejoiced at the Nazi withdrawal from Greece in October of 1944 and Germany's surrender in April 1945.[84] During the dreaded Nazi occupation of Greece, the most effective resistance force was the Soviet-backed Greek communists, who initially had the support of the Greek American community. When the British-backed Greek government returned from exile, they slighted the Greek communists who felt they had earned a place in the postwar Greek government and who had wished to prosecute those Greek officials who collaborated with the Nazis. By early spring of 1946, Greece was plunged into a civil war that pitted the Greek communists against allied-back Greek government forces. Iakovos remembered that during World

War II Greek Americans supported the Greek communist resistance and were just recently celebrating the homeland's victory and the end of the war. For the first time Greeks were proud to call themselves Greek and American: "When we learned that the Greek communists were fighting the allied-back government, we removed our hats and lowered our heads in shame."[85] The Greek civil war would continue to ravage Greece until October of 1949.[86] At the onset of the Cold War, Iakovos remembered feeling anxious that Americans, who had just accepted the Greeks, would now consider them communists in their midst. However, Iakovos recalled that American postwar aid for Greece (i.e., the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine) dispelled these notions as most Greek Americans rallied around the American flag.[87]

As the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union escalated and with Greece in the midst of a civil war, the Greek Orthodox Church—in Constantinople and in the New World—would soon experience unprecedented changes. Fr. Iakovos returned to his native island of Imbros to visit his parents in the summer of 1947, his first journey home since he had left in the spring of 1939. During his two-month leave, he visited with Patriarch Maximos V of Constantinople and on his return to the United States via Athens visited with the Archbishop of Greece.[88] Patriarch Maximos's reign as Ecumenical Patriarch lasted for only two years (1946–1948). He allegedly had communist sympathies, which prompted his resignation at a time when the United States was striving to keep Greece and Turkey out of the Soviet sphere of influence. As a result of Maximos's resignation, on November 1, 1948, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected Archbishop Athenagoras of America as Ecumenical Patriarch. Papapioannou considers Athenagoras's election "one of the most controversial elections in the history of the Ecumenical See," because of the alleged influence of the United States government on the

electors.[89] Athenagoras was a fervent anticommunist and enjoyed a close friendship with President Truman, whose presidential plane transported him to Constantinople on January 25, 1949.[90]

Before departing for Constantinople, Archbishop Athenagoras appointed Bishop Cavadas of Boston (also dean of the seminary) as locum tenens until the Patriarchate elected a new archbishop. Because of his years of distinguished service to the Greek Archdiocese in America and his close ties to the new Patriarch, Cavadas was confident of his election as the new Greek Archbishop of the Americas. Fr. Iakovos wrote a letter of endorsement to Patriarch Athenagoras on Cavadas's behalf.[91] Surprisingly, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate chose not to elect Bishop Cavadas; instead, they elected Metropolitan Timothy of Rhodes. However, Metropolitan Timothy had passed away suddenly in Constantinople shortly before he could accept his new assignment.[92] The Patriarchal Synod soon reconvened and again passed over a shocked Bishop Cavadas electing Metropolitan Michael Constantinides of Corinth as the new Greek Archbishop of North and South America on October 11, 1949. Archbishop Michael subsequently arrived in New York on December 15, 1949.[93]

The fame of Fr. Iakovos's successful priestly ministry at the Boston Cathedral spread during the 1940s, which prompted opportunities for him to serve the Church in different parishes and capacities. As early as December of 1943, the Annunciation Cathedral of San Francisco requested his transfer to their community, which he declined. In April of 1946, Archbishop Athenagoras appointed Fr. Iakovos chancellor of the Archdiocese and repeatedly inquired when he would come to assume his new post. The cathedral's council members pleaded with Athenagoras to rescind the transfer. Iakovos also appeared to delay his transfer and by June of that year claimed that a "blood condition" required him to remain in Boston.[94] In August of 1946,

Athenagoras informed Iakovos that he would elevate him to the rank of bishop and assign him as director of the Archdiocese's mission center; Iakovos did not reply.[95]

Fr. Iakovos had become sufficiently fluent in English through personal study (a lifelong endeavor), interacting with younger parishioners, and attending Harvard Divinity School, from which he graduated in 1945.[96] Archbishop Athenagoras entrusted Fr. Iakovos with organizing and hosting the Ninth Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress at the Boston Cathedral in the fall of 1946.[97] He continued teaching at Holy Cross Seminary in Pomfret, Connecticut. Every Thursday morning, he would travel there by train from Boston and return late in the evening.[98] In 1946, Iakovos was instrumental in finding a new site for the seminary in Brookline, Massachusetts and in raising the $176,000 purchase price. Before the beginning of the academic year 1947–1948, the seminary relocated to Brookline, and Iakovos reluctantly tendered his resignation as a faculty member to focus his attention on the growing demands of the Boston cathedral.[99] However, Iakovos's reputation as an excellent theologian and parish priest reached as far as Constantinople. In February of 1947, Patriarch Maximos V informed Iakovos via Archbishop Athenagoras that he had appointed Iakovos to a faculty position at the theological school of Halki, Iakovos's alma mater.

Although honored by the appointment, Iakovos vacillated. The Patriarchate informed him of the documents he needed to gather, translate, and send to the Turkish authorities in Ankara before he could assume his post. Iakovos traveled to Halki in June of 1947 and returned to Boston in August. Patriarch Maximos anticipated Iakovos teaching at Halki in September of that year, but Iakovos had not sent his paperwork. The board of trustees at Halki sent written notices to Iakovos in September and November to report for his teaching duties. Iakovos responded on November 12, 1947, that an illness had incapacitated him and the lengthy process of obtaining his paperwork was

the reason for the delay.[100] Before the end of January 1948, Patriarch Maximos corresponded with Archbishop Athenagoras to direct Iakovos to quickly "attend to his affairs [and] leave from there bearing all [documents]…." Maximos repeated his orders to Iakovos in a telegram dated June 3, 1948.[101] Iakovos responded to the Patriarch's telegram in a letter addressed to Archbishop Athenagoras on July 13, 1948, claiming several reasons for not heeding the call to teach at Halki: Iakovos claimed he was infirm but did not provide details of his illness or why it precluded him from traveling to Turkey. Moreover, he stated that he believed that the Turkish authorities would not issue him a work permit because of discrepancies in his immigration papers. Finally, he indicated that he wished to pursue a doctorate in theology in the United States. Fearing that his reasons and delay tactics had offended the Patriarch, Iakovos asked Athenagoras to intervene.[102] The Patriarchate made a final appeal to Iakovos on December 29, 1948, but by this time Athenagoras was Patriarch, and Iakovos assumed the matter resolved and never responded.[103] Patriarch Athenagoras I, the former Greek Orthodox Archbishop of the Americas, began his long tenure as the Ecumenical Patriarch (1948–1972).

Despite the opportunities offered to him since becoming the dean of the cathedral in 1942, Iakovos continued his priestly duties in Boston well into the summer of 1950. Of the myriad pastoral, liturgical, and administrative duties associated with a large parish—not to mention the many war relief efforts (i.e., WWII and the Greek civil war)—Iakovos devoted most of his time and energy to youth ministry. He believed that religious education along with Greek language and cultural education would equip the younger generation to face contemporary social issues and secure their future leadership in the Church and American society. Among the many youth ministries Fr. Iakovos initiated during his tenure at the Boston Cathedral (1942–1954), the most successful in terms of attendance and public relations was the Sunday evening youth vespers

service and interfaith lecture series.[104] In the spirit of Patriarchs Meletios Metaxakis, Athenagoras I, Bishop Cavadas of Boston (later Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Great Britain), and the new Greek Orthodox Archbishop Michael of the Americas—who were all staunch ecumenists[105]—Iakovos was the first to initiate a youth ministry that sought to enhance young Greek Orthodox Christians' knowledge of their own faith while introducing them to the religious teachings of other Christian denominations and religions.

The Sunday evening youth vespers and interfaith lecture series formally began in February of 1951. The evening consisted of a brief Orthodox evening prayer service followed by a lecture with a question-and-answer period from an Orthodox Christian clergyman or qualified lay professional or credentialed speakers from other Christian and non-Christian religions. Topics included comparative religion presentations and discussions on contemporary moral and societal issues. The response from the youth of the cathedral and the metropolitan Boston area was substantial with hundreds attending.[106] The success of Iakovos's parish, youth, and interfaith ministry at the Boston cathedral did not go unnoticed. In a letter of appreciation to Fr. Iakovos, the cathedral's council expressed their "many thanks for the miracle of the Sunday night Vesper services, which so amply serve the young adult groups. Our appreciation must be stressed for your untiring work…for the countless other functions of our church such as the radio hour, the increased attendance of children of the Sunday School and many, many other activities."[107]

Iakovos's fame in the Greek American community grew in the early 1950s beyond the New England region. Parishes invited him to address their congregations and youth groups. Archbishop Michael directed Fr. Iakovos to represent him at various Archdiocesan, public, and ecumenical venues.[108] Across the Atlantic, the reputation of the charismatic Fr. Iakovos was not overlooked. In August of 1950, Patriarch Athenagoras informed Iakovos that the Holy Synod of

the Ecumenical Patriarchate elevated him to the rank of bishop and appointed him dean of the theological school of Halki. Iakovos once again had to decide whether to accept the honor and leave the United States—where he had recently received his citizenship[109]—or risk offending Patriarch Athenagoras, the Holy Synod of Constantinople, and the board of trustees of Halki. Letters and telegrams from parishioners of the Boston cathedral poured into the Patriarchate endorsing Iakovos's elevation to the episcopacy but requesting that he remain in America.[110]

Iakovos vacillated again. Initially, he accepted his election to the episcopacy and appointment as dean of the theological school at Halki, but after further consideration, in a letter addressed to Archbishop Michael dated October 25, 1950, Iakovos decided to decline the honor the Patriarchate had bestowed on him a second time in order to remain at the Boston cathedral.[111] Further attempts from Greek government officials that Iakovos reconsider persisted for several months but to no avail.[112] On May 15, 1951, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate annulled its episcopal election of Fr. Iakovos.[113] Subsequently, Archbishop Michael reassigned Iakovos as dean of the Boston cathedral in the early summer of 1951 to resume his priestly duties there. Although pleased with his decision to remain in Boston, Iakovos knew he had twice declined the Patriarchate and was certain that any future opportunities to rise into the hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church had vanished. What disappointed him most was disappointing Patriarch Athenagoras. Iakovos would later recall, "I upset Athenagoras yet again…. At first, I agreed to go, because I was very flattered that he named me dean of the Halki Theological School as well…. It was a great show of disrespect, clear insubordination, and Patriarch Athenagoras punished me by not speaking to me for three years. He would never answer any of my letters, regardless of the kind of letter that it was."[114]

Iakovos's ministry at the Annunciation Cathedral in Boston continued to flourish, but his estrangement from Patriarch Athenagoras "deeply distressed him."[115] In the spring of 1953, Iakovos learned that his mother was gravely ill. He requested a leave of absence (April 20 through June of 1953) from the cathedral to visit with her and to visit Patriarch Athenagoras in Constantinople in hopes of mending their relationship. After spending several days with his mother on Imbros, Iakovos departed for Constantinople to meet with Athenagoras. He remained at the Patriarchate for almost two weeks (May 15 to May 28, 1953) when he finally met with Athenagoras. Iakovos explained to him the reasons—mentioned previously—he chose to remain in Boston and decline the episcopacy; Athenagoras did not accept the reasons.[116] Nevertheless, Iakovos apologized and vowed heretofore to accept "without reservation any appointment by the Archdiocese or the Patriarchate."[117] Verbally, Athenagoras never forgave Iakovos for his disobedience, insubordination, and disrespect, but Iakovos later recalled that he forgave me "with his eyes and his entire demeanor."[118]

After departing Constantinople, Iakovos arrived in Athens to meet with the Archbishop of Greece and with the royal family of Greece. While en route to the United States, Iakovos stopped in London to attend the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II with his dear friend and mentor Athenagoras Cavadas, the prior bishop of Boston and dean of the Greek American seminary. At the time of Iakovos's visit (June 1953), Cavadas was the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Great Britain and Western and Central Europe.[119] Interestingly, since his archdiocese encompassed countries significantly involved in the ecumenical movement, Cavadas was the leading representative and delegate of the Greek Orthodox Church and Ecumenical Patriarchate to the World Council of Churches. This seemingly unrelated fact would have enormous effects on Iakovos's future and for the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America. Iakovos arrived in Boston

in late June of 1953 relieved and pleased at having seen his mother, at having mended his relationship with Patriarch Athenagoras, and at having visited his mentor Bishop Cavadas in London.

While Fr. Iakovos was back at the Boston cathedral, Archbishop Michael sent a letter to Patriarch Athenagoras on October 23, 1953, requesting Iakovos's elevation to the episcopacy to become the bishop of Chicago—the second largest Archdiocesan district comprised of seventy-two parishes in fifteen states. Moreover, in the spring of 1954, influential laypersons petitioned the Patriarch that he elevate and assign Iakovos as bishop of Boston and the New England states; Athenagoras never responded.[120] However, later that same year, Archbishop Cavadas of Great Britain and ecumenical representative of Patriarchate requested Patriarch Athenagoras to ordain Fr. Iakovos Coucouzes as his auxiliary bishop in hopes of having him serve as the new Patriarchal representative to the World Council of Churches.[121] Sensing the imminence of Iakovos's episcopal ordination, Archbishop Michael transferred Fr. Iakovos from the Boston cathedral to dean of the Holy Cross Seminary in Brookline, Massachusetts on December 10, 1954. A week later, on December 17, 1954, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate announced that Fr. Iakovos Coucouzes would be ordained the bishop of Melita (i.e., Malta) and "advised him to come to Constantinople following the election to be ordained."[122]

Despite Iakovos declining elevation to the episcopacy on two previous occasions and each time disappointing Patriarch Athenagoras, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate could not overlook Iakovos's successful ministry at the Boston cathedral, especially concerning his youth ministry and the interfaith lecture series initiatives. Bishop-elect Iakovos arrived in Constantinople on January 23, 1955, and for the next several days met with Patriarch Athenagoras to discuss his new assignment, which he was to begin immediately following his ordination. On February 6,

1955, Metropolitan Iakovos of Derkon presided over the ordination of Iakovos Coucouzes to the episcopacy as Bishop of Melita in the Patriarchal Cathedral of St. George in Constantinople.[123] At the reception following the ordination, Metropolitan Iakovos addressed the new Bishop Iakovos and those in attendance, "Your Grace, we have faith in the almighty grace of God, that, just as you did here at the beginning of your ministry and subsequently in America, whereby Your Grace fully justified the high regard, trust, love, and dreams that we have for you, so now, from this new position and mission, through your close collaboration with the chosen members of the respective churches and denominations…will you open new horizons, so that the people of the earth will come together...."[124] The Metropolitan of Derkon's speech highlighted the new role Bishop Iakovos would soon play on behalf of the worldwide Orthodox Church in the growing ecumenical movement of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland.[125]

Before departing for Geneva, the newly ordained bishop of Melita, Iakovos Coucouzes, traveled to his native island of Imbros to visit his mother for the last time: she would die later that year on August 28, 1955.[126] Returning to Constantinople, he met with Patriarch Athenagoras to receive further instructions on his new assignment. Iakovos was hesitant, afraid perhaps, as he confessed to the Patriarch, "[Geneva] is a strange land to me, my mission is an unfamiliar one, and so is this World Council of Churches."[127] However, given his prior "disobedience and insubordination" to Athenagoras, he did not dare protest. Since the Ecumenical Patriarchate was one of the earliest participants of the ecumenical movement (circa. 1904) and a founding member of the World Council of Churches (1948), Athenagoras stressed the importance of Christian unity and the necessity for the Ecumenical Patriarchate to play a leading role in initiating dialogue with other national Orthodox churches and other Christian denominations in hopes of eventually unifying all Christian churches—Orthodox and non-Orthodox—at some time in the future.[128] Until

that time when unity is achieved, the member churches of the World Council of Churches could cooperate to confront social and political injustices affecting people of all faiths and nations including, human rights and care for the needy.[129]

Patriarch Athenagoras explained to Bishop Iakovos his role as the Ecumenical Patriarchate's representative to the WCC. Philippou writes, "In Geneva, [Iakovos's] task was threefold: firstly, he had to be the official spokesman of the Ecumenical Throne; secondly, he had to inform Patriarch Athenagoras on both problems and progress made in the World Council of Churches; and thirdly, he had to enlighten fellow Orthodox all over the world on the main principles of the ecumenical enterprise."[130] On February 11, 1955, Bishop Iakovos departed Constantinople to begin his new assignment in Geneva, Switzerland. He wasted no time meeting with leaders of the WCC and with representatives from various member churches; moreover, Iakovos traveled extensively visiting all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches, even those in communist countries behind the Iron Curtain. Employing the same charisma and enthusiasm as he did at the Boston cathedral a decade before, Iakovos met with the leading clergy of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches persuading them to engage in dialogue on matters of intra-Orthodox concern and encouraged them to take an active interest in the efforts of the WCC. Stephanopoulos and Papaioannou agree that Iakovos was instrumental in bringing the Russian and several Slavic Orthodox churches into the WCC (i.e., in 1961).[131]

During the time Bishop Iakovos was in Geneva, the World Council of Churches continued its search for common ground upon which Christian unity could be realized. Iakovos suggested that the starting point for Christian unity should begin with the common agreement of two fundamental Christian principles, the universal acceptance of the original Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.[132] The Nicene Creed was the first

commonly accepted articulation of the early, undivided Christian Church. The early Church introduced it in AD 325 and completed it in AD 381 at the First and Second Ecumenical Councils, respectively. Iakovos believed that since it was a unifying profession of faith for the early Church, it could serve equally well in the twentieth century.[133]

Moreover, Iakovos emphasized that all the member churches of the WCC shared a common belief in the Triune God and that all member churches already accepted this early Christian belief they commonly interpreted from the Bible. Iakovos and other Orthodox ecumenists believed that the Holy Trinity should serve as a model for the WCC's efforts towards Christian unity—actually, a model of unity for all human beings as well.[134] For example, the Triune God is a unity of three distinct Persons (i.e., Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) sharing a perpetual love for one another and a common unity in one divine nature. The unique divine nature and the perpetual movement of love among the three Persons of the Trinity actualize unity through diversity: ontologically, the Christian God is both Three Persons but One God. Likewise, the Triune-God principle of unity through diversity should serve as a model for unity among churches and all human beings since God created human beings in His image and likeness. As human beings share a common humanity, they are also diverse and unique. By incorporating the perpetual love of God among each other, human beings—and their churches—too could realize unity through diversity. Stephanopoulos attributes to Iakovos the words, "If the Church is ecumenical, then we must be ecumenical in truth and in love."[135]

Iakovos did not utilize his four years in Geneva for religious and ecumenical purposes only. He organized several trips to Constantinople so that WCC representatives and church leaders from various denominations could meet Patriarch Athenagoras, who enthusiastically supported the ecumenical movement and the work of the WCC. Moreover, Iakovos would introduce WCC

church leaders to the continuing plight and oppressive conditions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the shrinking Greek communities in Turkey that lived in this country from before the time of Homer. Hostilities against the Greek minority and the confiscation of churches, Greek language schools, and properties owned by the Church continued unabated even after the secularization of the Turkish republic in the 1920s. For a Greek Orthodox Christian living in Turkey, life increasingly became intolerable. Tens of thousands of Greeks fled abandoning their property and possessions especially after the pogrom in Constantinople on September 6–7, 1955.[136]

Moreover, Iakovos utilized his WCC position and introduced church leaders to the volatile British decolonization effort occurring on the Mediterranean island of Cyprus with its eighty-five percent Greek and fifteen percent Turkish populations. Greek Cypriots favored annexation by Greece or independence; Turkish Cypriots preferred independence, but the Republic of Turkey threatened to invade if the majority Greek Cypriot population voted for union with Greece. Iakovos would continue to speak out for human and religious rights for the Constantinopolitan and Asia Minor Greek population and a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem in the World Council of Churches but more so as the leading prelate of the Greek American church in the decades ahead.[137] Iakovos contextualized and articulated the historical and contemporary violations of human rights occurring in Turkey, Cyprus, and throughout the world within the sociopolitical justice pursuits of the WCC advocating for human, religious, and civil rights for all people throughout the world. As Stephanopoulos writes concerning Iakovos's ecumenical leadership, "[Iakovos] came to a mature understanding of the place of religion in contemporary society and of the contribution that Orthodoxy could make in the interreligious and societal areas. He joined with those who stand for human rights and freedom, witnessing in a Christian way to transform the world we live in rather than to condemn and destroy it."[138]

With the Trinitarian principle in mind, Iakovos, Poulos writes, "condemned bigotry and prejudice in all their forms, and brought the warm glow of Christian love and humanism to the council [i.e., WCC] and to the whole world."[139] Because of his distinguished service at the WCC, Patriarch Athenagoras elevated Iakovos to the episcopal rank of Metropolitan in April of 1956.[140] Metropolitan Iakovos spent four years at the WCC in Geneva serving two terms as president. He utilized his presidency to initiate ongoing dialogues between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and various Christian churches. Iakovos met and befriended many religious leaders of all faiths from across the globe; most of these friendships continued for many years. It was during his time in Geneva that Metropolitan Iakovos met the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., approximately ten years before they were to meet again in Selma, Alabama.[141]

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[1] Julie Charles, "A Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 191. In his interview with Julie Charles, Iakovos continued, "As I looked back on Turkey's evil conspiracy to expunge our religion, I realized a positive sense of victory, a personal victory over a diabolical opponent. I contemplated strength, distinction, and influence for Greek Orthodoxy in the United States, parallel to the inevitable advancement of this remarkable state. I remain eternally grateful for the opportunity to serve God by serving my faithful country men whose fortune it was to settle here," (191).

[2] Charles, 191.

[3] Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 46, 62, 71–78, 258–260; Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 2nd ed. (1980; New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 8–10.

[4] Dan Georgakas, "The Greeks in America," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 14 (April 1987): 7–8; Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 20, 40–43, 49.

[5] Theodore Saloutos, "The Greek Orthodox Church in the United States and Assimilation," *International Migration Review* 7, no. 4 (Winter 1973): 395–407; Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 72–73; Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 35, 64–67, 70, 73, 75, 81, 90–97, 139–149.

[6] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations for a Living Church: Addresses to Clergy-Laity Congresses 1960–1996*, vol. 1, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998), 24.

[7] George Poulos, *A Breath of God, Portrait of a Prelate: A Biography of Archbishop Iakovos* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984), 93.

[8] Metropolitan Meletios Metaxakis of Athens and all Greece established the Archdiocese's first Greek Orthodox seminary in 1921 as St. Athanasios seminary located within the Archdiocese headquarters in Astoria, New York. The seminary closed in 1923 due to lack of funds. In 1937, Archbishop Athenagoras and then Fr. Athenagoras Cavadas—elevated to the episcopacy in 1938— helped establish the two-year preparatory theological school in Pomfret, Connecticut. Athenagoras Cavadas served as its first dean. Due to the onset of WWII prohibiting the students from matriculating to theological schools in either Athens or Constantinople, the preparatory school became a full five-year seminary in October of 1939 and was renamed Holy Cross. The seminary moved to Brookline, Massachusetts, in 1947 and has since been known as the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.
[9] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 66–67.
[10] Poulos, 66–67. For an English translation of Deacon Iakovos Coucouzes's letter of release from clerical duties from the Metropolis of Derkon and a letter of introduction to the Greek American Archdiocese, see Cleopas Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes as a Model of Priesthood: Archbishop Iakovos' Ministry at the Annunciation Cathedral of New England (1942–1954)* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2012), 9–10. The original letters, written in Greek, are in the archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, New York.
[11] Eirini Dorkofikē, *Iakovos: Mia Zoe Konta Sta Paidia [Iakovos: A Life with Children]*, vol. 1 (Athens, Greece: Ellinikē Eurōekdotikē, 1989), 41; Eirini Dorkofikē, *Iakovos: Konta sto Lao [Iakovos: Near the People]*, vol. 2 (Athens, Greece: Ellinikē Eurōekdotikē, 1990), 63. It should be remembered that the Germany Iakovos visited in 1939 was under Nazi rule. His departure was timely; in less than five months, Nazi Germany would invade Poland on September 1, 1939, initiating the Second World War.
[12] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 68.
[13] Charles, "Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," 190–191.
[14] The priest, Fr. Germanos Polizoides, was a friend of Deacon Iakovos Coucouzes's mentor and father confessor, Metropolitan Iakovos of Derkon. See Poulos, *Breath of God*, 68.
[15] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 68–69. George Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, CD, 7 vols. (Athens, Greece: SKAI Records, 2003), compact disc 2, track 3.
[16] Malouchos, compact disc 2, track 3. This scene of drinking and forgetting is a trope from Greek mythology reminiscent of Lēthē River, which was one of the five rivers of the underworld. Whoever partook of its waters would experience complete forgetfulness.
[17] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 72. The reader is reminded that the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese included all the parishes of North, Central, and South America.
[18] This was the same Athenagoras Cavadas who also served as chancellor of the Archdiocese and whom Deacon Iakovos petitioned to come to the United States and had received a discourteous reply. In 1938, Fr. Cavadas was ordained to the episcopacy as bishop of Boston, dean of the seminary, and professor of dogmatics. Cavadas would serve for ten years as bishop of Boston. After Archbishop Athenagoras became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1948, Bishop Cavadas served as *locum tenens* of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of the Americas until the election of Archbishop Michael in 1949. After Archbishop Athenagoras's elevation to Patriarch, Bishop Cavadas expected to be elected Archbishop of the Americas but was passed over. Bishop Cavadas served as president of the World Council of Churches from 1951–1954. When the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected Iakovos Coucouzes as the Archbishop of the Americas in 1959, a disillusioned Bishop Cavadas accepted assignments in Germany and later in England as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Great Britain until his death in 1962. For a biography of

Athenagoras Cavadas, see George Poulos, *Footsteps in the Sea: A Biography of Archbishop Athenagoras Cavadas* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1979).
[19] In an interview with George Malouchos, Iakovos stated that on May 8, 1939, he traveled to Newark, New Jersey, to celebrate the Divine Liturgy with Bishop Cavadas. Cavadas wanted to test how Iakovos performed as a deacon in the Divine Liturgy. Iakovos must have impressed the bishop, who invited him to teach and serve at the Pomfret seminary. Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 2, track 3.
[20] George Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1988), 19, 24, 33.
[21] George Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan: The Greek Orthodox in America under Athenagoras I* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1976), 155–156; Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 9–11.
[22] Demetrios J. Constantelos, ed., *Encyclicals and Documents of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, Relating to Its Thought and Activity the First Fifty Years (1922-1972)* (Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1976), 345–348; Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 157.
[23] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 157–158.
[24] Papaioannou, 159; Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 37. The fourteen original students of 1937 were followed by twenty-four students in the fall of 1938 and fifty students in 1939. No enrollment figures were not found for 1940; however, Poulos mentions that eighty-two applicants were expected to enroll in 1941. Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 54.
[25] Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 43.
[26] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:65; Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: A Life with Children]*, 1:41.
[27] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: A Life with Children]*, 1:41–42; Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:65–66.
[28] Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 44.
[29] "Minutes of the Board of Trustees," October 2, 1939, Archives, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, MA. Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 164. Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade,* 44.
[30] George Papaioannou, *The Odyssey of Hellenism in America* (Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1985), 347.
[31] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:66.
[32] In addition to the theological education, aspirants to the Greek Orthodox priesthood learn at least two additional qualities at the seminary, ἐκκλησιαστικὴ συνείδηση [ekklsiastikē synēdesis] (or "ecclesiastical consciousness") and ἱεροπρέπεια [ieroprepia] (or "priestly formation"). "Ecclesiastical consciousness" is a reverence for the church and its teachings, and learning one's place and responsibilities within the liturgical, pastoral, and administrative life of the Orthodox Church. "Priestly formation" essentially means to conduct oneself in a manner befitting a priest who is called upon to be a man of God and an icon of Christ in and out of the Church. The faculty of Orthodox Christian seminaries usually seek to convey these two concepts to the seminarians as part of their theological training. According to testimonies of the Pomfret seminary, Bishop Cavadas and Deacon Iakovos exemplified these two qualities and always sought to inculcate them into their students. Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: A Life with Children]*, 41–42; Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 293, 309.
[33] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 86–87.

[34] Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 261, 279, 296–297, 308–309.
[35] Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 38.
[36] Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 262–263, 266.
[37] Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 263.
[38] See endnote 23.
[39] See the most comprehensive biography of Athenagoras Cavadas in George Poulos, *Footsteps in the Sea: A Biography of Archbishop Athenagoras Cavadas* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1979) and George Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1988) for reflections from the Pomfret seminarians about Bishop Athenagoras Cavadas, especially pages 249–319.
[40] T. Peter Limber, "The Iakovian Era," in *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop*, ed. Nikki Stephanopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996), 78.
[41] Poulos, *Footsteps in the Sea*.
[42] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 80.
[43] An "archimandrite" is an ancient title of ecclesiastical distinction that a bishop bestows upon a monastic or celibate priest. It often indicates that the recipient of this title should be considered a candidate to the episcopacy in the Greek Orthodox Church.
[44] Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 78.
[45] Georgakas, "Greeks in America," 7; Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 344; Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941–1944* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 15.
[46] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 49.
[47] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 344.
[48] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 135; Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, chap. 17.
[49] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 345.
[50] Saloutos, 345.
[51] Saloutos, 345.
[52] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 136. "Archbishop Athenagoras Encyclical to the Faithful of the Archdiocese on the Formation of the GWRA," November 11, 1940, New York, Archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America. For additional encyclicals of Archbishop Athenagoras concerning the GWRA, the American Red Cross, the purchasing of war bonds, and other philanthropic endeavors during WWII, see Demetrios J. Constantelos, ed., *Encyclicals and Documents of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, Relating to Its Thought and Activity the First Fifty Years (1922-1972)* (Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1976), 432–436, 438–473.
[53] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 136.
[54] Saloutos writes, "During the two-and-a-half-year period that the program [GWRA] was in operation, a fleet of fourteen Swedish vessels made more than a hundred trips and carried almost 700,000 tons of food, clothing, medicines, and other vital supplies to Greece. But it was not until after the liberation that the Greek people were informed that supplies valued at more than $100 million were the gift of the American people. The GWRA program is believed to have been the only one conducted by an American relief agency in occupied Europe. According to Archbishop Damaskinos, the Metropolitan of Athens and for a time the head of the Greek government, more

than one third of the Greek population, or about two million people, were saved from death because of the GWRA efforts," Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 349–350.
[55] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 349. For a thorough account of the privations suffered by the Greeks during the Nazi occupation, see Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece*.
[56] Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 76–77; Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:66; Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: A Life with Children]*, 1:42.
[57] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 2, track 3.
[58] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 2, track 3; Poulos, *Breath of God*, 80.
[59] Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 77.
[60] St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church, St. Louis, MO, "Parish History," accessed September 30, 2017, http://www.sngoc.org/content/parish-history.
[61] Cleopas Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 11–13.
[62] Strongylis, 14. Although Iakovos began his tenure as dean of the Annunciation Greek Orthodox Cathedral of Boston on September 1, 1942, Archbishop Athenagoras formally assigned him on October 6, 1942.
[63] Strongylis, 14–15; Poulos, *Breath of God*, 94. In exchange for Iakovos's request to return to New England and assume the deanship of the Boston cathedral and enroll at Harvard Divinity School (instead of Princeton Theological Seminary), Archbishop Athenagoras expected Iakovos to teach at the seminary without receiving a salary. See endnote 53.
[64] Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 78; Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 18; Poulos, *Breath of God*, 94; Papaioannou, *Odyssey of Hellenism in America*, 347.
[65] See endnote 39.
[66] Papaioannou, *Odyssey of Hellenism in America*, 347–348.
[67] "Fr. Iakovos Coucouzes to Archbishop Athenagoras," folder containing correspondence with the Archdiocese 1940–1950, November 26, 1947, New York, archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America. The original text is in Greek, but an English translation may be found in Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 314-315.
[68] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 477–480. Iakovos's speech, "The Greek Language as Spoken by the People," was originally written in Greek and titled "Η ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ ΣΤΟ ΣΤΟΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ ["The Greek Language in the Mouth of the People"] and may be found in the archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York, folder PP. Endnote 63's citation is an English translation of the original Greek.
[69] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 495. Iakovos wrote, "Everyone knows that our children are Greek. They call them Greek wherever they go; in the street, at the YMCA, at athletic events, in schools, at the theater, in the army, everywhere. And so, it would be a good thing for our new generation to be proud of the name that the others give to them—Greek—instead of being embarrassed by it. And in order to be proud of its name, it has to be synonymous with certain virtues, certain characteristics that are not possessed by other ethnic groups. It is these virtues and these characteristics that I want to believe will be cultivated in the community center, first and foremost, by the beautiful and strict tradition carried on in the Greek household."
[70] Strongylis, 480–482. Iakovos's radio address, "And Besides All This, Between Us and You, There is a Great Chasm," cited here from Strongylis's, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, is and English translation from the original Greek text located in the archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York, folder RP. Iakovos addresses the dichotomy of being Greek or American, but argues that they are not "two cultures, just one" (481). See also, Strongylis's, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 494–496.

[71] Strongylis, 475.
[72] The term refers to the four-hundred-year period, 1453–1821, of Ottoman Turkish oppression of the Greek people.
[73] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 500.
[74] A tribute to Fr. Iakovos Coucouzes appeared in the *Fortieth Yearbook of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of New England* stating, "[Fr. Iakovos] has taught and is now teaching the Greek language to anyone interested, regardless of race or creed and with great sacrifice of time and effort," *Fortieth Yearbook of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of New England*, 1949, 4, archives, Annunciation Greek Orthodox Cathedral, Boston.
[75] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 489.
[76] Strongylis, 453–462. As Iakovos stated, "America began as a covenant nation. William Bradford and George Carver, beneath the swinging lantern in the cabin of the *Mayflower* fixed their signatures under the solemn declaration which established the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; i.e., 'To the Glory of God and the advancement of Christian faith.' America must continue as a covenant nation and must survive as the ark of Noah among all floodings of wars and tribulations. The founding Father sought freedom: not from law, but freedom in law. Not freedom from discipline, but freedom in discipline. Not freedom from moral obligation, but freedom in moral obligation. Not freedom from religion and church, but freedom in religion and church…." (458).
[77] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 95–96.
[78] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 461.
[79] Strongylis, 459.
[80] Strongylis, 155.
[81] "Archbishop Athenagoras to the Honorable Officers and Soldiers of the U.S. Army from the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Annunciation in Boston," January 21, 1944, correspondence 1939–1950 folder, archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[82] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, 350.
[83] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 2, track 6.
[84] For an excellent historical account of the Nazi occupation of Greece, see Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941–1944* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
[85] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 2, track 6.
[86] Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge Concise Histories (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 123–148.
[87] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 2, track 7. But see also, Dan Georgakas, "Greeks in America,": 30–32, 41–43.
[88] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 231.
[89] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 196.
[90] Papaioannou, 196–197.
[91] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 260–261.
[92] Poulos, *Footsteps in the Sea*, 75–76.
[93] Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Introduction," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, ed. Miltiades B. Efthimiou and George A. Christopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 29–30. The Patriarchate removed the disappointed Bishop Cavadas from the United States and appointed him Metropolitan of Philadelphia (an ecclesiastical see in Turkey). Constantelos states that Cavadas was passed over

"because he was suspected of independent tendencies" and that Patriarch Athenagoras feared Cavadas "might seek the establishment of an autocephalous church in the Americas," (29). Cavadas lived in Athens serving as the liaison between the Patriarchate and the Church of Greece and as a Patriarchal representative in ecumenical affairs before his installation as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Great Britain.

[94] I was not able to find details regarding Iakovos's alleged "blood condition" that precluded his leaving Boston.

[95] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 356–364. The letters cited here are English translations of the originals that were written in Greek: the original Greek letters are located in the archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[96] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 94.

[97] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 326–331.

[98] Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 265.

[99] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 98–99; Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 123–128; Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, 266; Dorkofikē, *Iakovos: Konta sto Lao [Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:79.

[100] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 364–368.

[101] Strongylis, 369.

[102] Strongylis, 368–372. The discrepancy that Iakovos referred to was that the name on his Turkish birth certificate read "Demetrios Hazoudis" instead of "Demetrios Coucouzes;" moreover, his American citizenship paperwork listed him as "James Coucouzes" (371). Iakovos believed these discrepancies would preclude him from working in Turkey.

[103] Strongylis, 373.

[104] Strongylis, 88–92; Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 79. Among the youth ministries perpetuated and enhanced by Iakovos as dean of the cathedral included the Sunday catechetical school and Greek school; he often developed lesson plans for teachers in an array of religious and cultural subjects while overseeing the curriculum for students ages four to sixteen, see Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes as a Model of Priesthood*, 83–102. Iakovos headed the effort to combine Greek schools from several neighboring parishes to pool their respective resources for a more effective program. See Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 68–83. Iakovos also enhanced the Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and Brownie troops of the cathedral. He promoted youth athletics, vacation church schools, and summer camps that were affiliated with the cathedral, see Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 80–82. Iakovos was the first Greek Orthodox priest to initiate a teen ministry (ages 13–18) and a college campus ministry for Greek Orthodox students during the 1940s. Less than a decade later, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America would follow Iakovos's lead encouraging its parishes to follow the example Iakovos established at the Boston cathedral. Moreover, impressed by his examples of successful youth ministry, Archbishop Michael selected Fr. Iakovos to represent the Archdiocese at various youth conferences. Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 83–102.

[105] An ecumenist was one who participated in the worldwide ecumenical movement that sought unity, or at least cooperation, among Christian churches. The World Council of Churches headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland was the catalyst for this international movement with national chapters in countries throughout the world. In the United States, the National Council of Christian Churches was the national representative of the World Council of Churches and the ecumenical movement. See Thomas E. Fitzgerald, *The Ecumenical Movement: An Introductory History* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004) and James F. Findlay, Jr., *Church People in*

the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950–1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3–10.
[106] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 88–92; Poulos, *Breath of God*, 94–95; Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:78; Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 79.
[107] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 90–91.
[108] Strongylis, 92–102, 160–186, 262–264, 291–293.
[109] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 109.
[110] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 373–94. The president of the Boston cathedral also sent letters to the prime minister of Greece, to the Greek consulate in Boston, and to the Greek embassy in Washington, DC, to intervene on their behalf to Patriarch Athenagoras to prevent Iakovos's transfer to Turkey.
[111] Strongylis, 383–84.
[112] The Greek government believed that it was in their best interest—and in the interest of the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople—to have Iakovos, an American citizen of Greek descent, serve as dean at Halki. They believed that having a Greek American bishop—presumably backed by the U.S. government—at Halki would provide additional political and diplomatic leverage to Greece and the Greek community in Constantinople in any negotiations with the Turkish government. See correspondence to this effect in Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 386–394.
[113] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 393.
[114] *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 4, track 4.
[115] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 100.
[116] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 4, track 4. For the most complete itinerary of Iakovos's 1953 visit, see Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 235–237, 376.
[117] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 101.
[118] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 4, track 4.
[119] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 235, 237.
[120] Strongylis, 395.
[121] Strongylis, 403–404.
[122] Strongylis, 403.
[123] Metropolitan Iakovos of Derkon was Iakovos Coucouzes's spiritual father and mentor when he served as a deacon in his metropolis before coming to the United States in 1939. Metropolitans Dorotheos of the Princes' Islands and Maximos of Sardea assisted Metropolitan Iakovos in the ordination. Patriarch Athenagoras was present as was Archbishop Cavadas of Great Britain. For a list of the leading clergymen and dignitaries present, see Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 404.
[124] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 405.
[125] In Thomas E. Fitzgerald, *The Ecumenical Movement: An Introductory History*, Fitzgerald writes, "The ecumenical movement is the quest of Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Old Catholic, and most Protestant churches for reconciliation, and the restoration of their visible unity in faith, sacramental life, and witness in the world," (1). After centuries of division, isolation, condemnations, and mistrust, many Christian churches recognized the anomaly of a divided and confrontational Christendom, a divided "Body of Christ." Many church historians recognize the beginning of the ecumenical movement with gathering of several Protestant churches at the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland, which revealed the tragedy of "disunity and competition among many churches," (2). In the years after WWI, many

of these churches—including the Orthodox Church, led by Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios Metaxakis—established the Faith and Order movement and the Life and Work movement. The Faith and Order movement's first conference, consisting of four hundred participants representing one hundred twenty-seven churches, met at Lausanne, Switzerland from August 3–21, 1927. Their task "was to examine differences as well as similarities within a context of mutual respect and common prayer," (85). The Faith and Order movement held its second conference in Edinburgh, Scotland, from August 3–18, 1937, with approximately four hundred participants from one hundred twenty-two churches. The delegates continued to explore the similarities and differences raised at the previous conference in an atmosphere of friendship, respect, and mutual trust as they became better acquainted with one another. As the Faith and Order movement explored doctrinal similarities and differences among its churches, the Life and Work movement, contemporaneously, concerned itself with issues of Christian living and cooperative activities that the member churches could initiate within their respective societies despite their doctrinal differences. The first Life and Work Conference occurred in Stockholm, Sweden, from August 19–29, 1925, with more than six hundred delegates from Protestant and Orthodox church from thirty-seven countries. As in the Faith and Order Conferences, the Roman Catholic Church received an invitation, but sent no delegates. The emphasis of the conference was to set aside divisive doctrinal differences and to find areas where the churches could work together: the motto of the conference was "Doctrine divides but Service unites." The second Life and Work Conference met in Oxford, England, from July 12–26, 1937, with approximately three hundred delegates from one hundred twenty churches from forty countries. Again, the Roman Catholic Church did not attend, nor did the Nazi government allow the German Lutheran delegates to participate. The effect of communism on the Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union and the Nazis' control of the German Lutheran delegation diminished the optimism of the previous conferences. Nevertheless, the conference identified that the "pitiless cruelty, hatreds, and race discriminations (including antisemitism) in the modern world is [sic] one of the major signs of its social disintegration," (89–92). After WWII, the Faith and Order Conferences along with the Life and Work Conferences paved the way for the establishment of the ecumenical movements most significant institution. In 1948—in the same year and in the same spirit of the United Nations—the World Council of Churches was established with its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland; see Fitzgerald, *Ecumenical Movement*, chapter 6.

[126] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:87–88.

[127] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 4, track 4.

[128] Fitzgerald, *Ecumenical Movement*, 146–151. By the early twentieth century, there were over a dozen autocephalous Orthodox churches (e.g., Greek, Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Georgian, Antiochian, etc.). Although they shared doctrinal agreement and sacramental communion with one another, they were administratively independent. They also differed in language and culture. Sociopolitical conditions such as the four-hundred-year *Turkocratia*, WWI, the Bolshevik revolution, WWII, and the Cold War isolated the autocephalous Orthodox Churches for one another, which prompted the Ecumenical Patriarchate, as the leading Orthodox Church, to strengthen the relationships among all Orthodox Churches, and with one voice dialogue with non-Orthodox churches. In 1904, the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued an encyclical to the autocephalous Orthodox Churches to begin planning for a series of preconciliar councils that would lead to a "Great and Holy Pan-Orthodox Council," which eventually took place in Crete in 2016. In 1920, the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued an encyclical calling upon the formal establishment of a process for Christian unity. As a participant of the Faith and Order and the

Life and Work Conferences, the Ecumenical Patriarchate became a founding member of the World Council of Churches. As Patriarch Athenagoras stated in 1952, "The task of rapprochement and cooperation between all Christian confessions and organizations is a sacred obligation and a holy duty" (149).

[129] Fitzgerald, 5–10, 86–87, 90, 92.

[130] Angelo Philippou, *Orthodoxy Life and Freedom: Essays in Honor of Archbishop Iakovos* (Oxford: Studion Publications, 1973), 3.

[131] Robert G. Stephanopoulos, "Fully Greek, Fully American, Fully Orthodox: Archbishop Iakovos, The Ecumenical Leader," in *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996), 107–108; Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 81; Papaioannou, *Odyssey of Hellenism in America*, 349.

[132] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 104; Papaioannou, *Odyssey of Hellenism in America*, 349.

[133] Papaioannou, *Odyssey of Hellenism in America*, 349.

[134] Fitzgerald, *Ecumenical Movement*, 151–152, 156–161; William A. Norgren, *Faith and Order in the USA: A Brief History of Studies and Relationships* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011), 17–18.

[135] Stephanopoulos, "Fully Greek, Fully American, Fully Orthodox," 104.

[136] For the most comprehensive scholarly book on the pogrom of Constantinople of September 6–7, 1955, and its aftermath, see Speros Vryonis, *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6–7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul* (New York: Greekworks.com, 2005).

[137] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 146–150. Turkey invaded the island of Cyprus in the summer of 1974 and continues to occupy approximately thirty percent of the island.

[138] Stephanopoulos, "Fully Greek, Fully American, Fully Orthodox," 105–106.

[139] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 102.

[140] Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 81.

[141] Taylor Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965–68* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 108.

CHAPTER 5 FROM MOVEMENTS ECUMENICAL TO CIVIL RIGHTS, 1958–1964

Metropolitan Iakovos Coucouzes had traveled far and accomplished much since leaving his native Aegean island of Imbros. He sailed upon Homer's "wine-dark sea" across the plains of ancient Troy in pursuit of an education in the revered city of Constantinople and at the esteemed Halki theological school. Ordained a deacon but denied the possibility of teaching the Christian faith by Turkish authorities, he crossed the Atlantic and arrived in the United States where he experienced his first taste of freedom at the age of twenty-eight. He realized his childhood dream to be an instructor and taught at the Greek Orthodox seminary in Pomfret, Connecticut. He was soon ordained to the priesthood and assigned to the Annunciation Cathedral in Boston where he served with high distinction for over twelve years earning him fame as a priest and ecumenist in the Greek Orthodox communities across America and at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. After two previous attempts to elevate him to the episcopacy failed, he finally acquiesced. In 1955, Iakovos was ordained a bishop and assigned as the permanent representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland where he also served with distinction resulting in his elevation to the episcopal office of Metropolitan a year later.

At the relatively young age of forty-five, Metropolitan Iakovos had surpassed his Halki classmates and other Greek Orthodox clergymen who were in their forties. He quickly acclimated to his new post at the headquarters of the WCC and in his new home in Geneva remarkably well. The World Council of Churches, established in 1948, was less than ten years old when Iakovos arrived in February of 1955,[1] and he expected to serve in this capacity for many years or decades to come. However, the unexpected death of Archbishop Michael of America would soon uproot Iakovos from his bucolic Alpine surroundings and thrust him center stage as the prelate of the

Greek American Church. This chapter will chronicle the life of Iakovos Coucouzes from his last year in Geneva to his first five years as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America, emphasizing his increasing advocacy for and participation in the civil rights movement through 1964.

When Iakovos arrived in Geneva on February 11, 1955, he was the only Greek Orthodox representative amidst dozens of Protestant delegates from all over the world who held a seat on the World Council of Churches. His instructions from Patriarch Athenagoras were not particularly descriptive.[2] In one of their many late-night discussions, before Iakovos left for Geneva, Patriarch Athenagoras confided that the ecumenical movement was an instrument from God for the Patriarchate to engage in dialogue with the Protestant churches gathered in Geneva and with the Roman Catholic Church in Rome to abolish the schisms that exist among us. Athenagoras continued, "I see the theological and ecclesiological boundaries of our respective churches, but who established them, politicians, clergymen, or both? Regardless, I do not recognize borders, because borders create enemies."[3] When Iakovos asked for specific instructions, the Patriarch responded

> You have experience in ecumenical affairs from your time at the Boston cathedral where you hosted the Sunday Evening Youth Vespers services and had invited presenters of different faiths to speak. There is no precedence for you to follow; you will create the position, determine the role you will play, and the contacts with other churches you will establish in Geneva. The dialogue you will have [with all the representative denominations] need not be theological or ecclesiological only, but friendly and casual [not among people of different faiths, but as fellow human beings].[4]

Thus, Iakovos arrived in Geneva without detailed instructions other than to open friendly lines of communication with different denominations; the representative's office of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the WCC was his for the making.

As indicated in the previous chapter, Iakovos contributed to the WCC's search for common ground in the pursuit of Christian unity by suggesting the adoption of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity by the member churches.[5] He traveled extensively visiting with Orthodox and non-Orthodox church leaders throughout Europe, and he organized visits of WCC delegates and European journalists to the Ecumenical Patriarchate to meet Athenagoras and to witness the deplorable conditions that Christians endured in Turkey.[6] When Iakovos was not traveling, he would celebrate the Sunday morning Divine Liturgy in the American Church of the WCC from 10:30 a.m. until 11:30 a.m. When he first began, he had only seven or eight people attending. After a short time, three hundred would regularly participate: most of whom were Orthodox students studying in Geneva. After services, Iakovos would invite them to his home for Bible study.[7] After four years in Geneva, Iakovos's idyllic world of friendly meetings in peaceful surroundings would end abruptly in the summer of 1958.

Across the Atlantic, the Greek American Archdiocese was in the capable hands of Archbishop Michael Constantinides who had assumed the leadership of the Greek American Church in December of 1949—after Archbishop Athenagoras became the Ecumenical Patriarch. Archbishop Michael was born Thucydides Constantinides on May 27, 1892, in Western Thrace, Greece. He graduated from the theological school at Halki and was ordained a deacon—taking the name, Michael—in 1914. After teaching at Halki for a year, he did post-graduate work at Russian Orthodox seminaries in Kiev and St. Petersburg where he witnessed the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1919, he was ordained a priest in Constantinople and assigned to the church of St. Stephen there. After four years in Constantinople, Michael became the chancellor of the Archdiocese of Athens and all Greece.[8] From 1927 until 1939, he served the parish of St. Sophia in London, England, where he also participated in ecumenical conferences between the Anglican and Orthodox

churches.[9] In 1939, the Holy Synod of Greece elevated him as the Metropolitan bishop of Corinth, Greece. In Corinth, Metropolitan Michael established a small hospital, soup kitchens, a library, and schools, mostly with his own money. After ten years of distinguished service in Greece—during the horrific years of World War II and the Greek civil war—upon Patriarch Athenagoras's recommendation, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected him as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of the Americas.[10]

In his first full year as archbishop, Michael visited one hundred seven parishes traveling 46,952 miles by airplane, train, and car.[11] Archbishop Michael established the first national youth ministry of the Archdiocese (i.e., Greek Orthodox Youth Association, GOYA) in the summer of 1951with chapters in two hundred fifty parishes of the Archdiocese shortly thereafter.[12] He was the first Greek Orthodox archbishop to visit South America where in conjunction with President Peron of Argentina he successfully settled fifty thousand Greek refugees.[13] He completed Athenagoras's mission of having the Orthodox Christian faith recognized as a major religion in the United States' armed forces by an act of Congress.[14] Archbishop Michael was an internationally known theologian, ecumenist, and a prolific writer, fluent in Greek, English, French, Russian, and Turkish. In 1954, he represented the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, Illinois and was elected one of the six presidents of the WCC.[15] On January 21, 1957, he became the first Orthodox bishop to deliver an invocation at the presidential inaugural ceremony of Dwight D. Eisenhower.[16]

Archbishop Michael made his final public appearance on July 5, 1958. Leaving his sickbed in New York to attend the grand banquet of the Fourteenth Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress in Salt Lake City, Utah, and before a gathering of one thousand participants, he famously stated, "Our Church never felt it had a monopoly of salvation over other religions. We must cooperate with

other Christian denominations all over the world to settle social and moral questions."[17] Immediately after the banquet, President Eisenhower dispatched a military airplane to transport Archbishop Michael to Doctor's Hospital in New York, where he passed away of an "intestinal disorder" on July 13, 1958; he was sixty-six years old. Learning of Archbishop Michael's passing, President Eisenhower sent a telegram to the Archdiocese stating, "The members of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America and indeed the nations of the world suffered the loss of a great spiritual leader."[18]

The untimely passing of Archbishop Michael required the Patriarchate to act swiftly. Patriarch Athenagoras immediately convened the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to elect a successor, but it quickly reached an impasse: the Synod preferred one of its own—Metropolitan Meliton of Imbros and Tenedos—to succeed Michael, but Patriarch Athenagoras insisted on Metropolitan Iakovos Coucouzes.[19] Before becoming Patriarch, Athenagoras had served as Archbishop of North and South America for eighteen years, and he knew the United States well along with the history and character of the Greek American community.[20] He understood that the United States was a complex country composed of many diverse peoples, cultures, and religions. Internationally, the United States was a superpower at the height of the Cold War, exerting its influence against communism across the globe. Domestically, it was the wealthiest of nations, enjoying unprecedented prosperity; although, it was not without internal conflicts.

Athenagoras concluded that the next archbishop had more to do than oversee a relatively small ethnic community in a sea of cultural pluralism: he had to be a man of the world as much as a man of the Church. With its constitutionally protected freedom of religion and separation of church and state, the Patriarch surmised, the United States offered a unique environment for the

Orthodox Church to grow and prosper. He also knew of Iakovos's twelve-years of distinguished service at the Boston cathedral. Athenagoras ardently believed that Iakovos's experience in the United States and his recently acquired connections with church leaders of various denominations in the WCC made him the ideal candidate to succeed in the United States and the multi-religious nations of the Western Hemisphere.[21] Eventually, Athenagoras's choice prevailed, and on February 14, 1959—seven months after the death of Archbishop Michael—the Holy Synod elected forty-seven-year-old Metropolitan Iakovos Coucouzes as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America. The Patriarch scheduled his enthronement to take place at the Archdiocesan Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Manhattan on April 1, 1959.

However, Athenagoras had one last ecumenical mission for Archbishop-elect Iakovos before his enthronement in New York City. Since Iakovos had amicable relations with Roman Catholic prelates through his work at the WCC, the Patriarch sent him to the Vatican—less than two months after the pope announced the Vatican II Council—to inquire of the pope how the Schism of 1054 between Catholicism and Orthodoxy might be bridged, a separation that had existed for over nine hundred years.[22] On March 17, 1959, Archbishop-elect Iakovos, representing the Ecumenical Patriarchate, entered the Vatican to meet the pope. As Fitzgerald writes, "This meeting is believed to be the first between a pope and a representative from Constantinople since 1547.[23] Iakovos met with Pope John XXIII and initiated an ongoing dialogue between Constantinople and the Vatican that led to the historic meeting of Pope Paul VI (the successor of John XXIII) and Patriarch Athenagoras on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem on January 5 and 6, 1964. On December 7, 1965, the pope and the patriarch annulled the mutual excommunications of 1054.[24] Several church historians agree that Iakovos was instrumental in the planning of subsequent meetings between pope and patriarch that led to the lifting of the mutual

excommunications that had existed for nine centuries; moreover, Iakovos's efforts would initiate further dialogues between the two churches in the decades ahead.[25]

Two weeks after his historic visit to the Vatican, Archbishop-elect Iakovos boarded the ocean liner *Queen Elizabeth*, crossed the Atlantic, and arrived in New York Harbor on March 31, 1959. Papaioannou writes, "It was almost midnight, yet people from all over the country who had come to attend the enthronement scheduled to be held at five o'clock that afternoon were waiting and enthusiastically cheered him as this most promising prelate made his appearance. Iakovos was enthroned as archbishop on April 1, 1959, at the Archdiocesan Cathedral of the Holy Trinity."[26] As archbishop, Iakovos's primary task was to oversee the pastoral, liturgical, and cultural administration of the Greek Orthodox Christian communities in the Western Hemisphere. Most of his congregants, numbering approximately 1.5 to two million, resided in the United States.[27] They consisted of first-, second-, and third-generation Greek Americans. They expected him to embody and promote the Greek American identity in America's pluralistic society while overseeing the administration of the national church. Little did he or anyone else know at the time of his elevation that by 1965, he would become an iconic figure in the nonviolent civil rights movement.

Much had changed in the United States since Archbishop Iakovos left four years earlier. At the time of his enthronement, the civil rights movement was well underway. In 1954, the Supreme Court had ruled that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional (*Brown v. Board of Education*). In December of 1955, Rosa Parks refused to surrender her seat on a city bus to a white man and triggered the Montgomery bus boycott. In 1957, Martin Luther King Jr. founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which would play a prominent role in the civil rights movement. In September of 1957, nine African American students, under the protection of federal troops, integrated an all-white high school in Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1960, college

students in Greensboro, North Carolina conducted lunch counter sit-ins at establishments that served meals to white patrons only, leading to the founding of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a civil rights group in existence since 1942, organized Freedom Rides in 1961 through several states in the Deep South. The efforts of African Americans toward integration, equality, and civil rights met stiff and often violent resistance from white Southerners. Martin Luther King Jr.'s nonviolent response to the beatings, bombings, and unjust arrests seemed only to escalate the hostilities inflicted upon African Americans in response.

During his first years as archbishop, Iakovos focused his attention primarily on the internal issues of the Greek American church.[28] Greek Americans were an ethnic community that after decades of discrimination had by the1960s "integrated into the broader American community."[29] Nevertheless, he was empathetic to the plight of African Americans in their struggle for civil rights. As Charles noted,

> We know His Eminence for his leadership in ecumenical efforts and his endeavors to achieve lasting world peace. Tending to the principles of our unique heritage, which determines the moral quality of our actions and our traditional involvement in the rights of mankind, we know that His Eminence has continually used his high office to defend the cause of human rights. How proud we were when, in manifesting our thinking, our primate nobly led us forward with a proclamation that will forever echo around the world in the annals of the brotherhood of man, 'The Greek Orthodox Church is against segregation!'[30]

Iakovos himself experienced prejudice and discrimination while growing up in Turkey. He often spoke about the bitter oppression the Greeks suffered under the Ottomans for over four hundred years. He knew of racist attitudes and attacks against Greek American immigrants at the beginning of the twentieth century. Finally, Iakovos wholeheartedly believed in the Orthodox Christian anthropological doctrine that embraced all races in a "theocentric"[31] view of humanity, which

compelled his advocacy and activism that all races were equally deserving of human and civil rights.[32]

Shortly after his elevation as archbishop, Iakovos resolved to transform the Greek Orthodox Church from an isolated, inward-looking immigrant church into the fourth major religious body in America (i.e., alongside Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism).[33] As Harakas writes,

> The major concerns of both Greek Orthodox leadership and laity were directed inwardly…. Its two foci were internal organization and religious-ethnic identity. There was a philanthropic concern, most of which was directed to the Greek community here and abroad, and some of which was clearly a response initiated from outside the Church. There was no expressed concern for the issues of social justice and concern regarding the nation at large, no grappling with the public issues of the time, no broad-based social conscience in the Greek Orthodox Church of the Americas. Such was the situation at the threshold of the tenure in the Americas of Archbishop Iakovos…which began in 1959.[34]

Iakovos began by restructuring and modernizing the administrative offices of the Archdiocese that included the creation of new departments and ministries (e.g., Public Relations, Interchurch Relations, Education, Youth, Laity, Church & Society, et al.). Secondly, he strengthened the unity of the approximately four hundred parishes in the Americas by revising the Archdiocese's uniform parish regulations that further standardized the parishes' administrative powers under the authority of the archbishop. Thirdly, Iakovos continued to serve as one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches. He would join the National Council of Churches (in 1960), its Commission on Religion and Race (in 1963), and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, promoting the ecumenical movement both within and outside the Greek Orthodox Church. Moreover, he would unite the Russian, Serbian, Romanian, Antiochian and other Orthodox jurisdictions in America that would lead to the establishment of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas (SCOBA) in 1960, over which he presided.

Finally, Iakovos believed that the Orthodox Church had to enter the arena of American sociopolitical issues and publicly express its position.[35]

During the early 1960s, one of the most critical domestic issues in the United States was race relations.[36] Even though almost a century after the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment that abolished slavery, the Fourteenth Amendment that granted United States citizenship to all former slaves, and the Fifteenth Amendment that established the franchise (i.e., for men only), African Americans continued to suffer discrimination, segregation, and unequal civil rights.[37] Since the mid-1950s, the mobilization of African American civil rights organizations (e.g., the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and others) scored some substantial victories in their pursuit of defeating the Jim Crow laws in the southern states, but progress was slow, and many whites remained defiant.

In the mid-twentieth century, racial integration was also an issue for many Christian churches in the United States. The population of the United States at the beginning of the 1960s was approximately 180 million of which roughly 18.8 million were African Americans or 10.5 percent.[38] A clear majority of African Americans worshiped in Protestant evangelical Christian churches from the mid-eighteenth century to the present, according to Albert Raboteau.[39] He explains that traditional mainline Protestant denominations did not appeal to most African Americans because of the lengthy indoctrination process. Evangelical Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, on the other hand, succeeded by making Christianity more accessible to African Americans by downplaying religious instruction and "by preaching the immediate experience of conversion [or a personal religious experience] as the primary requirement for baptism."[40] Evangelical Protestant denominations also appealed to a broader variety of classes.[41]

There were, of course, other reasons (i.e., racist and segregationist) that precluded African Americans from joining many predominantly white congregations. Noll states that "over against

white society, [black churches] have been churches of protest or withdrawal functioning as both establishment and separatist churches."[42] Even after Pentecostal, Church of God in Christ, and other independent-fundamentalist churches appeared in the early twentieth century, the religious demographics of the African American Christian communities remained rather consistent well into the twenty-first century. In the 1960s, the largest cohort of African Americans (as is the case today) belonged to several Baptist conventions; the second largest belonged to several Methodist denominations followed by an assortment of evangelical Presbyterian, Episcopal, Pentecostal, and independent-fundamentalist churches.[43] McGreevy, Raboteau, and Noll assert that smaller percentages of African American Christians were Roman Catholic or members of mostly white Protestant denominations (one to two percent or one to two million).[44]

Like schools and neighborhoods, many white churches that had African American communicants also struggled with the issue of segregation. Shattuck states that the Episcopal Church's fundamental belief on race was "that no matter how racial differences were treated in the secular realm, all people were equal in the sight of God." However, he quickly pointed out that regardless of what the official stand of the Episcopal Church was, church members were "sharply divided about the practical application of those teachings and about the manner in which Americans of different colors were meant to relate to one another."[45] Shattuck cites that towards the end of the nineteenth century southern white Methodist churches were among the first to exercise a Jim-Crow-like "separate but equal" practice of allowing African Americans their own churches with their own clergy or select-seating areas for blacks in predominately white parishes. Southern white Episcopalians would soon follow suit but initially hesitated to ordain blacks beyond the clerical rank of deacon. Ordination to the priesthood and episcopacy was available to whites only who ultimately had oversight over the African American parishes, which prompted

many blacks to flee to other denominations or independent churches. McGreevy notes that the Roman Catholic Church was also not immune to discriminatory policies segregating African American Catholics despite appeals from the Vatican "to be friendly to Negroes."[46] He points out that the American Catholic hierarchy, obedient to the Vatican, pursued integration of African American Catholics, but many ethnic priests and parishes resisted integrating African Americans into their congregations or neighborhoods in the North.[47] "In the South," McGreevy states, "Catholicism was essentially a Jim Crow church, with parishes, schools, church societies, seminaries, and even Catholic universities usually segregated."[48]

Racial integration was not an internal problem for the parishes of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese because very few African Americans were Orthodox Christian communicants. The clergy conducted the services in Greek, making it unappealing to non-Greek speakers. Like most immigrant parishes, Greek priests rarely undertook missionary work outside their parishes.[49] Even by the mid-twentieth century, the parishes of the Archdiocese concentrated their energies on perpetuating the Greek language and religious culture to their succeeding generations. Although the racial conflict was not an issue within the Greek American churches, it was in many of the neighborhoods where these churches existed. Undoubtedly, this too influenced Iakovos's engagement in the civil rights movement.

The earliest documented inquiry made to the Archdiocese concerning the Orthodox Church's position on race relations was from a group of University of Chicago theology students in 1958 (approximately five months before Iakovos became Archbishop). Responding on behalf of the Archdiocese, Arthur Dore (Public Relations Director) wrote,

> The Greek Orthodox Church has always been a most democratic church without prejudice in reference to race or color. At present, the question of segregation in the United States is not a problem because there are no appreciable numbers of color [sic] communicants in this country. However, there are many

> members of the Greek Orthodox Church who are colored in other countries…and these members are accepted in good standing without any discrimination whatsoever….
>
> We might add that the late Archbishop Michael…often expressed himself in public and in writing that the Greek Orthodox Church in America is opposed to any segregation or racial prejudices.[50]

In the early 1960s, marches, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, and boycotts escalated throughout the southern United States, which galvanized the National Council of Churches to use their ecumenical and political influences to speak out against segregation and racial bigotry. As Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other civil rights organizations sought legislative action to end discrimination and segregation in the South, the thirty-three Protestant and Orthodox denominations attempted to do the same from their pulpits in the North.[51] The National Council of Churches began in 1908 as the Federal Council of Churches (renamed in 1950) to promote unity and ecumenism among mainline national Christian churches, and to share a common witness and implementation of the Social Gospel of Jesus Christ in the United States.[52] Since their inception, they promoted immigration and labor reform, the abolition of child labor, improved living conditions for the poor, and temperance.[53]

After becoming archbishop, Iakovos retained his presidency in the World Council of Churches, and as the National Council of Churches was an affiliate organization of the WCC, he became a distinguished leader in the NCC as well.[54] Since 1923, the NCC's Department of Racial and Cultural Relations encouraged its member churches to observe Race Relations Sunday. In its thirty-ninth observance—scheduled to take place on February 11, 1962—Iakovos, in compliance with the Department's "Suggestions for Actions," called upon his parishes to take specific actions that included working to bring about desegregation of public schools, neighborhoods, buses and public transportation, lunch counters, restaurants, and other public accommodations. Moreover, he instructed his congregants to support legislation "designed to guarantee full opportunity for all

people regardless of race, color, or nationality, and to protest against legislation aimed at maintaining segregation and racial discrimination."[55] The Department of Racial and Cultural Relations also asked its membership to discover "what the policy of their denomination was regarding race relations and to study the implications of that policy…in the light of the Christian Gospel."[56]

From January 1962 to September 1963, the Archdiocese had not issued an official statement about its stand on the issue of race relations in America. However, whether from the pulpit or in his ecumenical meetings, Iakovos passionately reasserted that all races were equally human and equally endowed with "the image and likeness of God (Genesis 1:26). This "fact," along with the theological "unity through diversity model of the Holy Trinity, and the biblical imperative to "love one another" (John 13:34) compelled Iakovos' advocacy for human and civil rights.[57] Nevertheless, the Archdiocese continued to receive inquiries from within the Greek American community and from other Christian denominations as to its position on the issue of segregation and integration. On behalf of Archbishop Iakovos, Arthur Dore (Director of Information) responded to these inquiries with a form letter that read

> [Al]though the Greek Orthodox Church has not issued an official statement on this subject, Archbishop Iakovos has authorized me to inform you that our Church is unequivocally against segregation of any kind and believes in the full equality of all races and peoples. The Greek Orthodox Church believes, moreover, that all Americans, regardless of faith and color, should be granted equal opportunities for public education and employment in all fields of endeavor….[58]

As indicated previously, one of Iakovos's initial goals as archbishop was to make the Orthodox Christian Church the fourth major religion recognized by the American public. However, Iakovos's unofficial or informal statements in favor of racial equality and integration undoubtedly endangered his achieving this critical goal, especially in the South. He knew that in the early 1960s many Americans, North and South, opposed his stance on racial equality. Of equal concern to

Iakovos was that his integrationist views placed the southern Greek American parishes in a precarious and vulnerable position. He feared that his views could provoke segregationist reprisals on them and even attacks on himself.[59]

On September 27, 1962, Murray Stedman of the National Council of Churches sent a telegram to the Archdiocese asking Iakovos to send a personal letter to Governor Barnett of Mississippi to allow "a negro" to enroll in the University of Mississippi. In a memo to the archbishop, Arthur Dore wrote, "My own opinion is that at this stage of our development, so to speak, in the South, it may not be wise for Your Eminence to send such a letter"; to which Iakovos scrawled on the memo his reply, "I agree."[60] However, when on December 14, 1962, the Fair Housing Committee of Wichita, Kansas, asked Iakovos for his endorsement on a "Statement of Conscience" to "declare that no qualifications about race, color, religion, or national origin be applied to prospective residents," he congratulated the committee and "gladly" affixed his signature to the statement.[61] Perhaps he signed when he noticed that local Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders had signed it previously. These two different responses reveal the fine line Iakovos tried to maintain, standing by his convictions in support of racial equality and protecting the interests of his institutional church and his southern communities from hostilities.

American religious institutions played a more critical role in the civil rights movement during the pivotal year of 1963. On January 14, the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and sixty-seven additional religious bodies convened the National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago, Illinois. The organizers represented most of the religious bodies in the United States. An unprecedented six hundred fifty-seven white and African American delegates attended the four-day conference to

examine the role of religious institutions in race relations and "to increase the leadership of religion in ending racial discrimination in the United States."[62]

The conference organizers invited Archbishop Iakovos to accept a vice presidency position at the conference, but Iakovos could not attend as he was participating in a World Council of Churches conference abroad. Instead, he sent Bishop Germanos Psallidakis of Detroit and two priests (Fr. John Hondras and Fr. Theodore Thallasinos) to represent him.[63] The outcome of the conference was not as successful as the organizers had hoped. As King biographer Taylor Branch writes, "the only resolution they approved, an 'Appeal to the Conscience of the American People,' called for no binding action by any of the participating bodies."[64] However, the conference did succeed in resurrecting the Social Gospel activism of the early twentieth century and encouraged religious institutions to play a more prominent role in the political sphere, especially in matters of social injustice.[65] It also introduced Martin Luther King Jr. to a new audience of potential supporters and legitimized his nonviolent methods as an example of faith-based activism.[66] Finally, the conference did succeed in placing the issue of race on the agendas of future church and synagogue conventions.[67] The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese did a year later, in July of 1964.

In April of 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. and the SCLC launched the Birmingham Campaign to protest the city's segregation laws and its anti-protest injunction. Disappointed at the lack of activism he had hoped the National Conference on Religion and Race would produce and thinking that President Kennedy's interest in the movement was dwindling, King resolved to lead the protests in Birmingham that resulted in his arrest and that of thousands of African Americans. It was during his incarceration there that King penned his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail." With the jails filled and protesters continuing to march, Birmingham police turned high-powered fire hoses on the marchers and threatened them with police dogs. The horrific images of the police

attacking demonstrators, young and old alike, saturated newspapers and television screens worldwide. By May 10, Birmingham's municipal and business leaders agreed to desegregate public areas and businesses and to hire African Americans in jobs previously denied to them.

Events began to unfold quickly among white religious leaders shortly after the Birmingham Campaign. On June 7, the National Council of Churches established a new Commission on Religion and Race "designed to allow America's premier ecumenical body to become fully and flexibly involved in the day-to-day struggle over racial issues."[68] On June 11, Governor Wallace blocked the doorway of the University of Alabama to two African American students but stepped aside when confronted by federalized National Guard troops. Later that evening, with images of the atrocities inflicted upon African Americans in Birmingham and the civil disparities that affected African Americans throughout the country fresh in his mind, President Kennedy informed the citizenry on nationwide television that he planned to introduce a civil rights bill in Congress. The next morning, Byron De La Beckwith murdered civil rights activist Medgar Evers in Jackson, Mississippi.

On June 17, Kennedy called "an emergency White House interreligious meeting on the racial crisis" where he met J. Irwin Miller, president of the NCC. At this meeting, Miller informed the President that "the Council—composed of thirty-one Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox denominations—committed itself only this month to a strong, church-based attack in the struggle for racial justice. It has urged all church members to join in supporting the program of the Council's new emergency Commission on Religion and Race, set up a week ago."[69] After this meeting with the President, the NCC appointed twenty-eight prominent religious, industrial, labor, and community leaders to its new Commission on Religion and Race, including Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., Victor Reuther (UAW), and Archbishop Iakovos.[70] Two days later, as Medgar

Evers was buried at Arlington National Cemetery, President Kennedy submitted his Civil Rights Bill to Congress where it remained in the House's Judiciary Committee for several months.[71]

On June 22 leaders from six civil rights organizations met with President Kennedy. Present were Martin Luther King Jr. (SCLC), James Farmer (CORE), John Lewis (SNCC), Roy Wilkins (NAACP), Whitney Young (National Urban League), and A. Phillip Randolph (the organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and respected civil rights activist). They met to discuss a mass civil rights march that would take place in Washington, D.C. that summer. Warning that intimidating Congress could impede the civil rights bill, Kennedy cautiously acquiesced to a peaceful demonstration. The organizers set a date for August 28, 1963. Not all civil rights activists agreed to a mass march on the nation's capital. Like the President, many feared an outbreak of violence. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Archbishop Iakovos stated that he would not participate in the mass demonstration in Washington, even though the National Council of Churches would be actively involved. He said, "Civil rights demonstrations can be futile if there is not a concurrent change in the human heart…. I am for civil rights, but I think that if we believe we have some moral influence over our congregations we should limit ourselves to that task and not try to exert influence in massive demonstrations."[72] Iakovos went on to say that a clergyman would be more effective in influencing his people's hearts quietly than through mass public demonstrations where they have less control of the outcome. It was as much a safe political response as it was pastoral.

As the fervor of the civil rights movement escalated through July and with the historic August 28 March on Washington completed, the Archdiocese still had not issued an official statement on the issue of race. That was soon to change. On Sunday morning, September 15, four members of the Ku Klux Klan placed a box of dynamite near the basement of the Sixteenth Street

Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. At 10:22 AM the bomb exploded killing four African American girls and injuring twenty-two parishioners. The outcry from this heinous act reverberated across the country. Since 1956, this was the twentieth bombing perpetrated against African American homes or churches in Birmingham.[73]

The city stood on the brink of a race war: African Americans were furious at whites, fed up after an interminable history of discrimination, segregation, lynchings, and bombings; they were also angry with Dr. King and his continual call for nonviolence in the face of such atrocities. Whites began arming themselves, fearing a revolt by African Americans was imminent. Surprisingly, peace prevailed; instead, African Americans assuaged their anger by grieving for the four girls killed in the bombings. According to Taylor Branch, "The funerals produced the largest interracial collection of clergy in Birmingham history, but no city officials attended."[74]

Responding to the Birmingham bombing, the Archdiocese finally issued its official "Greek Orthodox Statement on Racial Equality" in a press release on September 28, 1963, which stated in part:

> The Greek Orthodox Church is against segregation of any kind and believes in the full equality of all races and peoples. Our Church believes, moreover, that all Americans, regardless of faith or color, should be granted equal opportunities for public education and for employment in all fields of endeavor … and that all should enjoy equal advantages and be the beneficiaries of equal public accommodations and facilities….
>
> In this spirit, we call upon our citizens of all faiths, and upon all those who cherish truth and justice, to oppose every expression and demonstration of bigotry….
>
> But the Christians of America should feel that they have a special mandate to work for equal rights for all. We are challenged to prove that the Legions of Christ can, in His Name, uphold these rights wherever and whenever they are endangered. Christian love is not a semantic symbol. It is a commandment to which we must conform our actions as Christians and strive in every way to make a reality, consistent with the will of God, which was expressed by His Son Jesus Christ when He said: 'Love ye one another.'[75]

Five days before the Archdiocese issued its official statement on racial equality, Fr. Soterios Gouvellis, the priest of the Holy Trinity–Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Church of Birmingham, Alabama, wrote a lengthy letter to Archbishop Iakovos seeking his advice on the "negro situation" in his parish, which stated in part

> It seems that every time the priest mentions the word negro in church, the President of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Leontis has the feeling of…dislike for the clergy and the negroes….
>
> It has been my task to attend meetings of the spiritual leaders…to discuss problems that face this dying city. It has been our obligation to meet with leaders of all denominations and color….
>
> Last Sunday, following the bombing, I made a plea to my people…to offer contributions…to aid in the rebuilding and to pay for the funeral and hospital bills of the dead and injured. This morning, my president was greatly disturbed….
>
> This brought about the wrath and the threats of the president that 'we will petition the Archbishop'….
>
> I went thru [*sic*] a period of harassment and threats from my president and board. It seems that members of the parish fear the wrath of the segregationists of Alabama. One cannot blame them who have lived here many years….
>
> This morning, a group of clergymen, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are flying to Washington to discuss the problems of my city with the President. I was asked but knowing of the stand of my board, I did not accept. Not fearing my position, but lack of clearance from New York and the final words of Bishop Silas, 'Stay clear of all problems on this issue'….
>
> At present, I requested that people of the parish contribute money to help the Negro rebuild and contribute to the agony of the bereaved families. Money cannot buy lives, nor replace the daughters that were killed….
>
> If it be wrong to request that funds be sent to the bombed Church fund, kindly let me know so I can inform my people….[76]

Archbishop Iakovos responded to Fr. Gouvellis's request for advice on October 8 (via Arthur Dore), referencing the Archdiocese's recently published statement on racial equality. Moreover, Iakovos recommended, "that the matter of contributions … should be done on a voluntary basis and not officially in church. This would prevent objections from members of the

community who for various reasons would be opposed to a collection. Let those who want to give send money directly to the proper authorities."[77]

The exchange between Fr. Gouvellis and Archbishop Iakovos reveals the sensitive nature of race relations within a white ethnic community. Within the Greek American community of Birmingham there existed segregationists and integrationists: some were racists and segregationists; yet, many were for racial equality and civil rights for African Americans but did not speak up out fear for their safety. Fr. Gouvellis strived to prevent the race issue from splintering his community while still endeavoring to help the families victimized by the church bombing. As his letter to the archbishop indicates, the bombing compelled him to help those in need. Although Archbishop Iakovos condemned discrimination and segregation, he also wished to protect the Greek Orthodox community from violent reprisals of southern whites, which may explain his pragmatic advice not to allow the parish to take up a collection "officially."

The Archdiocese distributed its official statement on racial equality within and outside the Greek American communities throughout the United States. The mayor of Mobile, Alabama received a copy of it and replied, "I certainly agree wholeheartedly with the statement of the Archbishop, and during my ten years in City Hall have endeavored to work out our racial problems in Mobile through a spirit of cooperation and brotherly love, as we were taught to do by Christ."[78] In early November, the executive director of the National Conference on Religion and Race (the same organization which organized the January 1963 conference in Chicago) requested Iakovos to join them, along with other prominent Americans, in signing a "Statement for Citizens in Support of Civil Rights." Iakovos "happily" signed the document alongside prominent Americans that included Leonard Bernstein, General Omar Bradley, Bing Crosby, Walt Disney, Dwight

Eisenhower, Henry Ford II, Conrad Hilton Sr., Herbert Hoover, Carl Sandburg, Martin Luther King Jr., and many others.[79]

Efforts to bring the Civil Rights Bill to a vote in Congress came to a halt on November 22, 1963. The emotional trauma and political uncertainty of the nation following the assassination of President Kennedy placed the Civil Rights Bill on the back burner. On December 9, President Johnson met with leaders of the National Council of Churches. They pledged to work with him and "bring to pass in this country and in this decade a new era of equal rights for all citizens…through the avenues of Christian education and guidance…" but added, "We will also place a strong emphasis on demonstrations."[80] The NCC's efforts were not in vain. On February 10, 1964, the House passed the bill by a vote of 290 to 130.[81] The bill moved to the Senate where its fate was uncertain. Civil rights organizations, the NCC, and its Commission on Religion and Race urged religious leaders in the United States to utilize their influence to see that the bill would pass in the Senate.

In April 1964, Archbishop Iakovos, responding to the NCC's call for action, convened the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops (SCOBA) that consisted of ten bishops of various ethnic Orthodox churches in the United States. On April 24, SCOBA issued their official statement on civil rights, which stated in part:

> We…join with our fellow Christians and citizens everywhere in deploring all vestiges of segregation that deny to free men, the dignity of equal rights….
>
> As children of God, made in His image, we urge that all men of all races exercise disciplined restraint in declaring their God-given beliefs and rights so that these blessings may be freely gained in a society which constitutionally and spiritually guarantees these rights.
>
> The Church deplores violence but upholds the right of free men and women to act as the People of God in expressing their right to the God-given principles, which no man can be denied because of color or creed…."[82]

As the SCOBA meeting was taking place, the World's Fair opened in New York City. Immediately after the meeting, Archbishop Iakovos participated in the dedication ceremonies of the World's Fair where he conducted a blessing of a pavilion shared by Protestant and Orthodox churches. As one of the dedication speakers, Iakovos utilized the occasion to militantly speak out for civil rights before an international press corps saying, "The New York World's Fairground offers to us the battleground for a new and concerted effort to overcome bigotry and division and serve God's people as God's servants."[83]

On June 19, the Senate passed an amended bill and returned it to the House for final passage. The House of Representatives accepted the Senate's amendments, passed the revised bill, and sent it to the White House on July 2, 1964. President Johnson signed it that same day, and the Civil Rights Act became law. The day before President Johnson signed the landmark Civil Rights Act, the plenary session of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese's Seventeenth Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress convened in Denver, Colorado, under the presidency of Archbishop Iakovos. On July 1, the Clergy-Laity Congress adopted the SCOBA statement as the official position of the Greek Orthodox Church in America on the issue of civil rights.[84] Moreover, during the Clergy-Laity Congress in Denver, Iakovos announced the future establishment of the Archdiocese's Committee on Social and Moral Issues, which would educate Greek Americans about the Church's position on contemporary social issues and through the Committee publicize them.[85] At the conclusion of the Clergy-Laity Congress and after the enactment of the Civil Rights Act, Iakovos stated,

> Independence from civil wrongs is that which we hail today. We do not simply celebrate and commemorate Independence Day this year, we implement and enrich its meaning with the signing of the Civil Rights Bill…. A rekindled spirit reflecting the beauty of the Spirit of 1776 and that of 1863 is brightening 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.[86]

Iakovos spent the rest of July and the beginning of August attending meetings of the World Council of Churches in Germany. Upon his return, he sent an encyclical to the clergy of the Archdiocese on August 13, 1964, which stated in part

> As of July 4, 1964, we have a new law: 'The Civil Rights Law,' which provides equal rights and accommodations to our Negro fellow citizens.
>
> It is our duty; the duty of the Clergy to enlighten and to try to convince the Christians we serve that the enforcement of this law is their sacred obligation.
>
> Equality is not a political doctrine; it is a Christian axiom, based on the Bible, taught, and reinforced by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who never practiced discrimination: political, social, or religious.
>
> Demonstrations, violent and nonviolent will recede the moment we demonstrate our willingness to enforce the Civil Rights Law gradually, as it may have to be, but with determination for the benefit of us all.[87]

After the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the citizenry of the United States began implementing and adapting to its adherence, some enthusiastically and others reluctantly. Some states tried to pass laws to impede or circumvent provisions of the Civil Rights Act or previous state civil rights legislation. For example, California's Proposition 14 attempted to repeal the Rumford Fair Housing Act of 1963 that stated property owners could not deny selling or renting their property to anyone based on their race. Proposition 14 sought to overturn this law, allowing the property owners to sell or rent to whomever they chose. Iakovos strongly opposed Proposition 14 as a potential discriminatory circumvention of the Rumford Fair Housing Act and the recently passed Civil Rights Act.[88]

Since 1964 was an election year, Archbishop Iakovos, along with other American religious leaders, encouraged his congregants to vote, calling it a "sacred trust."[89] The lack of southern African Americans voting in this election revealed one significant oversight of the Civil Rights Act—registering to vote. Voter registration was under the purview of the states and conducted at the local level. Southern states that opposed the Civil Rights Act or opposed African Americans

voting created obstacles to impede their registration such as poll taxes, literacy tests, restricted days and times to register, and intimidation. The 1964 election results showed that the Civil Rights Act had not gone far enough. Therefore, civil rights leaders mobilized and pressured the federal government for a Voting Rights Act at the beginning of 1965. President Johnson felt it was too soon after the Civil Rights Act to introduce voting reform legislation, which prompted Martin Luther King Jr., civil rights organizations, and others into action.[90] Among these groups was the NCC's Commission on Religion and Race, which included Archbishop Iakovos.

In the early months of 1965, the civil rights movement would reach its peak during a series of marches and demonstrations that would begin in a small, remote town in the American South where the powerful and intimidating forces of southern segregationists would face-off with a collection of nonviolent groups of clergy and civil rights activists. The events in Selma, Alabama, would alter the future and sociopolitical perceptions of countless Americans and their institutions. Moreover, Selma would transform the lives of all involved and even end the lives of a few. One of the participants whose life would forever change was that of Archbishop Iakovos and that of his Greek American Archdiocese.

When Iakovos Coucouzes became the Greek American prelate in 1959, his primary goal was to make the Greek Orthodox Church recognized as the fourth largest religious group in America (i.e., after Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism). After the death of Archbishop Michael, Patriarch Athenagoras insisted on Iakovos becoming the next archbishop to oversee what many considered a relatively insignificant ethnic American church. He believed that Iakovos was the one who could transform the Greek Orthodox Church in America into something greater than how it primarily functioned up to that time, that is, perpetuating the Orthodox faith along with the Greek language and culture. Athenagoras believed that Iakovos's past pastoral

successes in a prominent Greek American parish and his experiences in the worldwide ecumenical movement uniquely equipped him to lead the Greek Orthodox Church of the most powerful nation in the world. Athenagoras also believed that Iakovos was the one best suited to lead the Archdiocese in achieving its potential to manifest the ancient Christian faith in contemporary times and contribute to the resolution of a host of problems that plagued human society.

Upon his elevation as archbishop, Iakovos quickly implemented his plans to attain his primary goal by modernizing the institutional infrastructure of the Greek American Church. To underwrite his modernization efforts and strengthen the overall financial well-being of the Archdiocese, Iakovos stressed the importance of fundraising through personal contributions and assessed parishes a higher percentage of their income for the ministries and endeavors of the national church. Moreover, he firmly united the parishes under the aegis of the Archdiocese by revising the uniform parish regulations so that each parish could begin to recognize itself not solely as a local community but more cohesively with one another and together as part of the national church. He also unified the other ethnic Orthodox Christian jurisdictions in America into a single administrative body known as SCOBA.

So as not to remain idle after initiating his plans, Iakovos selected the most critical issue affecting American society to engage, race relations and civil rights. As noted, segregation was not an internal issue in the Greek American Church, but Iakovos made it one. He not only brought the civil rights movement into the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, but also shattered the parochial walls of his ethnic churches and led them into the movement and public discourse on human and civil rights. Among the many experiences that Iakovos learned from his participation in the ecumenical movement was that societal problems were much larger and more powerful than any

one church or nation. Only collectively, in unity, can churches and nations address these problems. The ecumenical movement presumably taught him this.

Remembering his personal experiences of discrimination perpetrated against him and his people by the Turks, Iakovos empathized with the historical and contemporary plight of African Americans and believed that most Greek Americans would empathize with African Americans as well. Iakovos knew that the concepts of freedom, justice, and equality—first articulated by the ancient Greeks—remained embedded in Greek culture throughout Greece's history and certainly during the oppressive years of the *Turkocratia* through the present. Additionally, he believed that the Greek Orthodox Church's teaching on the inherent dignity that all human beings possess by being created in the image and likeness of God decidedly sided with the African Americans' pursuit of equality through civil rights legislation. Iakovos's uncompromising convictions in the Greek ideals, the Orthodox faith, the history of the Greeks, and his remembrance of discrimination inflicted on him stoked his adamant belief that all human beings should enjoy the dignity of equal human and civil rights. Although his Archdiocese had very few African American communicants, Iakovos, nevertheless, discovered a cause worth fighting for; to which he, his faith, his history, and his culture had much to contribute; which would, he believed, elevate the status of his Archdiocese. Thus, by the end of 1964, Iakovos soon would realize that his involvement in human and civil rights issues was far from over.

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[1] Cleopas Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes as a Model of Priesthood: Archbishop Iakovos' Ministry at the Annunciation Cathedral of New England (1942–1954)* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2012), 406.
[2] Angelo Philippou, *Orthodoxy Life and Freedom: Essays in Honor of Archbishop Iakovos* (Oxford: Studion Publications, 1973), 3.
[3] George Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, CD, 7 vols. (Athens, Greece: SKAI Records, 2003), compact disc 5, track 5.

[4] Eirini Dorkofikē, *Iakovos: Konta sto Lao [Iakovos: Near the People]*, vol. 2 (Athens, Greece: Ellinikē Eurōekdotikē, 1990), 78; Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 88–92; Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos,* compact disc 5, track 5.
[5] George Poulos, *A Breath of God, Portrait of a Prelate: A Biography of Archbishop Iakovos* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984), 104; George Papaioannou, *The Odyssey of Hellenism in America* (Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1985), 349.
[6] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 102–104; Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 5, track 5.
[7] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:88; Poulos, *Breath of God*, 103.
[8] "Archbishop Michael," Former Archbishops, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, accessed October 28, 2017, https://www.goarch.org/archbishop-michael.
[9] George Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan: The Greek Orthodox in America under Athenagoras I* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1976), 199.
[10] "Archbishop Michael," Former Archbishops, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, accessed October 28, 2017, https://www.goarch.org/archbishop-michael.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Peter Kourides, *The Evolution of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America* (New York: Cosmos Greek-American Printing, 1959), 176.
[13] "Archbishop Michael," Former Archbishops, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, accessed October 28, 2017, https://www.goarch.org/archbishop-michael.
[14] Kourides, *Evolution of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese*, 176.
[15] Papaioannou, *Odyssey of Hellenism in America*, 342.
[16] Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 199.
[17] "Archbishop Michael," Former Archbishops, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, accessed October 28, 2017, https://www.goarch.org/archbishop-michael. See also links to related articles on Archbishop Michael.
[18] President Eisenhower Telegram to Locum Tenens Bishop Germanos of the GOAA, July 13, 1958, archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[19] Papaioannou, *Odyssey of Hellenism in America*, 350. Papaioannou writes that the bishops of the Holy Synod preferred Metropolitan Meliton of Imbros and Tenedos as their candidate for archbishop of the Greek American Church. However, in an interview with George Malouchos in 2003, Archbishop Iakovos states that the Synod preferred Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon. The impasse of electing the new Greek Orthodox archbishop of the Americas troubled Iakovos because he feared that the Archdiocese would begin to break apart without an archbishop, and he knew the Metropolitan that the Synod preferred, whom he believed qualified to be elected. Athenagoras would not relent. When Athenagoras finally prevailed, he summoned Iakovos to Constantinople to receive his new assignment. Iakovos told Malouchos in his 2003 interview with him that after the formalities of his transfer had concluded Athenagoras slipped him a small piece of paper that read, "Matthew 16: 8 (Oh, ye of little faith…)," Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 4, track 4.
[20] T. Peter Limber, "The Iakovian Era," in *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop*, ed. Nikki Stephanopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996), 81.
[21] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 4, track 4.

[22] For a brief, but excellent, description of the strained relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church, see Thomas E. Fitzgerald, *The Ecumenical Movement: An Introductory History* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004), 74–75, 206–212.
[23] Fitzgerald, *The Ecumenical Movement*, 137.
[24] Fitzgerald, 137.
[25] Dorkofikē, *[Iakovos: Near the People]*, 2:80, 96–100; Poulos, *Breath of God*, 105; Papaioannou, *Odyssey of Hellenism in America*, 349; Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 201–202; Limber, "The Iakovian Era," 81; Robert G. Stephanopoulos, "Fully Greek, Fully American, Fully Orthodox: Archbishop Iakovos, The Ecumenical Leader," in *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996), 109.
[26] Papaioannou, *Odyssey of Hellenism in America*, 350–351.
[27] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations for a Living Church: Addresses to Clergy-Laity Congresses 1960–1996*, vol. 1, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998), 4–5.
[28] Stanley Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound: Social Concern in the Greek Orthodox Church* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1983), 22–23.
[29] Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 384.
[30] Julie Charles, "A Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 184.
[31] Fitzgerald, *Ecumenical Movement*, 159–160.
[32] For a theology of Orthodox Christian anthropology and the Orthodox Christian belief in the theocentricity of humanity and the ethics associated with it, see Metropolitan of Nafpaktos Hierotheos, *The Person in the Orthodox Tradition*, trans. Esther Williams (Levadia, Greece: Birth of the Theotokos Monastery, 1999); Georgios I. Mantzaridis, *The Deification of Man* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984); Maximos Aghiorgoussis, *In the Image of God* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1999), 131–134; Stanley S. Harakas, *Towards Transfigured Life* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1983), 16–39; Stanley S. Harakas, *Living the Faith: The Praxis of Eastern Orthodox Ethics* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1992), 187–224; Stanley S. Harakas, *Exploring Orthodox Christianity: Orthodox Christian Beliefs, "Real Answers to Real Questions from Real People"* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 2002), 139–162; Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Way*, Revised (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995), 47–51; John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), 15–65; John D. Zizioulas, *Communion and Otherness* (New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 99–112.
[33] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 10–11; Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:xii.
[34] Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound*, 22–23.
[35] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:10–22, 65–66, 78–79, 82–88; Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *That They May Be One: Position Papers, Essays, Homilies, and Prayers on Christian Unity*, vol. 5, The Complete Works of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2007), 211–17.
[36]Osborne Elliot, "The Negro in America," *Newsweek*, July 29, 1963.

[37] In Kevin Gaines's, "African-American History," in *American History Now*, ed. Eric Foner and Lisa McGirr (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 400–420, he writes that scholars in the last decade have adopted the term "the long civil rights movement" to extend the civil rights movement's narrative beyond the period of 1954–1965 (411), which is known as the "short narrative of the civil rights movement." For an argument in support of a "long" civil rights movement, see Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (March 2005): 1233–1263.
[38] "CSPAN_1940slides.Pdf," 4, 9, accessed March 23, 2018, https://www.census.gov/newsroom/cspan/1940census/CSPAN_1940slides.pdf.
[39] Albert J. Raboteau, "Black Christianity in North America," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*, ed. Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), 648.
[40] Raboteau, 636.
[41] Raboteau, 636.
[42] Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 469.
[43] Noll, 469–470, 494–499; Mark A Noll, *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), chap. 4 and 5; Raboteau, "Black Christianity in North America," 635–648; James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), chap. 6.
[44] John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 7; Noll, *History of Christianity*, 470; Raboteau, "Black Christianity in North America," 645.
[45] Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 2.
[46] McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 7.
[47] McGreevy, 9–19.
[48] McGreevy, 8.
[49] Coucouzes, *That They May Be One*, 5:220. See also, Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound*, 22–23.
[50] Arthur Dore to Richard E. Harrison, November 12, 1958, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[51] For Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and other civil rights organizations' actions (e.g., SNCC, CORE, The Urban League, NAACP, etc.) during the 1960s civil rights movement, see Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988); Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998); Taylor Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965–68* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006); David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Harper Collins, 1986); Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984); Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007). For churches, involvement and the importance of religion in the civil rights movement, see James F. Findlay Jr., *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); James F. Findlay, "Religion and

Politics in the Sixties: The Churches and the Civil Rights Act of 1964," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (June 1990): 66–92; David J Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
[52] James F. Findlay Jr., *Church People in the Struggle*, 5–6; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 73–74, 79, 81–85.
[53] "National Council of Churches: History," The National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, accessed April 5, 2014, http://www.nationalcouncilofchurches.us/about/history.php.
[54] In *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 5, track 9, Malouchos asked Iakovos to explain why those in the ecumenical movement referred to him as "Ecumenical Father." Iakovos responded that Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy and theologians gave him this title. During the time before and after Vatican II, Roman Catholic clergymen, such as Cardinal William Baum and Cardinal Bernard Law, would seek Iakovos's advice on ecumenical matters. Protestants and Catholics often conferred with Iakovos about the future of the ecumenical movement from the sixties through the nineties. "Because I was older and more experienced in ecumenical matters," explains Iakovos, "they gave me the title, 'Father of the ecumenical movement in America.'"
[55] National Council of Churches, "By This Shall All Men Know...: A Message for Race Relations Sunday," pamphlet (New York, February 11, 1962), box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[56] Ibid.
[57] As cited in the previous chapter (endnotes 128 and 129), Iakovos suggested to the World Council of Churches, which was looking for common ground in their pursuit of denominational unity, that they adopt the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed as a common confession and the Trinitarian model of unity through diversity. With respect to his advocacy for human and civil rights, he would carry over that which he suggested as unifying principles in the WCC as unifying principles among all people, which included the Trinitarian model of unity through diversity, the biblical fact that all human beings possess the *imago Dei*, and the biblical imperative to "love one another." Iakovos believed that as these are unifying principles for churches, they are also for human beings and citizens of all nations, which translate to equal human and civil rights.
[58] Arthur Dore to Chris Gauster, January 15, 1962, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York; Arthur Dore to Mary Pappas, April 24, 1962, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[59] Nicholas Gage, "Archbishop Iakovos," in *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996), 68.
[60] Arthur Dore to Archbishop Iakovos, memo, September 28, 1962, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[61] Arthur Dore to Rev. John M. Merkouris, December 14, 1962, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[62] Mathew Ahmann, ed., *Race: Challenge to Religion* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1963), v; Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, chapter 2.
[63] Fr. George Bacopoulos to Archbishop Iakovos, memo, October 25, 1962, box E24, folder CS, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York; From the Office of Inter-Church Relations on Race-Religion Conference, n.d., box 180, folder CR, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[64] Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, Kindle edition, location 775.

[65] James F. Findlay, "Religion and Politics in the Sixties: The Churches and the Civil Rights Act of 1964," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (June 1990): 66–67.
[66] Findlay, 69–70.
[67] Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, Kindle edition, location 785.
[68] Findlay, Jr., *Church People in the Struggle*, 34.
[69] "National Council of Churches News," newsletter, June 17, 1963, 1, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[70] "Dr. King and 28 Are Named To Churches' Racial Board," *New York Times*, June 18, 1963, 17; "National Council of Churches News," June 20, 1963, 2, box E24, folder CS, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[71] Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, Kindle edition, location 2446.
[72] "Church Leader Opposes Racial Demonstration," *Los Angeles Times*, August 14, 1963, 28.
[73] Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, Kindle edition, location 2916.
[74] Branch, location 2927.
[75] Archbishop Iakovos and Archdiocesan Central Council, "Greek Orthodox Statement on Racial Equality," press release, September 28, 1963, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[76] Fr. Soterios Gouvellis to Archbishop Iakovos, September 23, 1963, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[77] Arthur Dore to Fr. Soterios Gouvellis, October 8, 1963, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[78] Peter N. Mantzoros to Archbishop Iakovos, October 16, 1963, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[79] Arthur Dore to Rev. Galen Weaver, November 12, 1963, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[80] "National Council of Churches News," December 9, 1963, 1, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[81] "National Council of Churches Memo From the Washington Office," February 15, 1964, 1, box E24, folder CC, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[82] "SCOBA Statement on Civil Rights," press release, April 24, 1964, box E24, folder CC, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[83] Bernard Weinraub, "Thousands Combine Worship With a Visit to the World's Fair," *New York Times*, April 27, 1964, 20.
[84] Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound*, 114–115.
[85] Harakas, 61.
[86] "Archbishop Iakovos to Press," July 4, 1964, box E24, folder CC, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[87] "Archbishop Iakovos to Clergy," August 13, 1964, box E24, folder CC, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[88] Fr. John Geranios to Archbishop Iakovos, telegram, October 27, 1964, box E24, folder CC, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[89] "Four Faiths Urge Voting As A Duty," *New York Times*, November 3, 1964, 23.
[90] John E. Fager, *Selma, 1965* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 61.

CHAPTER 6 SELMA AND BEYOND, 1965–1969

Forty-seven-year-old Iakovos Coucouzes became the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America on April 1, 1959. During his relatively young life, he had already survived World War I, the Greek-Turkish population exchange, and the Turkish reclamation of his native island of Imbros, which the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne initiated. He lived through the Great Depression and World War II. By the end of the 1950s, he became the leading prelate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of the Americas standing at the threshold of the tumultuous 1960s. His idyllic years at the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland, already may have seemed to him a distant memory, a respite from a turbulent past and volatile future. His tenure as archbishop would begin during the Cold War and at the ascendancy of the civil rights movement.

Wherein the previous chapter focused on Iakovos Coucouzes's first five years of ministry concerning the civil rights movement, this one will concentrate on his participation in the 1965 voting rights demonstration in Selma, Alabama, and the response of his congregants in its aftermath. It will also include Iakovos's outspokenness on human rights violations against the remaining Greeks in Turkey and Cyprus. The chapter will conclude with his reaction to the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and the 1968 Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress where Iakovos articulated his civil and human rights position in the language of classical Greek ideals and of the Orthodox Christian faith.

While conflict over integration and civil rights were causing turbulence in the South, at home Archbishop Iakovos lost little time expanding and modernizing his immigrant church into a respected American religious institution.[1] As the representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Western Hemisphere, Iakovos united the leading bishops of other ethnic American Orthodox churches under the aegis of the Standing Conference of the Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the

Americas (SCOBA) over which he presided. Collectively, SCOBA was to witness the Orthodox Christian faith to an American public that was—for the most part—unfamiliar with Orthodoxy. Iakovos believed that along with the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, SCOBA could provide a new perspective on sociopolitical issues offering possible solutions and collaterally raising the status of the Orthodox Church as the fourth major religion in America.[2] Moreover, Iakovos maintained his leadership roles in the World Council of Churches as one of its six presidents, the National Council of Churches in the United States and its Commission on Religion and Race, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, all of which, as Iakovos stated, "seek through religion to assure equal rights to all men."[3]

Although the Archdiocese's administrative and liturgical demands on Archbishop Iakovos were many and multifaceted, he rarely missed an opportunity to engage in sociopolitical issues and with national and international political figures. Shortly after he became archbishop, President Dwight D. Eisenhower invited him to the White House for a social gathering. Eisenhower pulled him aside and told a pleasantly surprised Iakovos, "You remind me of my grandfather and bring back fond memories of when I was a child. In the wintertime, he [my grandfather] would gather us around the fireplace and read to us from the New Testament in the original Greek and translate what he was reading."[4] Iakovos endeared himself to Eisenhower ever since that first meeting.

President John F. Kennedy had met Iakovos when the president was still a member of Congress, from Massachusetts's Eleventh Congressional District, and Iakovos was dean of the Boston Cathedral. Kennedy had invited Iakovos to give a prayer at his inaugural ceremony on January 20, 1961.[5] Iakovos visited the White House in October of 1961 when he facilitated a meeting between President Kennedy and the president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, along with Patriarch Benedict of Jerusalem.[6] He returned to the White House in February of 1962 for a

meeting with the president and a delegation from the WCC and NCC.[7] Subsequently, Kennedy had invited Iakovos to the tree lighting ceremony of the Christmas Pageant of Peace in Washington, DC, on December 17, 1962, where the archbishop offered a prayer that God would "break down all the walls of shame, all the curtains of isolations, and unite the separated into one household, into one world…."[8] Finally, Iakovos would attend President Kennedy's funeral on November 25, 1963, and gave specific instructions to the clergy of the Archdiocese on how to memorialize him in their parishes.[9]

Long before Iakovos became archbishop, he advocated for human and civil rights. His personal experience of prejudice and discrimination and that of his Greek immigrant forbears in the United States served only to strengthen his position. Intellectually, he embraced the classical Greek understandings of freedom and equality[10] as fundamental and just human characteristics, and he adhered to the Orthodox Christian belief of humanity's innate dignity as beings created in the image of God. As he told the 1961 graduates of Holy Cross Seminary at their commencement ceremony, "Plant…ideas of human dignity, of the divine origin of man and of freedom, which comes from truth and adherence to the law."[11]

Taken together, these all mutually reinforced his support of human and civil rights; however, many of his fellow Americans disagreed with him. At the time of Iakovos's ascendancy as archbishop, the issue of civil rights for African Americans divided the country, which placed him in the tenuous position of either remaining silent or advocating for what he believed. If he remained silent or appeared indifferent to the African American's plight, he could accelerate Greek Americans' assimilation into the nation's white population and raise the status of the Archdiocese; whereas, speaking out in support of civil rights could impede both of those pursuits.

From 1959 through the summer of 1963, Iakovos, while for civil rights, was not particularly outspoken in support of them. He admired President Kennedy[12] and seemed to mirror him in this matter. The president was supportive of civil rights and would introduce civil rights legislation, but with the 1964 election year only months away, he feared losing the South to the Republicans. Kennedy saw the horrific photos of the Birmingham Campaign in April of 1963 where civil authorities turned high-powered water hoses on demonstrators and threatened them with police dogs.[13] He federalized the Alabama National Guard after a belligerent Governor Wallace refused to allow two African American students entry into the University of Alabama. That evening, on June 11, 1963, Kennedy addressed the nation, promising to introduce a civil rights bill to Congress. However, Kennedy reluctantly permitted a mass civil rights demonstration in Washington, DC,[14] which took place in late August of that year and where Dr. King delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech before a crowd of approximately two hundred fifty thousand.

Archbishop Iakovos did not participate in the 1963 civil rights march in Washington, telling a *Los Angeles Times* reporter "Civil rights demonstrations can be futile if there is not a concurrent change in the human heart…. I am for civil rights, but I think that if we believe we have some moral influence over our congregations we should limit ourselves to that task and not try to exert influence in massive demonstrations."[15] However, after the September 15 bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, and the death of four African American girls, Iakovos began publicly to vocalize his support for civil rights more frequently. He issued the first formal statement on the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese's support for equal civil rights on September 28, 1963.[16] He lobbied the United States Congress for the passage of President Kennedy's civil rights bill and also directed the priests of the Archdiocese to contact their respective representatives and senators despite the danger his advocacy presented to his parishes

in the South.[17] By the spring of 1964, Iakovos led the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops of the Americas to support civil rights and civil rights legislation, thus leading a majority of ethnic American Orthodox Christians into the movement.[18]

Like most civil rights activists, Iakovos rejoiced at the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,[19] stating that "equality is not a political doctrine but a Christian axiom based on the Bible, taught and reinforced by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who never practiced discrimination—political, social, or religious."[20] He reminded the adherents of the Orthodox faith that the racial equality expressed in the Civil Rights Act was not only a political issue, but also in accordance with Christian doctrine that all races possess a common humanity, which God created in His image and likeness (Gen. 1:26). On October 14, 1964, the *Religious News Service* reported that Martin Luther King Jr. was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership in the nonviolent civil rights movement.[21] Five days later, Archbishop Iakovos sent a congratulatory letter to Dr. King and received an appreciative response from the new Nobel laureate.[22] The exchange between Iakovos and King reflects a sense of accomplishment for past civil rights successes and renewed optimism for the future. Nevertheless, the euphoria over the passing of the new law and the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize would not last long for the archbishop nor for the minister and activist.

Since 1964 was an election year, Archbishop Iakovos, along with other American religious leaders, encouraged his congregants to vote, calling it a "sacred trust."[23] With the passage of the Civil Rights Act, Iakovos believed that race relations would eventually improve and that racial injustices and inequalities would become a part of the distant past.[24] Iakovos was prepared to turn his attention to other critical issues. However, the lack of African American votes in the South revealed one significant oversight of the Civil Rights Act—obstructions to voter registration. Voter registration was under the purview of the states and conducted at the local level. Southern states

that opposed the Civil Rights Act or opposed African Americans voting created obstacles to impede their registration, such as poll taxes, literacy tests, restricted registration days and times, and intimidation. The 1964 election results showed that the Civil Rights Act had not gone far enough. Few African Americans voted in southern states because they were unable to register. Therefore, shortly after the election, civil rights leaders mobilized and pressured the federal government for a Voting Rights Act. President Johnson felt it was too soon after the Civil Rights Act to introduce voting reform legislation, which prompted Martin Luther King Jr., civil rights organizations, and others into action.[25]

George Best of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and James Orange, James Bevel, and C. T. Vivian of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were working to register African Americans in southern cities like Selma, Alabama, for at least two years with little success.[26] Of the fifteen thousand African Americans residing in Selma's Dallas County, only three hundred had succeeded in registering. In adjacent Perry County, with its county seat in Marion, just one hundred fifty of the five thousand African Americans were enrolled.[27] Blacks comprised eighty percent of the population in the area immediately south of Dallas County, yet no one had registered to vote.[28] The same was true for Lowndes County—known to civil rights veterans as "Bloody Lowndes"—adjacent and southeast of Dallas County with almost six thousand eligible African American voters, where no one even tried to register.[29]

Dr. King and other civil rights organizers arrived in Selma in early January of 1965. They planned to raise the nation's awareness of the need for a voting rights act. The strategy was consistent with King's belief in nonviolent civil disobedience. The campaign would distribute leaflets, hold mass meetings, organize protest marches, and fill the county jails until the nation saw the voting injustices inflicted upon blacks throughout the South.[30] Within a month of his arrival in

Selma, King found himself in jail from which he directed the SCLC to place an advertisement in the February 5 issue of the *New York Times* titled, "A Letter from MARTIN LUTHER KING from a Selma, Alabama Jail."[31] In the advertisement, King explained to readers that he was jailed because local and state authorities denied blacks their constitutional right to vote, something unconscionable in 1965 America. He wrote, "THIS IS SELMA, ALABAMA. THERE ARE MORE NEGROES IN JAIL WITH ME THAN THERE ARE ON THE VOTING ROLLS."[32] Selma officials released Dr. King several days after the *Times* advertisement.

Tensions between whites and blacks continued to mount in Selma and its neighboring counties in February of 1965. A nighttime march in the nearby city of Marion erupted in violence, which subsequently led to the death of Jimmie Lee Jackson. As May points out, "Night marches were always potentially dangerous for demonstrators because darkness gave their enemies a better chance to waylay them and flee."[33] The Marion demonstrators planned to exit Zion's Chapel Methodist Church in an orderly manner and march the one-hundred-yard distance to the jail where police had incarcerated SCLC's James Orange and many blacks who had attempted to register to vote.[34] Once at the jail, the marchers would kneel in prayer, sing a few hymns, and then return to the church.

On the evening of February 18, the marchers exited the church and walked barely a block when state troopers, local police, and sheriff's deputies—holding billy clubs, cattle prods, and assorted firearms—ordered them to disperse to their homes or return into the church. As they knelt to pray, the streetlights suddenly went out. The police attacked ruthlessly and chased the scattering marchers through the dark streets and into business establishments that were still open. NBC reporter Richard Valeriani suffered a severe head wound in the melee. An Alabama state trooper chased Jimmie Lee Jackson and his already beaten mother and grandfather into Mack's Cafe. Other

law enforcement officers entered the diner and began beating black patrons indiscriminately. As a trooper raised his club to strike Jimmie Lee's injured and defenseless mother, Jimmie Lee shielded her. The state trooper responded by lowering his club but drew his revolver and shot Jimmie Lee at point-blank range in the stomach while other officers continued to beat him. Jimmie Lee would die in a Selma hospital eight days later.[35]

In the wake of the horrific events that unfolded in Marion, civil rights organizers planned a peaceful march from Selma to the state capital of Montgomery on Sunday, March 7. The march intended to protest African Americans' inability to register to vote and the escalation of violence perpetrated against them. Morale among Selma's civil rights organizers and demonstrators was high. They agreed that a Selma to Montgomery march should proceed as soon as possible, even in the absence of Dr. King, who was resting at his home in Atlanta, emotionally and physically exhausted from increasing death threats, a cold he obtained in jail, and his hectic travel schedule.[36]

The march would begin from Selma's Brown Chapel, proceed across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, and continue along Route 80 to Montgomery. Six hundred marchers left Brown Chapel and made it as far as the Edmund Pettus Bridge on the outskirts of town. There awaiting them were hundreds of Alabama state troopers, local policemen, and a volunteer mounted posse comprised of local segregationists flaunting bullwhips, rubber tubing wrapped in barbed wire, and clubs.[37] As the marchers approached, the state police commander ordered the advance. Immediately, law enforcement officers and possemen broke ranks and attacked the marchers with tear gas and swinging clubs. They continued their attack, pursuing the terrified marchers back across the bridge and well into Selma's black neighborhood. When the pursuit ended, more than fifty people were hospitalized,[38] hundreds were injured, all were terrified. Viewers across the nation watched the spectacle on television and were horrified at what would be known as "Bloody Sunday."[39]

Learning of the atrocities from his home in Atlanta, Dr. King immediately sent telegrams to prominent church leaders across the country calling upon them to join him in "a minister's march" from Selma to Montgomery on Tuesday, March 9.[40] In response, hundreds of ministers, priests, rabbis, and nuns from across the country descended upon Selma for a second march, and with them hundreds of journalists, photographers, and television cameramen. One of the ministers who arrived was Unitarian minister James Reeb, who flew from Boston to join the march. At almost 2:30 p.m. on March 9, only two days after the horrific spectacle of the first Selma to Montgomery march, Dr. King and hundreds of clerics led a march of three thousand from Brown Chapel towards the Edmund Pettus Bridge. King addressed his followers, "I have made my choice. I have got to march. I do not know what lies ahead of us. There may be beatings, jailings, tear gas. But I would rather die on the highways of Alabama than make a butchery of my conscience."[41] Moreover, before setting out, he shouted to the crowd, "If you can't be nonviolent, don't get in here. If you can't accept blows without retaliating, don't get in the line."[42] As they embarked from Brown Chapel into the unknown, the marchers raised their voices singing, "Aint Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Round."

When they reached the crest of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, they fell silent gazing at the hundreds of state troopers barring their way at the foot of the bridge. They came within fifty feet of the troopers with billy clubs at the ready. Major John Cloud of the Alabama State Police ordered the marchers to halt. Dr. King, sensing that an attack was imminent and fearing a calamitous repeat of the first attempted march, asked if he and the marchers could kneel and pray. Major Cloud stoically permitted King's request. After a brief prayer, Dr. King rose and led the marchers back into Selma. The second attempted March to Montgomery—later known as "Turnaround Tuesday"[43]— failed; yet, it succeeded in that no one was injured, at least not until later that evening

when suspected members of the Ku Klux Klan beat Reverend James Reeb and two other Unitarian ministers. Reeb would die two days later.[44]

News of Reverend Reeb's death made headlines across the nation. Reeb's wife and father had traveled to Selma to be with him. When he finally passed, President Johnson called Reeb's bereaved wife and father to console them and dispatched a presidential C-140 airplane to bring them home.[45] Archbishop Iakovos sent a telegram to Mrs. Reeb on March 12, which stated in part, "The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and our communicants extend deepest condolences and sympathy on the tragic death of your beloved husband, a minister of God who fought oppression of human rights and dignity and died heroically on the battlefield of mankind."[46] On that same day, President Johnson met with a delegation from the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, some of whom were in Selma earlier in the week, and described to the president the brutalities that had transpired. A memorial service for Reverend Reeb was set for Monday, March 15 at Brown Chapel in Selma. The intended service was to include eulogies in the chapel followed by a procession to the Dallas County Courthouse where prayers and a wreath would be placed at the courthouse doors. However, due to the previous week's escalation of racial hostilities, the last portion of the memorial tribute was questionable: the procession could not occur because a court-ordered injunction precluded any march from taking place in Selma.[47]

On March 13, the day after his meeting with President Johnson, the Reverend Robert Spike, Executive Director of the NCC's Commission on Religion and Race, sent a telegram to Archbishop Iakovos inviting him as leader of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Americas, one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches, and vice president of the National Council of Churches to "personally" attend the memorial service in Selma on Monday, "or send [a] person of national prominence as your representative."[48] Racial tensions were exponentially high after the

death of Reverend James Reeb. Iakovos consulted with his staff and advisors, who strongly urged that he not attend the memorial due to the violent and volatile atmosphere in Alabama; they unanimously agreed and feared that his life would indeed be in danger.[49] Nevertheless, Iakovos decided to go. On March 14, Iakovos sent a telegram to Fr. Gouvellis of the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in Birmingham, Alabama, and to Fr. Kallos of the Annunciation Church in Montgomery informing them to meet him in Selma upon his arrival.[50]

On Monday morning, March 15, Archbishop Iakovos, Fr. George Bacopoulos,[51] along with twenty other distinguished clergymen of the Commission on Religion and Race, boarded an old DC3 airplane chartered by the National Council of Churches in Washington, DC and flew to Alabama.[52] Upon arriving in Selma, the pilot opted to land his plane in a cow pasture outside of the city since racial tensions were alarmingly high.[53] Archbishop Iakovos, Fr. Bacopoulos, and the NCC delegates proceeded on foot to Brown Chapel through the black neighborhood of Selma. Mourners filled the chapel well beyond its capacity. Hundreds of sympathizers awaited outside the chapel entrance while others peered through the windows.

Upon arrival, ushers directed Archbishop Iakovos to a seat on the dais since he was one of the high-ranking clergymen present. Bishops, priests, and ministers of many denominations participated in the memorial service. They read from the scriptures, led in the singing of hymns, and delivered sermons awaiting the arrival of the featured eulogist, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Iakovos did not speak. He remembered how surprised local blacks were to see a Greek Orthodox archbishop in his black robes.[54] Organizers had planned for the memorial service to take place at the courthouse, but the injunction against marches and rallies in Dallas County forced the ceremony to take place indoors in the crowded Brown Chapel.[55] Dr. King arrived three hours late and delivered a stirring eulogy for Reverend Reeb and Jimmie Lee Jackson. As King concluded,

the Reverend Ralph Abernathy mounted the dais to announce that U.S. District Court Judge Daniel Thomas of Mobile had lifted the injunction and ordered local law enforcement officials to permit the march to the Dallas County Courthouse. The surprised congregants cheered and wept with joy at the prophetic-like pronouncement as they prepared for the long-awaited march to the courthouse.[56]

Just outside the doorway of the chapel, King paused to shake hands and speak briefly with Archbishop Iakovos. He remembered meeting the archbishop on his first trip abroad to Geneva, Switzerland, while Iakovos served as the representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate ten years before.[57] Archbishop Iakovos later commented that he and Dr. King had walked along Lake Geneva together and how surprised people were to see a black minister for the first time.[58] As they embarked from Brown Chapel, a six- or seven-year-old black girl looked up at the distinguished archbishop in his black robes, held his hand, and told him not to worry.[59] Iakovos later remembered looking at the young girl who asked, "Will the day ever come when I'll be able to hold any white person's hand and walk with them?"[60] The archbishop gazed into her querying eyes, squeezed her hand gently, and smiled reassuringly.

At 5:08 p.m., the procession of nearly four thousand, walking three abreast, began from the steps of Brown Chapel and proceeded through a white neighborhood until it reached the downtown district near the Dallas County Courthouse. Dr. King held a purple and white wreath and led the march with Archbishop Iakovos on one side and Reverend Ralph Abernathy and Andrew Young on the other. Immediately behind them were Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers and Unitarian minister Dr. Dana McLean Greeley. The eight-block route took approximately twenty-five minutes to walk. Hundreds of reporters and cameramen followed the solemn procession to the courthouse steps. The police formed a protective ring around

the marchers as they advanced. Car horns from angry motorists blared at each intersection as the procession passed, undoubtedly protesting both the obstruction to traffic and the purpose of the march.[61] "As we walked toward the courthouse, there were so many ugly faces staring at us," Iakovos told a *New York Times* reporter, "The whites' spirits were so poisoned by hate and bias. But when you believe in the rightness of what you're doing, you discount fear."[62]

The presence of hundreds of police officers and the many clerics of all faiths contributed to the peacefulness and solemnity of the march. As Jack Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times* reported,

> Most of the whites who ventured onto the street seemed almost awed by the sight of so many ministers, priests, and nuns among the marchers. Except for one man who spat in the lens of a TV camera and another who shouted, 'Go to hell' from a nearby service station, there were no incidents. Several whites along the route stood in doorways of buildings and laughed when they saw cameramen running ahead of yet another in a long series of protest marches here. The laughs faded and the expressions of many changed to awe when they saw the imposing figure of Archbishop Iakovos, his dark eyes as bright as the gold top of the staff he carried, his beard gray and his thick eyebrows as dark as his flowing vestments.[63]

Just as Dr. King, Archbishop Iakovos, and the other dignitaries reached the courthouse steps, they turned and faced the thousands who had followed them. A journalist photographed this iconic moment, which would appear on the front cover of *Life* magazine's March 26, 1965, issue. Before Dr. King spoke, Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark locked the doors from the inside and turned off the lights of the courthouse.[64] The marchers assembled on Alabama Avenue between the courthouse and the federal building surrounded by police. Two hundred white spectators gathered across the street.[65] Dr. King delivered a brief eulogy while a car horn blared in the background as he spoke. He concluded his eulogy with a prayer for Reverend Reeb, Jimmie Lee Jackson, and other fallen civil rights martyrs. The memorial ended with all singing "We Shall Overcome." As darkness settled and the service ended, the people dispersed back to Brown Chapel. When they had gone, the courthouse door was unlocked, and a hand reached from behind it to remove the wreath and to lock the doors again.[66]

With the memorial in Selma concluded, Archbishop Iakovos and Fr. Bacopoulos departed. The archbishop flew to South Carolina and Fr. Bacopoulos back to New York City. Before leaving, Iakovos issued a statement to the press that read in part,

> I came to this memorial service because I believe this is an appropriate occasion not only to dedicate myself as well as our Greek Orthodox communicants to the noble cause for which our friend, the Reverend James Reeb gave his life, but also in order to show our willingness to continue this fight against prejudice, bias, and persecution. In this God-given cause, I feel sure that I have the full and understanding support of our Greek Orthodox faithful of America. For our Greek Orthodox Church and our people fully understand from our heritage and our tradition such sacrificial involvements. Our Church has never hesitated to fight, when it felt it must, for the rights of mankind, and many of our Churchmen have been in the forefront of these battles time and time again….[67]

The trip to Selma afforded Archbishop Iakovos an opportunity to visit one of his parishes in the South and soon to discover that not all members of the Archdiocese shared his belief in civil and voting rights for African Americans. Without his usual entourage, the archbishop flew to Charleston, South Carolina, his first time visiting the Greek Orthodox community of approximately one hundred twenty families. To his surprise and dismay, not a single person from the community came to the airport to formally receive and welcome him. Later that evening, alone in his hotel room, Iakovos received numerous threatening phone calls throughout the night, expressing their anger and opposition to his presence in Selma earlier that day.[68] However, he soon disregarded the menacing phone calls when he watched President Lyndon Johnson on his hotel television introduce his voting rights bill to Congress. Iakovos believed that the events that had transpired in Selma earlier that day, which "[he] felt blessed to be a part of,"[69] prompted the president's address and legislative initiative that evening.

The next day, Archbishop Iakovos sent a telegram to President Johnson, "expressing the feelings of gratitude and admiration of my people," for his speech the previous evening. CBS's nationwide radio program, *The World Tonight*, interviewed Iakovos that same day where he stated,

"The commitment that our President made before our nation last night renews the faith of our people in equality, democracy, and human dignity. The orderly demonstration in Selma yesterday guarantees the peaceful solution to the problem that has done so much damage to the image of the United States here and abroad…."[70] Upon returning to the Archdiocese in New York City, Archbishop Iakovos received many letters both in support of and in opposition to his presence in Selma.[71] Although the number of letters in support of his Selma appearance far outnumbered those in opposition, he was especially grieved that for the first time in his life he received threatening letters from people of his faith, and who "bestowed on [him] the title of traitor."[72] Nevertheless, Iakovos remained resolute in his convictions as he stated in an interview to Columbia, South Carolina's WIS television news reporter a week after his appearance in Selma saying,

> The Church, being an institution that must bring into the world the message of equality and of human dignity cannot ignore such social problems.... We feel, the clergy of all churches in the United States—including synagogues—that ours is the duty to serve our country through serving those negro citizens who are deprived of some essential rights…. We all oppose violence or preaching of disloyalty or rebellion against state or federal authorities…. Religion must pursue to the end this cause for equality and dignity for all Americans regardless of race, color, or religion.[73]

Greek Americans' reaction to Archbishop Iakovos's presence in Selma was immediate and ranged from vehement opposition to laudatory support as letters and telegrams sent to the Archdiocese reveal. As expected, many of the letters from Greek Americans living in the South criticized Iakovos for participating in the Selma demonstration while most—but not all— letters from Greek Americans in the North praised him.[74] The criticisms Greek Americans gave varied. Several of Iakovos's congregants questioned his motives or felt that their religious leader should not entangle himself or represent them on political issues. A day after the Reeb memorial service in Selma (i.e., March 15), a parishioner from Huntsville, Alabama wrote, "Even though your feelings are shared by many regarding 'human rights,' I feel that the methods used in Selma are

primitive…. I feel that more careful discretion should be exercised by Your Eminence in advocating racial marches by sanctioning the same through personal participation."[75] The parish council president of the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in Birmingham wrote, "In my opinion, your presence in Selma…contributed nothing to the cause of civil rights in Alabama. Rather, it infuriated many irresponsible person[s] who stand ready to do more bodily harm…. There is no moral or religious issue involved. You and the other clergy have hindered the cause of civil rights in Alabama…. Your appearance in Selma has, unfortunately, destroyed what progress we made in Birmingham."[76] A member of the parish council of the St. Nicholas Church in Pittsburgh criticized Iakovos for lowering "himself to the level of a riot instigating, law-breaking group of cutthroats who are but two steps from the jungle."[77]

Some letters opposing Archbishop Iakovos's presence in Selma indicate that they were afraid of reprisals or being ostracized by whites in the South. A group of parishioners from the Greek Orthodox Church in Jackson, Mississippi wrote, "It is with deep regret…with much shock and disappointment that we learned of the very active role you have assumed in our present political problems…. You must realize ninety-five percent of the Greek population in the South are restauranteurs, and we feel that any uncalled-for publicity by you could be detrimental to us."[78] Two days after the parish council president of the Holy Trinity Church in Birmingham had sent his protest letter to Iakovos, the parish council sent the following

> The Greek Orthodox Community in Birmingham, Alabama has had vast experience in the turmoil involving the Negro effort to obtain his just and lawful rights…. Our community suffered not only economic reprisals by the Anglo-Saxon and overwhelmingly Protestant community of Birmingham but was also itself deeply and almost irrevocably splintered…. [Because of] your ill-timed, quasi-political visit to Selma, the threat of new reprisals has once again been imposed upon us…. If your participation in the memorial service at Selma was in the best interest of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, it was certainly to the detriment of us living in Birmingham…. We, as the Board, have received most unfavorable comments, not only from our parishioners but from other fellow

> citizens…. We do not solicit your sympathy, but we do request your consideration of one hundred years of Greek Orthodox progress in the South…. This recent occurrence in Selma has put our Greek Orthodox community…in a precarious, serious, and harmful predicament…[79]

A Sunday School teacher from the Holy Trinity Church of Birmingham expressed his fears to Iakovos by writing, "Your march…has placed this community…and my family in great jeopardy…. My wife and I both teach Sunday School, and our two children attend…without fail…. I will not offer the lives of my wife and children in sacrifice for this cause, nor am I willing to allow you to sacrifice them for me."[80] An anonymous Greek American in the South wrote, "We have to make a living in Alabama, to help support our church and not Rev. Martin Luther King."[81] Echoing previous correspondences, the board of directors of the Greek Orthodox Church in Mobile, Alabama sent a telegram to Iakovos stating,

> Your Eminence is well aware of…the high esteem which our American friends hold us, and we know you are aware of how long it took our fathers and forefathers to build up this high regard and esteem…. Our parishioners…our friends, and neighbors…were amazed and shocked to see the head of the Greek Orthodox Church on television with persons considered agitators, persons not from Alabama, persons who have never lived in the South, persons who could not have any concept of the…problems faced by all of us here in the South. Your appearance has left us at a loss for words to the many inquiries of our friends and neighbors. These people blame outside agitation for the trouble in Alabama…and our friends are looking to us for an explanation.[82]

Within a week of the Reeb memorial service, letters and telegrams of protest continued to arrive at the Archdiocese. The president of the parish council of the Greek Orthodox parish in Montgomery, Alabama wrote in part,

> With sadness, I write…to inform you that your presence…at the protest in Selma…with the pseudo-minister and idiot Martin Luther King has brought the Greek Orthodox of the South in a serious position with respect to our fellow white citizenry with whom we've lived with for many decades. I simply can't understand why this irreverent black man appears so smart and can fool and dupe all the clergy to come here to the South to demonstrate… to give the vote to the semi-civilized here in America! I know this pseudo-minister King personally. He is one very smart negro, and has a perfect propaganda machine, and has his focus on the issue of the vote and has convinced the people to participate including President Johnson, the

> imbecile…. People tell us that you have done much harm to us. I have communicated with other communities and parishes who share my opinion of your actions when they saw you walk side by side with that black man [King] and others in clerical garb….[83]

The parish council of the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in Charleston, South Carolina expressed its "concern and dismay" over Iakovos's participation in the Selma demonstration. The letter, signed by the president and secretary of the Charleston church, concluded by stating, "The publicity on television and in the newspapers showing the Archbishop surrounded by labor bosses and beatniks was demeaning not only to your high and dignified office but to Orthodox Christians as well…."[84] A parishioner from Hopewell, Virginia voiced his opposition emphatically by writing,

> I'm shocked! I personally think it is a discrace [sic] and I am embarrassed and humiliated to think of you standing there with a publicity hound like Martin Luther King. Perhaps maybe you will gain as many negroes in your church as you will lose Southern Orthodox should they try to walk through the door which you have opened…. I am sure that God made them free but if He wanted them to be Orthodox, He would have put them in Greece.[85]

In the same spirit, a Greek parishioner from Mobile, Alabama wrote,

> As a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, I was…humiliated and hurt, where I was proud that our Church didn't mix in the racial problems, when some of my friends and customers told me you were in the racial demonstration. For you to stand so high in church and stoop so low, you have lost my and most others' respect in Alabama. If you ever come to our church in Mobile, Alabama, I promise you I will humiliate you by picketing the church with signs 'IAKOVOS GO BACK TO SELMA.' You have disgraced us, your robes, and our churches…. You associated…with communists, robbers, and murderers…. I have lost respect for you. I'm looking forward to having you inside the church here and me on the outside on the sidewalk with my signs.[86]

Moreover, the parish council of the Sts. Constantine and Helen Church in Richmond, Virginia, unanimously protested and objected to Iakovos representing them in Selma "with people of questionable character."[87]

After the famous photo of Archbishop Iakovos and Martin Luther King Jr. appeared on the cover of the March 26, 1965, issue of *Life* magazine, scathing letters to the Archdiocese continued. A Greek American from Cleveland, Ohio wrote, "I deplore your pilgrimage to Selma…in support of the black agitator King. You have no business using your high office to further the cause of forced integration between the white and black race in this country…. Your picture with King [on] the front cover of *LIFE* magazine gives the impression that our people endorse King's integration program one hundred percent. Nothing could be further from the truth."[88] A Greek woman from Upper Darby, Pennsylvania wrote in part, "I was very disappointed to see you in the newspaper making the headlines…going over to help the Negroes in the South…. Frankly, I would not like to have any negroes around my house or in a Greek Orthodox Church or school. Have you considered intermarriage—a Greek and a 'Mavro' [a black]?[89]

Finally, a letter of protest from a Shreveport, Louisiana Greek American summed up the adverse reactions of the Greek communities in the South felt about Iakovos's Selma appearance. He states that his opinions reflect "99.9% of the Greek Orthodox people in the South." He wrote,

> You have put all Greek Orthodox Christians in a terrible…position by taking sides in a political matter…. You mention that you were helping the cause of freedom…. If this person [Reeb] was back home where he belonged, he would not have been killed and would have saved other persons from becoming killers…. Your presence in Alabama clearly indicates to me that you have not been informed nor have you studied our problems here in the South. The negroes of any state have a right to protest to the state officials…. They would have been closer to freedom than they are now if outsiders were not allowed to interfere. Outsiders, such as yourself, are making matters worse by being present in places where they don't belong. If you will remember all the murders that have taken place concerning civil rights matters, it has always been an outsider…. When our fathers came to this country, they were treated the same as negroes at that time. Our fathers were ridiculed and treated like trash…. However, they turned their other cheek until such time that the American public saw that these people were trying their best to help their community and their country. They were accepted as Americans…. All of this took 20 to 25 years to accomplish…. Approving your picture to appear on the cover of *Life* magazine has put us back at least 30 years in the eyes of our friends and neighbors…. All you are doing is helping [to] incite riots and killings.[90]

Fr. Soterios (Sam) Gouvelis, the priest of the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in Birmingham, also expressed the precarious situation the Greeks in the South found themselves after Iakovos's appearance in Selma. In a letter addressed to Fr. George Bacopoulos, he wrote in relevant part,

> The South is up in arms. No doubt your mail and the visits of individuals [from] Columbia, SC to His Eminence spell it out…. Down here there is a rumble of a General Assembly of all Southern Dixiecrat G.O. [Greek Orthodox] churches…. We are doing our best to calm moods…. We have been having our share of bomb scares. Sunday was rough in B'ham. Four bombs were found. Makes one wonder—who is next? Man, you'all ain't seen nothing yet. Wait until it gets warm and no school. They'll be all over the place. Pray for us. We need it…. Regards from all here. Keep a few Northern parishes open for a fast getaway for some of your Southern priests— Fr. Sam[91]

On March 16, Fr. Sam Gouvelis's wife, Catherine, had also sent a letter to Archbishop Iakovos stating in part,

> I regret that the telephone calls have started…informing us of the displeasure in having you participate in the memorial service of Reverend Reeb. I imagine that you will be getting letters of protest from the people here in Birmingham…. You must try to understand that the Greek people here in the South are in the minority group and the majority of them make their living from the 'red necks' who are the ruling majority here. Any statement from the Church has repercussions on their business and personal life. Anything that we in the minority group do down here is overly exaggerated in the press and the 'red necks' take this for an excuse to abuse our people. I can understand your reason for coming down here and agree with your thinking.[92]

The following day, Fr. Sam Gouvelis mailed another letter to Fr. George, which stated, "It started. Phone calls, letters, resolutions, cease belonging to [the] Archdiocese, call a General Assembly, call a meeting of all Southern churches and make our stand uniform. These are the typical remarks. Me! What can I say? 'We shall overcome….'"[93] On March 28, Fr. Gouvelis informed Iakovos that "tempers have quieted down somewhat. They are very disturbed as you well know…. I still say that you…did right in coming to pray at the memorial service."[94]

Despite the twenty-seven letters criticizing Archbishop Iakovos's Selma appearance on file in the archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, there are sixty-three letters from across the country and Canada expressing their support for Iakovos's civil rights actions in Alabama.[95] The Order of AHEPA, the prestigious national Greek American fraternal organization, endorsed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Moreover, they helped Archbishop Iakovos campaign for the passage of these acts as well as his participation in the Selma memorial service for Reverend Reeb.[96] The editor of *The National Herald*, the daily Greek American newspaper, also endorsed equal rights for African Americans and supported Archbishop Iakovos's efforts to this effect.[97] The letters in support of or in opposition to Iakovos continued to arrive at the Archdiocese through June of 1965.

The third attempted Selma-to-Montgomery march that began on March 21—less than a week after the Reeb memorial service—finally succeeded when thousands of voting-rights supporters arrived at the state capital on March 24. The following day, approximately twenty-five thousand demonstrators gathered before the Alabama state capital building to celebrate the accomplishment and to hear Dr. King deliver one of his most memorable speeches.[98] After the rally in Montgomery, King and his wife Coretta returned to their Atlanta home that evening where they learned that a carload of Klansmen murdered a white woman from Detroit, Viola Liuzzo, who had volunteered to shuttle marchers from Montgomery back to Selma after the march. News of her death spread quickly "bringing fear to movement activists."[99] The news both saddened and angered King. The next day, President Johnson announced that the FBI had apprehended four suspects in the murder of Viola Liuzzo.[100] Archbishop Iakovos sent a telegram to Mrs. Liuzzo's husband expressing heartfelt condolences to him and his children on the tragic death of his wife

and that he may find consolation that she "was slain and martyred in the vital cause of human dignity and equality."[101]

Many historians view 1965 as a transitional year in modern American history and the history of the civil rights movement.[102] President Johnson had introduced his ideal of The Great Society to eliminate poverty and to promote racial justice in the previous year. As an essential step towards his Great Society, Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965, and the Immigration and Nationality Act on October 3, 1965. However, the media focused the nation's attention on the escalation of troops in Vietnam and the increasing cost of America's involvement in Southeast Asia rather than on Johnson's domestic agenda.[103] In 1965, Martin Luther King continued to advocate and implement his nonviolent form of civil disobedience, but "Black Power" and black militancy began appealing to a more significant number of young African Americans as the civil rights movement moved out from the South. In August, a few days after Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, riots had consumed the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles for five days. While Iakovos kept abreast of both the civil rights movement and America's increasing role in Vietnam, he turned his attention to human rights concerns affecting the Greeks in Cyprus and Turkey.

As vital NATO allies, Greece and Turkey protected Western Europe's southern flank against communist encroachment in the Mediterranean. Turkey controlled the Dardanelles straits that linked the Black Sea to the Aegean, which lay primarily within the boundaries of Greece. These waterways—the Black Sea, the Dardanelles, and the Aegean Sea—could provide easy access for the Soviet Union into the Mediterranean Sea, access that the governments of the Western Powers and the United States expended considerable resources to prevent. The island of Cyprus, with its British and American naval bases, was a crucial component in NATO's strategy against

Soviet incursion in the region. Although NATO allies, Greece and Turkey had a tenuous if not hostile relationship with each other for centuries. Since the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the republic, Turkey had laid claim to the eastern Greek islands of the Aegean and had wished to expel the remaining Greek population in Constantinople that the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne protected.

In return for exempting the Greeks of Constantinople from expulsion, the Treaty of Lausanne exempted and protected the Turkish minority in Greece's eastern province of Thrace from deportation. For the most part, the Turkish minority in rural Thrace was inconsequential, whereas the Greek minority's presence and economic influence in Turkey's largest cosmopolitan cities was anything but. As a result, the Turkish government employed covert means to expel the Greek population for decades since the Lausanne treaty culminating in the pogrom of September 6–7, 1955,[104] where "well-organized Turkish mobs destroyed and pillaged Greek businesses and burned and desecrated Greek Orthodox churches, schools, and cemeteries in Constantinople."[105] After the pogrom, Turkish authorities systematically targeted Greek businesses and cultural institutions such as churches and schools, making life in Turkey nearly impossible for Greeks. Turkish government officials condemned Greek-owned buildings, seized them, and resold them to ethnic Turks. They arrested Greeks who were Turkish nationals for subversive activities and deported them. By 1965, of the twelve-thousand-five-hundred Greeks who remained in Constantinople after the 1955 pogrom, the Turkish government expelled more than nine thousand.[106] The human rights violations inflicted upon the Greeks of Constantinople were a direct result of the escalating Greek-Turkish conflict on the island of Cyprus.

Greeks populated the island of Cyprus since Homeric times. After the Ottoman conquest of the island in the sixteenth century, a Turkish minority gradually settled there. In the late-

nineteenth century, Great Britain had leased the island from the Ottomans who were in desperate need of economic aid. At the beginning of World War I, the Ottomans sided with Germany, which prompted Britain's formal annexation of the island. After World War II, Britain began relinquishing its colonial possessions, but the political future of Cyprus remained problematic. Since more than eighty percent of the population was Greek, the Greek Cypriots favored annexation to the kingdom of Greece, something Turkey vehemently protested. In 1960, Britain insisted on an independent Cyprus administered jointly by the Greek Cypriot majority (approximately eighty-five percent of the population) and the Turkish Cypriot minority (about fifteen percent of the population). The tenuous relationship between Greek and Turkish Cypriots escalated into violent clashes during the early 1960s that led to the displacement of thousands of Turkish Cypriots. As a reprisal for the plight of the Turkish Cypriots, the Turkish government escalated its clandestine attempts to force the remaining Greek population and the Ecumenical Patriarchate out of Constantinople—often by denying or circumventing their human and civil rights.

On November 12, 1964, amidst his growing interests in the civil rights campaign in Alabama, Archbishop Iakovos had issued a press release stating that the Archdiocese would begin a fund-raising campaign to aid the Greek Orthodox Christians expelled from Turkey and to help the wounded, burned, and maimed victims of the Turkish bombings that occurred in Cyprus.[107] In a press release, Iakovos complained that the news media had not fully reported on the Turkish actions against the Greeks in Constantinople or in Cyprus except for an editorial piece in the previous day's *New York Times*.[108] On March 9, 1965—less than a week before traveling to Selma—Iakovos sent an encyclical reminding his people of their sacred duty to keep their Greek Orthodox Church free and to protect it from every "unholy exploitation or enslavement," and to

do so for the sake of justice, freedom, equality, and human dignity as "our Greek Orthodox brethren in Turkey…and in Cyprus [are doing] where brave Hellenic sons and daughters are fighting."[109]

On September 9, 1965, Archbishop Iakovos issued a lengthy encyclical bearing the title, "Oppressions Against the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Greek Orthodox Minority in Turkey Increase." He stated that "the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Greek Orthodox minority residing there are being subject to pressures, indignities, expulsions, and seizures which are now being stepped up…as retaliation for acts by Greek Cypriots against Turkish Cypriots." He cited an editorial from the April 21, 1965 issue of the *New York Times* titled "The Patriarchate a Hostage," which described Turkish efforts to oust the Patriarchate from Turkey.[110] Iakovos enumerated ten human rights violations against Turkey's Greek minority that "have not been widely publicized."[111] A month later, Iakovos sent another encyclical but much harsher to his congregants. He called for

> a peaceful but forceful protest…against Turkey, which does not comprehend and even scorns the meaning of freedom. Freedom of religion is trampled upon in the most contemptuous fashion…. The Ecumenical Patriarchate is under open persecution. Violence and humiliations occur continuously against our faithful in Turkey under the very eyes of the civil authorities…. Christians are under constant threat. Signed and unsigned letters are thrown into houses stating that the lives of our people are in danger if they do not abandon their homes and belongings…. Raise your voices in dignified protest towards every lawful recourse against this unacceptable religious persecution in Turkey.[112]

Turkish authorities acted upon Archbishop Iakovos's outspokenness against them when he visited the Patriarchate of Constantinople in February of 1966. The *Religious News Service* reported on February 10 that Turkish police barred Iakovos from celebrating the Divine Liturgy at the Church of St. George. The *RNS* also reported that Iakovos "was under close surveillance by Turkish police."[113] The Archdiocese immediately sent a telegram to President Johnson protesting the unprecedented action against Iakovos and the continued harassment against the Patriarchate.[114]

The following month, Iakovos called for a demonstration to protest the denial of religious freedom to the Greek minority in Turkey stating, "No other Christian church has been denied its due rights, nor has any church borne such denial with equal forbearance."[115] In his Easter encyclical, Iakovos wrote about the efforts of the Archdiocese to "secure the ideals of equality and equal rights among men in the nations of the world." He complained that Americans believe that self-determination is an inalienable right, but that Americans often deny it to others. "We shout loudly on behalf of religious freedom and the dignity of man here at home," Iakovos wrote, "but we ignore or condone flagrant violations of these rights before our very eyes," at home and abroad.[116]

At the Archdiocese's biennial clergy-laity congress that took place in Montreal that year (1966), Iakovos delivered an extensive report on human and civil rights actions that he and the Archdiocese had undertaken since the last congress, and he included the reasons why such measures were necessary for the Church to undertake. He reminded the delegates that the Church they belong to is Greek not because its faithful are ethnically Greek; instead, he said, "We are *Greek* since the Greek spirit and Greek philosophical thought produced our theology and our ecclesiastical tradition, and since Hellenism, as a system of ideas, as a civilization, as a world concept, is the soul and thought-world within which Orthodoxy moves."[117] Quoting the ancient Greek poet Pindar, Iakovos said, "To begin a task, we must place in the forefront a man of radiant countenance."[118] Iakovos believed that for the Orthodox, that man is Jesus Christ. Thus, issues concerning freedom, equality, human dignity, human and civil rights are not just moral or political, but religious and divine. He fervently believed that, essentially and ultimately, Christ was crucified for freedom's sake, and for human and civil rights, and that in every instance of human and civil rights violations, he would speak out. Iakovos concluded his address with the words of St. Paul,

"For freedom, Christ has set us free; stand fast, therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery," (Galatians 5:1).[119]

In 1966, Archbishop Iakovos traveled extensively abroad, with trips to the Middle East and Southeast Asia. For two weeks he toured Korea, Japan, China, and the Philippines. During that time, he conducted approximately fifty worship services for United States troops in Vietnam, often on the front lines. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, General William Westmoreland, and Marine General Lewis Walt greeted him and provided military transport that made Iakovos's tour of the troops possible.[120] That year, Iakovos supported the war in Vietnam as a "war against totalitarian communism, the annihilator of human dignity" and that "these wars must be won but won in the name of Christ and for the sake of man for whose sake Christ died."[121]

By 1966, the civil rights movement had migrated from the South and into the northern and western regions of the United States, either in the form of Martin Luther King's nonviolent civil disobedience or under the banner of "Black Power." Dr. King's Chicago campaign revealed that the Northern whites were as prejudiced and hostile toward African Americans as Southern whites. The following year, 1967, as America's military presence and casualties continued to grow in Vietnam, race riots (or rebellions) erupted in one hundred fifty-nine cities across the United States. This prompted President Johnson to establish the Kerner Commission on July 27, 1967—while the city of Detroit was still in flames.[122] The Kerner Commission published its results on February 19, 1968. Branch writes that the commission

> found no political conspiracy behind the urban riots of 1967 and traced them primarily to racial deprivation. 'What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it…. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II.[123]

Weeks after, the Kerner Commission published its report on the causes of the previous summer's racial violence; Archbishop Iakovos issued an encyclical on March 25, 1968, to commemorate the dual holiday of the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary and Greek Independence Day.[124] Iakovos prompted his congregants to recall that the church's feast and ethnic holiday celebrates humanity's freedom from "multiple enslavements…and against those who violated human dignity." He concluded by combining the classical Greek understanding of freedom with the Christian necessity of freedom claiming them as a unique inheritance of the Greek Orthodox faith. Iakovos writes, "Our greatest and most precious inheritance from Christianity and Hellenism [is] freedom; freedom that honors the unfettered mind; freedom that rejects all compromise with political, social, or religious untruth; freedom that steadfastly wills spiritual, moral, political, social, and religious growth and improvement, under the watchful eye of God."[125]

Days after sending his March 1968 encyclical, Archbishop Iakovos attended the installation ceremony for the new Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, Terrence Cooke, followed by a reception at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on April 4. Later that evening, Iakovos prepared a reception for the new prelate at the headquarters of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in Manhattan. Shortly after Cooke's arrival and the two archbishops met, news arrived of Martin Luther King's assassination and confirmed his death. "We have just been told that Dr. Martin Luther King is dead," Iakovos told reporters covering the reception. Cooke replied, "Let us pray together." The two hierarchs entered the Archdiocese's St. Paul Chapel and kneeling side by side prayed. "I am terribly shocked and feel ashamed," Archbishop Iakovos stated. "As Christians, we should be wiser and more responsible for our actions. Martin Luther King was the symbol of a justified struggle for civil rights." He went on to say that he had "hoped the nation had learned

something from the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas." When reporters asked Iakovos about the likelihood of a violent reaction to King's murder, the Greek archbishop said, "Those who truly believe in what the advocate of nonviolence believed will thank God for his leadership and attempt to carry on."[126]

That evening, Archbishop Iakovos penned a personal letter to Dr. King's wife, Coretta, in which he stated in part, "The crime that was perpetrated tonight is indeed unspeakable, and the grief it brings unbearable, but we must, nonetheless, speak of it and bear its consequences, else, how could we as Christians fulfill our witnessing and verity of our Lord…. In paying heartfelt tribute to your husband, I cannot forget that it was my privilege to be with him in Selma, Alabama in 1965."[127] The following day, Iakovos sent a telegram expressing his sympathies to Reverend Ralph Abernathy saying, "Our fervent prayers are offered for the repose of the heroic and noble soul of Dr. Martin Luther King, and for the successful continuation on your part of his outstanding leadership."[128] Iakovos ordered that all "Greek Orthodox churches remain open so that the faithful may pray for the eternal repose of the soul of Dr. Martin Luther King."[129] Moreover, he forwarded a telegram to Coretta Scott King from Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I that stated, "We are deeply saddened at the tragic death of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., a martyr on behalf of peace, and we express our heartfelt sympathy to President Johnson, Dr. King's widow and family, and to all whose rights he fearlessly championed."[130] Archbishop Iakovos was one of the many dignitaries among thousands of people who attended Dr. King's funeral services at Ebenezer Baptist Church and at Morehouse College in Atlanta on April 9, 1968.[131]

On April 14, 1968, religious leaders representing four major faiths in the United States issued a press release following the death of Martin Luther King Jr. The National Conference of

Catholic Bishops, the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, and the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas stated that

> they bow together in grief before the shameful murder of Dr. Martin Luther King…; affirm that no service of remembrance…is equal to the greatness of his [King's] labor…; commend…Congress…for passing the Civil Rights Act…; urge members of Congress to approve…the balance of $1,980,000,000 authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act…; request the President and Congress…implement the recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders…; urge our citizens to support…taxation…to achieve Dr. King's objective…; urge the private sector to accelerate…improving conditions [where] the disadvantaged live and work….[132]

Archbishop Iakovos introduced the above press release at an emergency meeting of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas, which unanimously endorsed it "so that we as Orthodox Christians may do our part in helping secure justice and equality…."[133] On April 16, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, informed Archbishop Iakovos that "at the request of Mrs. Coretta King," the SCLC, a small group of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders had established the Martin Luther King Jr. Interreligious Memorial Fund. Rabbi Tanenbaum informed Iakovos that Bishop John E. Hines, Bishop John J. Wright, and Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel extended an invitation to him to become a co-chairman of the fund, an invitation Iakovos accepted.[134]

As the violent spring of 1968 ebbed into summer, Archbishop Iakovos focused his attention on the last clergy-laity congress of the sixties that would take place in Athens, Greece from July 20–27, 1968. It was the first—and to date the only—congress to take place outside of the Western Hemisphere. Iakovos had decided that the clergy-laity congress would take place in Greece to counter criticisms from the Greek press that he was "Americanizing" the churches of the Archdiocese by permitting the use of English in its worship services.[135] The Greek press also criticized Iakovos for concentrating his attention on American domestic issues instead of lobbying

for the political needs of Greece, whose government had fallen to a military dictatorship the previous year.[136] Despite the criticisms from the Greek press about the direction he was leading the Archdiocese and his decision to hold the congress in Greece—which the press viewed as tacit support of Greece's dictatorship—Iakovos addressed these concerns in his opening remarks to the congress, "We came to Greece to determine if we are of one accord and of one mind…. We are American citizens, of Greek heritage, of course, a fact which we look upon as our greatest blessing and the strength that unites us."[137]

Iakovos defined the identity of his congregants to the government and people of Greece as equally Greek and American, rooted in the spirit of classical Greek heritage but living within the modern American culture and all its challenges and problems.[138] Iakovos complained that the spirit of secularism and materialism dominated American culture and perpetuated social injustices against the dignity of humanity (e.g., racism, discrimination, and segregation). "Secularism," Iakovos said, "was the greatest challenge to the Christian Church…the underlying cause of every social and political ill of modern man."[139] Iakovos believed that the solution to "every social and political ill" lay within "the indestructible principles and ideals of Greek classical antiquity" and the soul-saving teachings of the Orthodox Church.[140] Iakovos proclaimed to the delegates and his critics the following words:

> No values are higher than those that have been seized upon by the Greek mind: the values of freedom, education, and the activities that constitute the dignity of man…. It is from God, of course, and from the Church, and from our history that we first and foremost draw…the strength that is needed to chart the course of our progress…. [Therefore] let it not be heard from your lips…that we have strayed from Hellenism, that we have been absorbed into the environment in which we live, that we have deviated from our faith, that we have betrayed our heritage.[141]

The Archdiocese's Nineteenth Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress concluded on July 27, 1968. Iakovos and the delegates departed from "Mother Greece," the birthplace of democracy, the progenitor of freedom, equality, and personal sovereignty, the creator of philosophy, reason, and

critical thinking, the inspirer of the *polis*, of personhood, and human and political rights. Greece, whose language first introduced and articulated the Christian faith; a faith that first proclaimed, "for freedom, Christ has set us free; stand fast, therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery," (Gal. 5:1). Ironically, the Greece Archbishop Iakovos and the delegates were leaving behind was already in its second year of struggling under the iron fist of a military dictatorship, menaced by Turkey from the east, and threatened by communist Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria from the north. It was from within this ancient land's heritage and religion that Iakovos believed he found the solutions to humanity's and the world's sociopolitical problems. The problems may be new, but Iakovos concluded that the answers were old and that they existed within the teachings of classical Greek thought and his Church. He would proclaim them, and all that was needed was for people to listen, accept, and act upon them.

In 1969, Iakovos commemorated his ten-year anniversary as Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. His tenure was substantially different from those of his predecessors. Archbishop Alexander (1922–1930) struggled to remain relevant and bring the factionalized and independent-minded Greek immigrant churches under the jurisdiction of the newly formed Archdiocese. Where Alexander failed, Archbishop Athenagoras (1931–1948) succeeded in bringing the immigrant parishes into the Archdiocesan fold. During the Great Depression and the Second World War, he expanded the ministries and institutions of the Archdiocese and elevated its status in both the New World and the Old. At the time of Archbishop Michael's reign (1948–1958), the second-generation Greek Americans, who spoke substantially less Greek, had come of age and began assuming leadership positions in the Church. Although he succeeded in having the Orthodox faith recognized as a Christian denomination by the United States armed forces, his Archdiocese remained an inward-looking Greek-speaking Church.[142]

When Archbishop Iakovos began his tenure in 1959, he was forty-seven years old the youngest of his three predecessors. He acted quickly to reorganize and modernize the Archdiocese's administrative infrastructure, which had not changed significantly since the 1930s. He traveled extensively, maintained his leadership positions in the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, and other ecumenical organizations. He created and presided over the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas. His ultimate administrative goal was to elevate the status of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese as the fourth major religion in the United States after Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism, and to have it recognized as a relevant American institution—not an immigrant ethnic church. To that end, Iakovos did what his predecessors and many of his congregants thought was unthinkable: he reoriented and led the Archdiocese into the realm of American sociopolitical issues.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the most critical domestic issue was race relations. Iakovos, while supportive of equal civil rights for African Americans, was not particularly vocal in his support, at least not initially. After the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham on September 15, 1963, that killed four young girls, Iakovos adamantly advocated for the passage of President Kennedy's civil rights legislation and issued a formal statement on the Archdiocese's position on racial equality within two weeks of the Birmingham bombing. Iakovos continued lobbying and campaigning for civil rights in his home state of New York, in Washington, DC, and during his extensive travels across the United States encouraging members of Congress, his ecumenical colleagues, and of course his clergy to support civil rights for African Americans. When called upon to go to Selma to honor Reverend Reeb and Jimmie Lee Jackson, Iakovos, against the advice of his advisors, flew to Selma and walked side by side with Martin Luther King. For the most part, Archbishop Iakovos received praises from his congregants for participating in

the memorial service for Reverend Reeb in Selma. However, the hostile phone calls he received that night in his hotel room in Charleston, South Carolina, and the letters criticizing his appearance with King that he received well into the summer wounded him deeply.[143]

In retrospect, while it was commendable that Archbishop Iakovos and his Church had entered the civil rights movement and allied themselves with Dr. King, his involvement did more than bolster the debates favoring civil rights agendas in Congress or the demonstrations on the nation's streets. Iakovos did more than join the movement; instead, he brought the movement into the realm of his Church and classical Greek thought infusing it with new, fundamental understandings. He contextualized the issues of human and civil rights not only as sociopolitical imperatives but also as necessary attributes and expressions for all human beings whom God had created in his image and likeness. For Iakovos, before the concepts of freedom, equality, justice, and "the dignity of man" could become empirical political realities and practical human rights, they must first be understood and embraced theologically as God-given qualities in the hearts and minds of all people. They must live within the mind before they can exist in the world; they must reign in the soul before one can reside in heaven.

The issues of civil and human rights affecting African Americans in the United States and the Greeks in Turkey and Cyprus were undoubtedly serious political challenges. Iakovos's most significant contribution to civil and human rights movements was to re-contextualize them within the theological realm as earthly Christian imperatives in the present and soul-saving obligations in the eschaton. Archbishop Iakovos's theological and intellectual contributions—along with his presence in Selma, Alabama—certainly benefited the civil rights movement with a new perspective and context that was rooted in classical Greek ideals and Orthodox Christian theology. Moreover, it had the ancillary benefit of raising the institutional status, respect, and relevancy of

the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the eyes of the American public. In other words, Archbishop Iakovos utilized the controversy of civil rights to put the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States on the map.

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[1] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations for a Living Church: Addresses to Clergy-Laity Congresses 1960–1996*, vol. 1, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998), 1:58.
[2] Coucouzes, 1:xii; George Poulos, *A Breath of God, Portrait of a Prelate: A Biography of Archbishop Iakovos* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984), 10–11.
[3] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:10–22, 65–66, 78–79, 82–88; Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *That They May Be One: Position Papers, Essays, Homilies, and Prayers on Christian Unity*, vol. 5, The Complete Works of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2007), 5:211–217.
[4] Taylor Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos, January 24, 2002, collection 5047, series 4, box 91, Archbishop Iakovos, Taylor Branch Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
[5] Coucouzes, *That They May Be One*, 5:271; U.S. Presidential Inauguration, *Jan. 20, 1961: Inaugural Ceremonies for John F. Kennedy*, accessed November 4, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MdG1kcEAsX0; Cleopas Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes as a Model of Priesthood: Archbishop Iakovos' Ministry at the Annunciation Cathedral of New England (1942–1954)* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2012), 159–160; George Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, CD, 7 vols., I, Iakovos (Athens, Greece: SKAI Records, 2003), compact disc 5, track 1.
[6] "AR6828-A. President John F. Kennedy Meets with Greek Orthodox Clergymen - John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum," accessed November 4, 2017, https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKWHP-AR6828-A.aspx.
[7] "AR7047-A. President John F. Kennedy with Delegation from World Council of Churches and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. - John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum," accessed November 4, 2017, https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKWHP-AR7047-A.aspx; "KN-C20170. President John F. Kennedy with Delegation from World Council of Churches and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. - John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum," accessed November 4, 2017, https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKWHP-KN-C20170.aspx. President Kennedy had sent "a personal representative to the 1962 Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress held in Boston, see Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:58.
[8] Coucouzes, *That They May Be One*, 5:283.
[9] Archbishop Iakovos greatly admired President Kennedy (perhaps since Kennedy was the youngest President of the United States and Iakovos the youngest Greek Orthodox Archbishop of

the Americas). In *Dean James A. Coucouzes as a Model of Priesthood*, Strongylis writes that Iakovos held the leadership abilities of President Kennedy in high regard (159). In an interview with George Malouchos, Iakovos described the conclusion of a meeting with President Kennedy and the WCC and NCC delegation after the WCC's New Delhi Conference in 1961; Iakovos was part of the delegation. After the meeting, Iakovos shook hands with Kennedy and told him that "he loves him, values him, and remembers when as a congressman he attended the opening of the Holy Cross seminary in Brookline, Massachusetts. Kennedy asked Iakovos if he knew the Prime Minister of Greece, Constantine Karamanlis. Iakovos replied that he did. Kennedy asked Iakovos to convey his greetings to him and told him to convey to the prime minister that if Greece had any requests of the United States to inform him. Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 5, track 1.

For Archbishop Iakovos's telegrams to President Johnson, Mrs. John F. Kennedy, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, Senator Edward Kennedy (dated November 22, 1963), and encyclicals to the bishops of the Archdiocese (dated November 23, 1963) concerning how the death of President Kennedy should be observed throughout the Archdiocese, see Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 1, 1959–1977*, vol. 2, 6 vols., The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1999), 2:182–184.

Archbishop Iakovos's Christmas encyclical reveals the emotional pain he experienced while still grieving President Kennedy's death, it reads in part: "Good will toward men! What irony! While our president personally inspired the establishment of a Peace Corps to interpret and embody the virtue of giving, of self-sacrifice, and of good intentions to people outside the United States, children of the fourth grade of a grammar school within our country cheered and applauded when they first heard from their teacher the tragic news of the assassination of President Kennedy. What utter disillusionment! And this has occurred, as we all believed, that democracy, political equality, freedom, dignity, and the respect for the life and property of others might become matters of conscience for us and for our children. And now what? Everywhere are dark clouds, pain, melancholy, and pessimism for the future. Christmas comes this year without Christ, without angels, without shepherds, without the Magi, without joy, without the hymn of the heavenly host of angels glorifying God…Following the assassination of the president and the murder of the assassin; following the telephoned threats made against the lives of political and other leaders; following the staining which the multitude of sins and the variety of crimes have brought to our lives—where is it possible for Christ to find a place to stay?" For Archbishop Iakovos's complete 1963 Christmas encyclical, see Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer I*, 2:8–10. Iakovos does not cite where children cheered and applauded upon receiving news of President Kennedy's assassination. However, around the time Iakovos wrote his Christmas encyclical, there was a *New York Times* article that makes this reference. See Joseph A. Loftus, "Ministers in Dallas Ask an End to Hate," *The New York Times*, November 29, 1963, New York, 1, 21.

[10] Orlando Patterson, *Freedom: Freedom in the Making of Western Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 3–5.

[11] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Paideia: Addresses to Young People*, vol. 4, The Complete Works of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2002), 9.

[12] Strongylis, *Dean James A. Coucouzes*, 159; Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 5, track 1.

[13] David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Harper Collins, 1986), 250; Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988), 764.
[14] Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 839–841.
[15] "Church Leader Opposes Racial Demonstration," *Los Angeles Times*, August 14, 1963, 28.
[16] Archbishop Iakovos and Archdiocesan Central Council, "Greek Orthodox Statement on Racial Equality," press release, September 28, 1963, box E24, folder CA, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[17] Nicholas Gage, "Archbishop Iakovos," in *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996), 67. In addition to giving instructions to his priests to contact their respective congressional representatives and senators, Iakovos directed his priests to lobby for the passage of the immigration bill as early as October 1963. The bill would raise the Greek immigrant quota from 308 to 3,458. Demetrios J. Constantelos, ed., *Encyclicals and Documents of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, Relating to Its Thought and Activity the First Fifty Years (1922-1972)* (Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1976), 723–726.
[18] "SCOBA Statement on Civil Rights," press release, April 24, 1964, box E24, folder CC, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. The official statement of SCOBA states in part,
"Throughout the ages, the Orthodox Church has survived centuries of persecution, which, even to this day, continues to be imposed upon untold millions of Orthodox Christians in many lands. The Orthodox Church has borne the yoke of oppression and is wholly aware that persecution, prejudice, and intolerance is the greatest sin that the free soul of man can bear. We, therefore, extend and join with our fellow Christians and citizens everywhere in deploring all vestiges of segregation that deny to free men, the dignity of equal rights. We pray that the spirit of compassionate patience and understanding brotherhood will penetrate the hearts of all men and women whose leadership must guide the destiny of the great racial challenge facing America.
"As children of God made in His image, we urge that all men of all races exercise disciplined restraint in declaring their God-given beliefs and rights so that these blessings may be freely gained in a society which constitutionally and spiritually guarantees these rights.

"The Church deplores violence but upholds the right of free men and women to act as the People of God in expressing their rights to the God-given principles, which no man can be denied because of color or creed. The power of love is the power of God, and as God is *Love*, so love is the greatest power of His Children on earth. We prayerfully beseech our fellow citizens, and especially the leaders of our nation, to direct their actions with the power of love as their beacon of eternal hope, a hope which will not be denied in an America which will give to all men, the example of his Word.

"We pray that all men may transcend the limitations of human frailty, and as God-fearing Christians and dedicated Americans, transmit the spirit of prayer of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ: 'Thy Will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.'"
[19] At the conclusion of the Seventeenth Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress, Archbishop Iakovos issued the following statement on July 4, 1964, after President Johnson signed the 1964 Civil Rights Act into law: "Glory to God in the highest! His will that 'good will toward men' prevail someday in the world, is at last a reality here in the United States of America. Independence from civil wrongs is that which we hail today. We do not simply celebrate and commemorate Independence Day this year, we implement and enrich its meaning with the signing of the Civil

Rights Bill. July 4, 1964 marks a most significant milestone in our history and in the history of mankind. A rekindled spirit reflecting the beauty of the Spirit of 1776 and that of 1863, is brightening the horizon of the world with the refreshing hope and justice and equality for all men regardless of race, color, and creed, shall fill the hearts of all men. May this glorious decision of our Congress mark a new era for humanity; an era in which the Word of God will be our command and direction in life, and when people will meet people face-to-face singing Hosannah and Alleluia!" "Statement Issued on the Occasion of the Signing of the Civil Rights Bill into the Law of the Land," press release, July 4, 1964, box E24, folder CC, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[20] Archbishop Iakovos to Clergy, August 13, 1964, box E24, folder CC, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[21] *Religious News Service*, "Nobel Peace Prize Awarded to Dr. King," October 14, 1964, 7, box E24, folder CK, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[22] Letter of Archbishop Iakovos to Dr. Martin Luther King, October 19, 1964, box E24, folder CK, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York; Letter of Martin Luther King Jr. to Archbishop Iakovos, November 4, 1964, box E24, folder CK, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[23] "Four Faiths Urge Voting As A Duty," *New York Times*, November 3, 1964, 23.
[24] Archbishop Iakovos to Clergy, 13 August 1964, box E24, folder CC, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[25] John E. Fager, *Selma, 1965* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 61.
[26] Fager, 6, 8, 72; David J. Garrow, *Protest At Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 40.
[27] Gary May, *Bending Toward Justice: The Voting Rights Act and the Transformation of American Democracy* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 75.
[28] Fager, *Selma, 1965*, 8–9, 31, 42.
[29] May, *Bending Toward Justice*, 72.
[30] Fager, *Selma, 1965*, 9–10.
[31] Advertisement, *The New York Times*, "A Letter from MARTIN LUTHER KING from a Selma, Alabama Jail," February 5, 1965, 15.
[32] Garrow, *Protest At Selma*, 52–53.
[33] May, *Bending Toward Justice*, 75.
[34] May, 75.
[35] Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 391–392; Garrow, *Protest At Selma*, 61–62; Fager, *Selma, 1965*, 73–75; May, *Bending Toward Justice*, 75–78.
[36] Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 395–396.
[37] Fager, *Selma, 1965*, 94.
[38] Fager, 96.
[39] Taylor Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965–68* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 132, 996.
[40] Fager, *Selma, 1965*, 97–98.
[41] Fager, 103.
[42] Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 75.
[43] May, *Bending Toward Justice*, 104.
[44] Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 406.

[45] Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 89.
[46] Telegram to Mrs. James J. Reeb March 12, 1965, box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[47] Fager, *Selma, 1965*, 133–134.
[48] Telegram of Robert Spike to Archbishop Iakovos, March 13, 1965, box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[49] Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos, January 24, 2002, collection 5047, series 4, box 91, Archbishop Iakovos, Taylor Branch Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 106.
[50] Telegram of Archbishop Iakovos to Frs. Gouvellis and Kallos, March 14, 1965, box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[51] In 1965, Fr. George Bacopoulos was the chancellor and the ecumenical officer of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese.
[52] "Commission on Religion and Race Delegation Attending Memorial Services for Rev. James J. Reeb" (New York, March 15, 1965), box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York; Religious News Service, "Interreligious Delegation at Memorial Service for Slain Unitarian Minister" March 15, 1965, 16, box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[53] Gage, "Archbishop Iakovos," 68.
[54] Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos.
[55] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 6, track 7.
[56] Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 106–108; Fager, *Selma, 1965*, 132–134.
[57] Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos; Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 108.
[58] Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos; Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 6, track 7.
[59] Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 108; Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos.
[60] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 6, track 7.
[61] Press Dispatches, "King Leads 4,000 In March for Reeb," *The Atlanta Constitution*, March 16, 1965; "Selma Allows 8-Block March by 4,000: U.S. Court Tells Police Not to Interfere," *Chicago Tribune*, March 16, 1965, 12; Roy Reed, "Selma March Held After U.S. Court Arranges Accord," *New York Times*, March 16, 1965, 1.
[62] Gage, "Archbishop Iakovos," 68.
[63] Jack Nelson, "Clergy Lead March After Court Orders," *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1965, 1.
[64] Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 108; Fager, *Selma, 1965*, 134.
[65] "Selma Allows 8-Block March by 4,000: U.S. Court Tells Police Not to Interfere," *Chicago Tribune*, March 16, 1965, 12; "King Leads 4,000 In March for Reeb, *Atlanta Constitution*, March 16, 1965.
[66] Roy Reed, "Selma March Held After U.S. Court Arranges Accord," *New York Times*, March 16, 1965, 1; Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965–68*, 108.
[67] Archbishop Iakovos and Archdiocesan Central Council, "Statement by His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos on the Occasion of the Memorial Service for Rev. James Reeb in Selma, Alabama" March 15, 1965, box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[68] Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos.
[69] Ibid.

[70] Archbishop Iakovos, "Telegram Sent By Archbishop Iakovos To President Johnson," March16, 1965, box E24, folder XX, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[71] Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. See letters included in folders CF and CG.
[72] Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos.
[73] Archbishop Iakovos's WIS television interview in full states: "The Church of Christ being an institution, which brings peace to the world, in general, I think it has a special charge to bring peace in the minds and hearts of those who are either oppressed or they believe that they are oppressed and deprived of some rights like civil rights or the right of voting. The Church, being an institution that must bring into the world the message of equality and of human dignity cannot ignore such social problems like the one which has been created in the last few years here at home and which has distorted so very much the American image abroad. Therefore, we feel, the clergy of all churches in the United States including the synagogues that ours is the duty to serve our country through serving those negro citizens who are deprived of some essential rights like the so-called civil rights. On the other hand, I, as a clergyman, believe that civil wrongs can never do civil rights. And for this reason, I oppose, we all oppose violence or preaching of disloyalty or rebellion against state or federal authorities. Ours is the Christian responsibility to bring, as I have said, peace in the mind and the hearts of every citizen who feels that he is ignored by his government or his state. Therefore, religion must pursue to the end this cause for equality and dignity for all Americans regardless of race, color, or religion," Benjamin Singleton, *WIS 65 265 Archbishop Iakovos of America at Clergy Laity Congress, Columbia, SC, March 22nd, 1965: Archbishop Iakovos Responses to WIS TV News Regardiing March with Martin Luther King in Selma, Alabama.*, accessed February 19, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YvbUXAJ-kd0.
[74] Folder CG of box E24 at the archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York, contain twenty-seven letters and telegrams from Greek Americans expressing their opposition to Archbishop Iakovos's appearance in Selma. Of the twenty-seven letters and telegrams, twenty were from Greek Americans in the South, four from Greek Americans living in the North, and three gave no indication of the senders' origin.
[75] C. G. Collis, Member, Greek Orthodox Church of Huntsville, AL, to Archbishop Iakovos, March 16, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[76] T. H. Stavros, Letter to Archbishop Iakovos, March 17, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[77] Letter of Board of Trustees Member John J. Petrolias of St. Nicholas Cathedral, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to Archbishop Iakovos, March 16, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[78] Letter of Seven Parishioners of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jackson, MS, to Archbishop Iakovos, March 17, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[79] Letter of the Holy Trinity Church Parish Council to Archbishop Iakovos, March 19, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[80] Letter of Gus D. Cosmas of Birmingham, Alabama to Archbishop Iakovos, March 25, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[81] Anonymous Letter to Archbishop Iakovos, received on March 19, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[82] Telegram of the Board of Trustees of the Greek Orthodox Church in Mobile, Alabama to Archbishop Iakovos, March 20, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[83] Letter of President George Kostaridis of the Greek Orthodox Church of Montgomery, Alabama, to Archbishop Iakovos, March 20, 1965, handwritten in Greek, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[84]Letter of President Andrew Melissas and Secretary George Fassuliotis of the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church of Charleston, South Carolina to Archbishop Iakovos, March 20, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[85] Letter of Nicholas Chris Doukas to Archbishop Iakovos, March 25, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[86] Letter of Mark M. Clikas to Archbishop Iakovos, March 25, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[87] Telegram of President George Stames of Sts. Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church of Richmond, Virginia, to Archbishop Iakovos, March 31, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[88] Letter of John S. Janos of Cleveland, Ohio, to Archbishop Iakovos, March 28, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[89] Letter of Katina Kostoulas to Archbishop Iakovos, April 11, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[90] Letter of Steve N. Steles of Shreveport, Louisiana to Archbishop Iakovos, March 30, 1965, box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[91] Letter of Fr. Soterios (Sam) Gouvelis to Chancellor Fr. George Bacopoulos of the Archdiocese, n.d., box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[92] Letter of Catherine Gouvelis to Archbishop Iakovos, March 16, 1965, box E24, folder CF, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[93] Letter of Fr. Soterios (Sam) Gouvelis to Chancellor Fr. George Bacopoulos of the Archdiocese, March 17, 1965, box E24, folder CF, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[94] Letter of Fr. Soterios (Sam) Gouvelis to Archbishop Iakovos, March 28, 1965, box E24, folder CF, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[95] For letters critical of Archbishop Iakovos's participation in the Selma memorial service for Reverend James Reeb, see box E24, folder CG, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. For letters in support and praise, see box E24, folder CF, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[96] George J. Leber, *The History of the Order of AHEPA, 1922–1972* (Washington, D.C.: The Order of AHEPA, 1972), 430, 442, 444–445; Demetrios Rhombotis, "Black History Month And the Greeks," *USA.GreekReporter.Com* (blog), February 27, 2014,

http://usa.greekreporter.com/2014/02/27/black-history-month-and-the-greeks-2/; "AHEPA in Selma: Legacy of Justice - The National Herald," accessed November 19, 2017, https://www.thenationalherald.com/79928/ahepa-in-selma-legacy-of-justice/. Letter of Secretary Peter L. Caparell of the Order of AHEPA'S Athens Chapter No. 24 of Boston, MA to Archbishop Iakovos, n.d., box E24, folder CF, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[97] *The National Herald*, April 9, 1965, box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. In this issue, there were eight letters to the editor: six opposed Archbishop Iakovos's Selma trip and two supported. The letters are written in Greek.

[98] Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 412–413.

[99] Garrow, 413.

[100] Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 179.

[101] The telegram stated, "Our Greek Orthodox Faithful of America and I personally extend our heartfelt condolences and sympathy to you and your children on the tragic death of your beloved wife Viola. May the consolation in your great sorrow be that your wife was slain and martyred in the vital cause of human dignity and equality, which is the foundation of our democracy and for which her name will be memorialized. May Almighty God console you and your children and give you strength to endure your terrible loss and may the heroine's soul rest in eternal peace—Archbishop Iakovos," Telegram of Archbishop Iakovos to Anthony J. Liuzzo, March 29, 1965, box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[102] Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (March 2005): 1234, 1236; Kevin Gaines, "African-American History," in *American History Now*, ed. Eric Foner and Lisa McGirr (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 411–416; Steven F Lawson, "Freedom Then, Freedom Now: The Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement," *American Historical Association* 96, no. 2 (April 1991): 462–463; Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 388–389; James Findlay F., "Religion and Politics in the Sixties: The Churches and the Civil Rights Act of 1964," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (June 1990): 66–92; M. J. Heale, "The Sixties as History: A Review of the Political Historiography," *Reviews in Amerian History* 33, no. 1 (March 2005): 133–152.

[103] Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 243–46, 268–269.

[104] Speros Vryonis, *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6–7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul* (New York: Greekworks.com, 2005).

[105] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 1, 1959–1977*, vol. 2, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1999), 200.

[106] Coucouzes, 2:200.

[107] Coucouzes, 2:154–155.

[108] Editorial, "Innocent Victims," *New York Times*, November 11, 1964, 42, "Among the innocent victims of the Greek-Turkish dispute over Cyprus are the remaining Greeks in Turkey. More than two million Greeks were repatriated from Asia Minor following Kemal Ataturk's

defeat of Greece in 1922. But some 100,000 remained, principally in Istanbul, where they formed a distinct and on the whole prosperous community. Most of them are Turkish citizens and enjoy the constitutional guarantees of all Turks. But some 12,000 remained Greek nationals who lived under the special protection of the Greek-Turkish convention of 1930, recently expired.

"Now, as a result of bitterness engendered by the Cyprus dispute, the Greeks in Turkey live in fear of deportation and massacres. More than 2,000 have already been expelled and some 4,000 have left 'voluntarily,' leaving their property behind. The Turkish authorities are blunt in stating that the expulsions are in retaliation for the Greek attempt to drive Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus or deprive them of their constitutional rights. In an age in which millions have been expelled or forced to flee, the new deportations command little attention. But they are violations of human rights, especially grievous between two North Atlantic alliance members. They not only further poison the atmosphere but are also bound to hurt Turkey more than Greece. The keys to a settlement lie in Athens and Ankara, but Turkish measures against Greeks do not contribute to it."

[109] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:196–198.
[110] Editorial, "The Patriarchate a Hostage," New York Times, April 21, 1965, 44.
[111] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:199–202.
[112] Coucouzes, 2:202–203
[113] Coucouzes, 2:205
[114] Coucouzes, 2:203
[115] Coucouzes, 2:50–51.
[116] Coucouzes, 2:21–22.
[117] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:106.
[118] Coucouzes., 1:101.
[119] Coucouzes, 1:112–114.
[120] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 113.
[121] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:49.
[122] Branch, *At Canaan's Edge*, 633.
[123] Branch, 705.
[124] Every year, the Orthodox Church celebrates the major feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary on March 25, which commemorates the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Virgin Mary resulting in the conception and subsequent incarnation of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, the Son and Word of God Jesus Christ. Nine months after this feast Orthodox Christians celebrate the nativity of Jesus Christ commonly known as Christmas. Orthodox Christians celebrate the feast of the Annunciation with great joy for they recognize it as God's initiative to personally intervene in human history to eventually liberate humanity from death through the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Thus, the feast celebrates freedom from death. The Greek Orthodox also celebrate March 25 as Greek Independence Day for on this day in 1821 the Greeks declared their independence from the Ottoman Turks after approximately four hundred years of oppression and slavery. The dual meaning of this feast day as freedom from death and freedom from enslavement has resonated with Greeks around the world.
[125] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:57–58.
[126] *Religious News Service*, April 5, 1968, 3–4, box E24, folder CH, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[127] Letter of Archbishop Iakovos to Coretta Scott King, April 4, 1968, box E24, folder CH, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. The complete text follows:
"Dear Mrs. King,
Our Greek Orthodox faithful in America and throughout the world join me in deep mourning with you at the terrible tragedy that has left you and your children bereft of a loving husband and father, and the world deprived of a truly devoted servant of Christ, an inspired champion of justice, equality, and human dignity for all men.

"This evening, before I penned this letter, I was visited by the newly installed Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, the Most Rev. Terrence J. Cooke, whose enthronement I had earlier attended. Upon his arrival, we went into our St. Paul's Chapel in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and together prayed for the eternal repose of your husband's soul and the fulfillment of the cause for which he was martyred.

"The crime that was perpetrated tonight is indeed unspeakable, and the grief it brings unbearable, but we must, nonetheless, speak of it and bear its consequences, else, how could we as Christians fulfill our witnessing and verity of our Lord and Savior for Whose Resurrection we piously and devotedly prepare to celebrate this Easter season. The Greek Orthodox Resurrection hymn proclaims: 'Christ is Risen! In death having conquered over death.' So, too, has Martin Luther King, in giving up his life for what was to him dearer than life itself.

"In paying heartfelt tribute to you husband, I cannot forget that it was my privilege to be with him in Selma, Alabama in 1965 and to experience with him, and with others whom his dedication inspired, the profound meaning of the Christly mission and fervent faith to which he was committed.

"There are truths which, as a great American said a century ago, are self-evident and most basic of these truths is, as he said, 'That all men are created equal.' It is humanity's fate that we must be reminded of these truths at great personal and national loss and at the terrible price. This is the high price paid by Martin Luther King.
"My deepest sympathy to you and your family,
"Faithfully in Christ…"
[128] Telegram of Archbishop Iakovos to Reverend Dr. Ralph Abernathy, box E24, folder CH, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. The complete text follows: "Our fervent prayers are offered for the repose of the heroic and noble soul of Dr. Martin Luther King, and for the successful continuation on your part of his outstanding leadership. May God grant that out of the sadness and shock of this tragedy a fuller awakening of Christian love and responsibility will fill the hearts of all so that equality and peace for which Dr. King so valiantly fought and died may someday prevail throughout the world. Archbishop Iakovos"
[129] Press Release of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, April 5, 1968, box E24, folder CH, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[130] Telegram of Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I on the Death of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., April 8 1968, box E24, folder CH, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[131] A clipping from the Associated Press found in the archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese states, "Vice-president Humphrey, Mrs. John F. Kennedy and a host of other dignitaries were present at the church services for the civil rights leader who was assassinated

last week. More than 1,000 negroes converged on the civic center in Kansas City today but were dispersed by police using tear gas. The House Rules Committee has cleared the way for a vote by the full House tomorrow on the Senate-approved civil rights bill. Now for details: (King) The final tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King lasted throughout the day today. There were 1,300 dignitaries and just plain people at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta for the funeral service for the civil rights leader who was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee last week. There were perhaps 50,000 more outside, and these and almost countless others joined in a solemn march to Morehouse College for a public memorial service. In the church and in the line of march were such prominent figures as Senator Robert Kennedy, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Governor George Romney of Michigan, and Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church." For documents of Archbishop Iakovos's trip to Atlanta for Dr. King's funeral, see box E24, folder CH, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[132] "Press Release by Religious Leaders Representing the Four Major Faiths following the Death of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.," April 14, 1968, box E24, folder CH, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. The press release was signed by The Most Reverend John D. Dearden, President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops; Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, President of the National Council of Churches; Rabbi Jacob P Rudin, President of the Synagogue Council of America, and Archbishop Iakovos, Chairman of the Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas.

[133] "Standing Conference Bulletin of the Standing Conference of the Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas," June 7, 1968, box E24, folder CH, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[134] Letter of Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum to Archbishop Iakovos, April 16, 1968, box E24, folder CH, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[135] George Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan: The Greek Orthodox in America under Athenagoras I* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1976), 235–238; Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations,* 1:131.

[136] Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge Concise Histories (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 160–165.

[137] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:117.

[138] Coucouzes, 1:125–127.

[139] Stanley Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound: Social Concern in the Greek Orthodox Church* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1983), 94.

[140] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:132.

[141] Coucouzes, 1:134.

[142] Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound*, 22–23.

[143] Taylor Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos.

CHAPTER 7 ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS, 1970 TO THE LATE 1980S

By the beginning of the 1970s, Iakovos Coucouzes had completed his first decade as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America two years before his sixtieth birthday. The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of the Americas was the largest archdiocese of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in terms of population and geography and the most affluent. Iakovos succeeded in transforming the Greek American Archdiocese from an inward-looking ethnic church to a respected American institution by engaging in moral and sociopolitical issues of the United States in one of its most turbulent decades. During the 1960s, the United States endured the assassinations of public figures such as President John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr., and presidential candidate Robert Kennedy. Domestically, race relations and civil rights issues had consumed the early years of the decade, and racial unrest had erupted in hundreds of cities before its close. Internationally, the Cold War and the Vietnam War continued without resolution and with no end in sight. For Iakovos and the Greek American community, the hostilities against fellow Greeks in Turkey and Cyprus also remained a critical and unresolved concern. This chapter continues the narrative of Archbishop Iakovos's leadership of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of the Americas in domestic and international sociopolitical issues from 1970 until the late 1980s.

By the end of the 1960s, Iakovos believed that he had succeeded in raising the status of the Orthodox faith among the many religions and Christian denominations in the United States. In his keynote address at the 1968 Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress, he stated, "Since 1959, [I] sought to accomplish only one thing: to retain the Archdiocese where it was brought by Athenagoras and to raise the prestige and authority of our Church to a comparable position, in our own eyes as well as in the eyes of the American public…. Today, we have a Church recognized by all—a Church which is considered among the major faiths in America."[1] In the first nine years

of Iakovos's tenure, the Archdiocese grew in number of churches. At the 1960 Clergy-Laity Congress, Iakovos reported that the Archdiocese consisted of three hundred ninety-three parishes;[2] by 1968, there were four hundred ninety parishes, and he predicted that within two years they would exceed five hundred.[3]

Several factors contributed to the growth of the Archdiocese in the United States and its influence upon the Greek American communities. Iakovos began his tenure by immediately modernizing and reorganizing the offices and ministries of the Archdiocese notably by enhancing the Office of Public Relations.[4] He maintained his leadership role in the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, and other ecumenical organizations. He served as a liaison between Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I and Popes John XXIII and Paul VI that led to the lifting of the one-thousand-year-old anathemas between the two churches in 1965. Iakovos created and presided over the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas, which united the various ethnic Orthodox churches of the Western Hemisphere, pooling their resources and creating a critical mass of Orthodox Christian constituents that voiced its position on an array of international and domestic issues. As early as 1964, Iakovos declared that "our Church must remove itself from the sidelines and place itself fully in the center of American life."[5] With that in mind, Iakovos brought the Orthodox Church into the civil rights movement, campaigning for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, marching with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Selma, Alabama, and endorsing the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Iakovos's advocacy of civil rights for African Americans—especially his appearance with Dr. King in Selma—divided the Greek American community.[6] However, after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., Iakovos believed that most Greek Americans supported his civil rights position, but he provided no evidence to substantiate this claim.[7]

Other factors that contributed to the growth and influence of the Archdiocese included Iakovos's outspokenness on international human rights issues such as the ongoing religious persecution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek minority in Turkey, the continuous conflicts between the Greek and Turkish peoples in Cyprus, and the curtailing of political rights by the military dictatorship in Greece. In 1966, Iakovos traveled extensively in Vietnam and Southeast Asia to speak and minister to American military personnel. Initially, he supported the United States' involvement in Vietnam as a "war against totalitarian communism, the annihilator of human dignity."[8] In an encyclical he issued a year later, he wrote, "We can be indifferent neither to Vietnam…to Cyprus, nor to the Greek population of Turkey…where liberty is abused."[9] In an address to University of Wisconsin students, Iakovos stated, "We refuse to join the critics of the American policy in Vietnam as we sincerely believe that our involvement in this unfortunate part of Southeast Asia is motivated solely because of the desire of the United States to help the ill-fated people of South Vietnam defend itself against the communist onslaught from the north."[10]

By the end of the decade, as the casualties, costs, and protests rose, Iakovos gradually joined those who opposed the war in Vietnam calling it a "war of shame."[11] Moreover, as a supporter of President Johnson's Great Society and War on Poverty, he began to see Vietnam as the main detractor in addressing the domestic concerns of poverty, ignorance, urban racial violence, and a host of other moral issues affecting American society—especially among the youth.[12] Arguably, one of the leading factors that contributed to the Greek American Church's growth and influence was Archbishop Iakovos's determination to speak out on relevant sociopolitical issues that previous and other contemporary Orthodox hierarchs avoided.[13] Where other Orthodox Christian bishops concerned themselves almost exclusively with parochially ethnic, spiritual, and religious matters, Iakovos never hesitated to engage in societal problems or political issues by re-

contextualizing them in the light of Orthodox Christian teachings and classical Greek ideals, offering a new perspective for consideration.[14] Therefore, many political and religious leaders at home and abroad as well as Greek Americans were keenly interested in Iakovos's comments and positions on a host of religious and nonreligious issues.

The first biennial Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress of the 1970s began in late June of 1970, in New York City. The theme of the congress was "Toward the Decade of the 1970s"; its biblical message was "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit," (Col. 2:8).[15] In his keynote address, Iakovos reflected on the violence and social upheavals of the previous decade and attributed their causes to the lack of moral integrity of churches, governments, and social institutions, as well as the breakdown of the American family and the recognition of an emerging communication gap between younger and older generations.[16] He believed that an ideological war was being waged against the youth of the Archdiocese and the United States. Iakovos stated, "The war which is being waged here…[on] the home front—will prove to be much more catastrophic than the war…being waged in Vietnam…. [This] war will have as its result the wounding of the souls, if not the actual death of the souls of millions of the youth, and we, the merchants of liberal-mindedness, of intellectual anarchy, and of the prostitution of all that is sacred and holy shall be responsible…. The target of this war is the moral and intellectual integrity of the youth."[17] He explained that the younger generation's moral relativity, general mistrust of the older generation's sociopolitical and religious institutions, and indifference to "the ideals of Hellenism" contributed to the growing irrelevancy of churches, crimes, civil unrest, wars, and the eventual collapse of human civilization.[18]

Iakovos's response to social ills and his continuing advocacy for human rights of the previous decade and the Archdiocese's moral imperative for the new was to make the Church

relevant by understanding that "both clergy and laity…are coworkers with God, and that all our energies and ambitions must be oriented to the task of proving ourselves to be coworkers with God."[19] He called for increased "religious education," "ideological identification," and "social involvements" of the Church's members.[20] By way of religious education, Iakovos told the clergy-laity delegates that from antiquity the role of the Orthodox Church was to teach, heal, reconcile, love, and sanctify its faithful and all human beings—to continue the earthly ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ. He reminded them that genuine Orthodox Christianity "has never restricted its love and philanthropy from those 'outside its fold'.... It [has possessed] a kerygma [a message to be proclaimed] of moral integrity…unblemished love, and social justice…and never contain[ed] elements of passion, hate, revenge…. Our Church is guided by the definition of our Christian obligation to man and his soul."[21]

Concerning "ideological identification," Iakovos cautioned the delegates that materialism, nihilism, and intellectual anarchy threatened to cleave its membership—especially the youth—from its rich and ancient identity: "Greek Orthodoxy," he proclaimed, "that excellent mingling of the ancient Greek and the Christian spirit, can survive without conflicting with the American characteristic of new generations…. Our children are our most valuable possession! Let us not permit anyone to take them from us or to alienate them from our heritage—from our Hellenic Christian cultural heritage."[22] Iakovos concluded his address by acknowledging that the Greek American Church will always be rooted in the teachings of Jesus Christ as professed by the ancient Patriarchate of Constantinople and the humanistic ideals of classical Greece. It will endeavor "to grow and bring many more into its fold" in America, and it will adapt accordingly to American culture without compromising its spirit and ethos.[23]

One of the ways Iakovos intended to bring more people into the fold of the Archdiocese and to adapt to American culture was to commission an English translation of the Divine Liturgy, the sacraments, and other worship services of the Church. Since its founding in 1922, the parishes of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese utilized the Greek language only in its worship. When Patriarch Athenagoras served as archbishop of the United States, he resisted the use of the English language in worship, sermons, and in the Sunday School classes. As Papaioannou states, "[he] felt that…the preservation of the Greek language was a part of the mission of the Church."[24] During the 1950s, Archbishop Michael permitted the use of English "as a vehicle to bring about the return of the young people to the Church."[25] However, Archbishop Michael forbade the use of English in worship services; he did permit its use in Sunday School and the newly created youth ministry, GOYA (Greek Orthodox Youth Association). Priests serving primarily English-speaking congregations of the Archdiocese violated the archbishop's ban on English, prompting the powerful pro-Greek element to force Michael "to publicly condemn the violations."[26] Despite the archbishop's condemnation, priests incrementally and cautiously continued to introduce English in its worship services.

The debate concerning the use of English simmered in the background well into the 1960s under Archbishop Iakovos who knew it was a divisive issue. At the 1964 Clergy-Laity Congress, Iakovos introduced "a limited use of English in the Divine Liturgy and in the Holy Sacraments of the Church."[27] The limited use of English did little to placate the clergy and laity of the pro-English element of the Archdiocese who felt it essential to minister to second- and third-generation Greek Americans and families of interfaith marriages.[28] The pro-Greek element consisted primarily of first-generation Greek Americans and successful self-made entrepreneurs, who financially supported both their respective parishes and the Archdiocese; it also included about eighty-six

thousand Greek immigrants that had migrated to the United States after the Immigration Act of 1965.[29] They enjoyed the backing of Patriarch Athenagoras, the Church of Greece, the Greek American press, and the Greek government who feared that the introduction of English would alienate and "de-Hellenize" the Greek American Church.

Before concluding his keynote address at the 1970 Clergy-Laity Congress, in what Harakas called "one of the most controversial speeches" of his tenure,[30] Iakovos called for an official English translation of the Divine Liturgy not to replace the Greek text, but to appear with the original Greek to enhance parishioners' understanding and participation in worship.[31] Iakovos added that an official English translation of the worship services would make the Archdiocese more autonomous and pave the way for unity with other ethnic Orthodox churches in the inevitable creation of a single, more powerful, autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Americas, which could better cooperate with other faiths "to solve the important moral and social problems of our time."[32] Iakovos's recommendations to the one thousand delegates of the congress were unprecedented but overwhelmingly approved and sent to the Patriarchate for ratification. Reaction from the Greek press in the United States and Greece, the Greek government (under a military dictatorship), and the pro-Greek element of the Archdiocese was swift.

The day after Iakovos's keynote address, the publisher of *Atlantis*, the Greek American newspaper based in New York, proclaimed, "The glorious Greek language in our churches is driven to Golgotha! History is in the making: a crusade for the elimination of the Greek language in our Greek churches and for the autonomy of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Americas."[33] After the conclusion of the clergy-laity congress, the *Atlantis* stated, "Division of the Greek Orthodox Church in America is threatened due to the decision to abolish the Greek language in the Divine Liturgy."[34] Letters and telegrams from the disgruntled pro-Greek element flooded the

Patriarchate of Constantinople. A group calling itself the Pan-American Conference for the Preservation of the Greek Language and the Greek Orthodox Church demanded the resignation of Archbishop Iakovos and published defamatory pamphlets attacking him on the language issue and his call for an independent Orthodox Church in America. The pro-Greek element relentlessly attacked Iakovos throughout the summer of 1970. Moreover, he received two bomb threats from an anonymous pro-Greek-language group when he visited parishes in Brooklyn and the Bronx.[35]

On August 31, 1970, the Patriarchal Synod of Constantinople convened to ratify the resolutions of the Archdiocesan clergy-laity congress. It approved all except the linguistic reforms that Iakovos recommended. Patriarch Athenagoras communicated the decision of the Synod in two letters: the first was a personal letter to Iakovos stating the Synod's vote of confidence in him as archbishop of the Greek American Archdiocese and that the Synod had ratified all resolutions of the recent congress except the language issue;[36] Athenagoras addressed the second letter to all the faithful of Archdiocese to remain calm lest disunity threaten the Greek American Church.[37] Although slightly reprimanded by the Patriarch and shocked by the adverse reaction to his linguistic reform, Iakovos held fast to his beliefs expressed in his keynote address. In short time, the language issue that threatened the unity of the Archdiocese and the toppling of its archbishop gradually receded in the face of other matters that demanded the attention of Iakovos.[38]

Philosophers and clergymen often pause to reflect on recent and current events in hopes of understanding, contextualizing, and offering possible solutions for themselves and others. Iakovos pondered the racial and generational strife that destabilized the United States during the previous decade. He recognized the futility of America's war in Vietnam and the social instability its continuation created in mass protests and demonstrations on the home front. Ironically, a military dictatorship continued to oppress Greece, the birthplace of freedom, democracy, and Western

Civilization. Turkey's religious persecution of its Greek minority and the Ecumenical Patriarchate continued unabated, while ethnic clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots weakened the United States and its NATO allies' containment of the Soviet Union in the southeastern Mediterranean.[39] Even the ecumenical movement that sought unity of various Christian churches was reaching an impasse. Iakovos contextualized the divisiveness, wars, and violent clashes among nations and peoples as outward expressions of a broken humanity. For Iakovos, the diverse and complex wars on human civilization were an outgrowth of the absence of God among lost souls, which led to a moral breakdown and societal strife.

In the early 1970s, Iakovos believed that the role of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of the Americas must not limit itself to preserving an ancient Christian faith or its classical Hellenic ideals as a spiritual and intellectual museum one may happen to visit to ponder its exhibits as historical curiosities. Instead, he felt that the Archdiocese needed to profess Orthodoxy's teachings on the dignity of all human beings as creations made in God's image. His beliefs compelled him to reacquaint his congregants and the American public to the Hellenic ideals of personal and political freedom, justice, and equality as essential values that benefited all human civilizations to prosper. Individual and communal reverence for human dignity, freedom, equality, and justice were the means for decisive social action that would inevitably resist the destructive ideological forces corrupting the young with a spirit of nihilism and anarchy revealed in their multifaceted displays in the counter-cultural revolution. Iakovos believed that the Archdiocese had more to do than saving the souls of human beings in the world to come: it had to redeem human society from itself in the present age.

On February 20, 1971, Iakovos sent an encyclical to the parishes of the Archdiocese to prepare for the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the Greek revolution (i.e., March 25, 1821). He

reminded them that on that historic day their ancestors, with the blessings of the Church, raised their voices in the battle cry "Freedom or Death" in their effort to "shake off the yoke of four hundred years of slavery." He exhorted them to recall the underlying forces that contributed to the Greek revolution's success. He wrote that the Greek Orthodox Church had inspired the people throughout the entire duration of slavery with "lofty ideals of the Greek-Christian faith and tradition" utilizing the Bible and the teachings of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and Christian saints like Basil the Great and John Chrysostom. Iakovos quoted historian John Philemon who had witnessed the Greek revolution and who wrote, "Hellenism was a moral and material power, a belief in equality and brotherhood, in freedom and in the principles of self-denial and sacrifice and the mission of civilization."[40] Iakovos concluded by calling upon his congregants to remember the "vision of eternal Greece, the protagonist in the arena of eternal values…that was a constant fountain of inner power."[41] He urged his faithful to draw from the lofty ideals of their Greek Christian tradition and Greece's eternal values as they battled against the ideological and social forces that sought to re-enslave them.

A month later, Iakovos issued a second encyclical commemorating Greek Independence Day where he compared the Greek Revolution of 1821 as a revolt that protected and enhanced the dignity of humankind to present-day revolutions of the youth and military[42] that lead to chaos, anarchy, and the exploitation of humanity. He writes,

> Man's need for dignity springs from the very essence of his being. Dignity is the essence of life itself, and from it alone is derived the right of man to call himself son of God…. Institutions are to serve people, but if they do not help the individual to be free and to remain free…the brother of and equal to all others, they do not serve their own purpose…. It is from this ancestry that we are descended…holders of the most precious heritage and of the heaviest charge with which any people have ever been entrusted…. For Greece…mother of all lofty and eternal ideas, is itself an idea that has inspired and still inspires the people of the earth to see and gain their dignity.[43]

Unlike his predecessors who concerned themselves primarily with internal ethnic or ecclesiastical matters, Iakovos fervently believed that his Church should not remain aloof or disengaged from ideological or sociopolitical movements that robbed human beings of their individual freedom and dignity, which would afflict society with an array of communal injustices and inequalities. He proclaimed that the Church must not be passive, but militant when protecting humanity's freedom, justice, dignity, and equality. As Iakovos stated in a homily on March 31, "I see this Church as Orthodox in its teaching, its dogma, and ethics, and as Greek in its free philosophical and researching thought, always alive and always militant…ready to offer its spirit, its soul, and its blood…for the salvation of those who have gone astray."[44]

At a youth conference in Washington, DC, in August of 1971, Iakovos cautioned his young congregants not to pursue change through "civil disobedience, violent actions, Molotov cocktails, or pantherism." Moreover, he advised them that "tearing down or pulverizing the establishment may mean the creation of more ruins, as opposed to the clearing of the existing atmosphere. Terminating or even abolishing the war will in no way bring peace as long as we fight one another here at home."[45] Iakovos appealed to them to avoid "noisy demonstrations [with] empty hearts" especially now that they have the right to vote. After advising them to avoid the use of drugs, the practice of ESP, and unorthodox contemporary philosophies, Iakovos counseled them to fill their hearts and minds with the teachings of Christ who loves all human beings, who "forgives the sinner…restores the paralytic…illumines the eyes of the blind…cleanses the leper…loves his enemies…and resurrects the dead."[46] He concluded by telling them that the decade of the 1970s belongs to them "to rebuild society," but to rebuild it with faith in the "Superstar" and with the ideals promulgated by their Hellenic forbears.[47]

Iakovos continued to educate his flock on the teachings of Orthodoxy—especially on the dignity of humankind—the meaning of classical Greek ideals, and their application in confronting social injustices as the year 1971 was coming to a close.[48] In November of that year, he learned that the Turkish government had closed his alma mater, the Halki Theological School, after a new law nationalized all Turkish schools of higher learning and required that all classes be taught in Turkish.[49] Halki was the last Greek Orthodox theological school in Turkey that trained the future clergy serving the Ecumenical Patriarchate. With its closure, the Turkish authorities compelled Turkish nationals of Greek descent who aspired to serve the Church as clerics to study abroad with the likelihood of remaining there. Since by Turkish law the Patriarch of Constantinople must be a Turkish citizen by birth and approved by the Turkish governor of Istanbul, the closing of Halki drastically reduced the number of potential candidates to serve as a clergyman in Turkey let alone as patriarch.[50]

On the occasion of Greek Independence Day (i.e., March 25) 1972, Iakovos issued the customary encyclical reminding Greek Americans of the historical and contemporary significance of the holiday, the celebration of freedom. He wrote that freedom, justice, and peace are wholly interdependent and inextricable and that the three together protect the dignity of human beings. He concluded, "Our three identities as Orthodox Christians, descendants of Hellenes, and citizens of America demand that we remain…deeply rooted in the faith that freedom presupposes victory, and victory presupposes an unswerving faith in God and country."[51] In a similar vein, Iakovos informed the faithful of the Archdiocese that by presidential proclamation May 1 is Law Day in the United States and called upon them to honor those in the legal profession beginning with President Richard M. Nixon. Hearkening back to Nixon's "Law and Order" presidential campaign of 1968, Iakovos counseled, "We must not become discouraged by those who would mock the

law…. It is our sacred responsibility to ensure the law is synonymous with justice, and that justice is administered in a manner consistent with the dignity of man…. Respect…for the law can only come through public recognition that justice, truth, and equality are the goals of a free society."[52] Ironically, six weeks later, police arrested "the plumbers" of the Committee to Reelect the President [CREEP] who had broken into the Democratic National Committee offices at the Watergate Hotel.

From July 1–7 1972, the Archdiocese convened its twenty-first clergy-laity congress in Houston, Texas. The theme was "Speak the Truth in Love" from Ephesians 4:15. In his keynote address, Iakovos conveyed his vision for the Greek American Church to two fundamental goals, specifically: "We should become more of a Church than we are…. A Church with a soul…a pure heart, and a vigorous spirit; we should constitute ourselves educationally, socially…and politically."[53] He went on to say that the parish was a means of ethnic and religious survival for first- and second-generation Greeks, but that is not the case for later generations.[54] He said that the Church lives in "an iconoclastic era, which attempts to repudiate all values, seeking new ones on which to establish a new…society…. Our Church will have to contend with all its vigor in repudiating this confusion…. The uniqueness of Orthodoxy lies in its love for man, man fashioned by God, for whom Christ died…. We must perpetuate the truest and holiest values, which have eternal validity and which in our case are our Hellenic-Christian values…. We look to the victory of truth and love, as those sole salutary powers over the secularly enslaved minds and hearts of the world."[55] Iakovos left little doubt in the minds of his congregants that the Greek Orthodox Church he led was no longer an inward-looking ethnic church nor a static, inanimate, cultural curiosity.

On July 7, 1972, Archbishop Iakovos learned of the death of his long-time mentor and episcopal predecessor of the Greek American Archdiocese, Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I.

Athenagoras had served as archbishop of North and South America from 1931–1948 and as patriarch from 1948–1972. The funeral for the eighty-six-year-old patriarch occurred in Constantinople on July 11, 1972, with hundreds of Orthodox and non-Orthodox clergymen from around the world attending. Dr. Michael Ramsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Jan Cardinal Willebrands, Secretariat for Christian Unity and the Pope's special envoy, were also in attendance. As the *New York Times* reported,

> Among those not there for the rites was Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, and sometimes mentioned as a candidate to succeed Athenagoras on the patriarchal throne he had occupied for twenty-four years. The Turkish Government had denied permission for Archbishop Iakovos, a Turkish-born American citizen, to go to Istanbul for the funeral. To many of the Greek Orthodox faithful, it was another in a long series of harassments by the Turkish authorities who, according to the Greeks, have long sought to displace the Patriarchate from the city it has occupied since 325 A.D.[56]

Protesting the Turkish Government's travel ban preventing Iakovos from attending Athenagoras's funeral, several invited dignitaries opted to remain in New York to console their grieving friend, namely, Cardinal Terrence Cooke, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York and human rights activist Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum.[57]

In January of 1973, Richard Nixon began his second term as President of the United States with Greek American Spiro Agnew as his Vice President.[58] Iakovos had delivered a prayer at his first inaugural ceremony and again at his second.[59] In an interview with radio journalist George Malouchos years later, Iakovos stated that he "did not know President Nixon very well but admired his optimism and political philosophy during his first term."[60] He remembered liking President Nixon initially "because he was a different sort of president, faithful to American political history and optimistic in continuing the political ideology of President Eisenhower. I met him at his first presidential inauguration, a meeting that later proved helpful for the Greek cause when the Turks invaded Cyprus [in 1974]."[61] Iakovos related that most Americans approved of Nixon's visit to

China and his détente with the Soviet Union, which helps explain why the American people elected him to a second term. However, he believed that "Nixon suffered from an inner fear that often guided his actions. One of those fears was a Soviet-China alliance, and to protect the United States against such an alliance, he acted injudiciously to assure he would remain president—hence, the Watergate scandal."[62] Nevertheless, Iakovos believed that Nixon was a great friend to Greeks here in the United States and abroad.[63] Although he never condemned Nixon publicly, Iakovos certainly condemned his actions and the subsequent Watergate cover-up.

By the early summer of 1973, the Watergate affair was gaining momentum. On June 3, Iakovos attended the Hellenic College and Holy Cross School of Theology's commencement ceremony to address the graduates. He told them that "Watergates, even the gates of Hell, will not prevail over the Church of Christ if you…guard…well the gates that lead to Christian life."[64] He issued a mandate to the soon-to-be priests of the Archdiocese stating, "Your self-confidence together with your idealism and uncompromising ethics will be put to an early test; hold fast to them. Refuse to succumb to fear, confusion, or defeatism. Walk in the radiance…of the resurrected Lord; walk in His presence, fearless, and self-assuredly…act as children of Light."[65] Three days later, Iakovos received a letter from President Nixon thanking him for "his support during these politically trying times."[66] He undoubtedly had Nixon in mind when he addressed the seminary graduates. Recognizing the growing unrest among the nation's youth concerning Vietnam and the emerging political crisis surrounding Nixon, Iakovos addressed a youth conference on August 30 stating, "Young people at all times are the creation and the end result of our educational systems and of our moral, religious, and political behavior…. I do not deny you the right to rebel against anything and everything that undermines your well-being and your hopes and dreams for a better society…[but] it takes not only courage but also moral and spiritual strength to be a

revolutionary."[67] He concluded by advising his young audience not to be dismayed by current events but to stand fast to the teachings of the Bible and their ancestors.

On October 10, the first Greek American Vice President of the United States, Spiro Agnew, pleaded no contest to the charge of income tax evasion and resigned from office. The news shocked and shamed many proud Greeks. As Moskos writes, "Agnew quickly became a nonperson in the Greek American community."[68] By the end of the year, Iakovos's Christmas encyclical reflected the pain and shame of Nixon's presidency, Agnew's resignation, Vietnam, the oppressive military dictatorship in Greece, and the new energy crisis writing,

> This year Christmas will be among the less happy festivals the Christian world has known…. Even the artificial brilliance of the Holy Night will be reduced this year owing to a new crisis known as the 'energy crisis.' But owing more to a broad spectrum of graver crises: the crisis of political leadership; the crisis of pervasive fear generated by the increasing arrogance of crime; the crisis of morals, which blurs the distinction between what is good and what is evil, what is permissible and is unacceptable, what is ethical and what is not.[69]

Little did Iakovos know that the melancholic sentiments reflected in his Christmas encyclical would soon become exponentially greater and his letter-writing more prolific and emphatic the following year.

Among the first encyclicals Iakovos issued in 1974 was the annual commemoration of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that always coincided with Greek Independence Day (i.e., March 25). As he often wrote in past observances of this dual feast, Iakovos tended to focus on its historical and present-day theological implications, and he usually explicated certain Greek ideals in relation to it. On this occasion, Iakovos likened the historical emancipation of the Greeks from the Turks to the soul's freedom from materialism's enslavement. He wrote that freedom is the reward for those who struggle against slavery, and asked, "What greater and more beautiful destiny for God-fashioned man than to champion the struggle against social evil; against the tyranny that humiliates the freedom and dignity of man; against spiritual and social crimes that shatter the

image of God, engraved into the soul of man; against the force that inhibits the elevation of man to the desired level of sonship [since] man feels himself to be a son of God."[70]

Less than a month after Nixon's impeachment hearings began in the House of Representatives, Iakovos addressed the graduating class of the Archdiocese's seminary saying, "You are the class of 1974, a year…marred by the greatest antinomies and clashes between reason and irrationality, hope and despair, deflation and inflation, war and peace…détente and international tensions…trust and distrust…. You are graduating in a year when our American ingenuity reached the lowest grade of intellectual honesty, when American political dissent is persistently searching for a sacrificial lamb…."[71] There is little doubt that Iakovos was referring to Nixon as the "sacrificial lamb" in his address to the seminary graduates; however, this would hardly make him a Nixon apologist. Iakovos would most likely agree that the Watergate scandal and subsequent cover-up was criminal, but it was also tragic for Nixon and the nation. Taking his words in context, Iakovos was not so much defending Nixon as he was accusing American political dissenters' socially destructive reaction to the Watergate scandal, which only fueled the counter-counter revolution and destabilized the American political and economic systems. Iakovos would agree that the impeachment of President Nixon should proceed, but impeachment would resolve little if nothing constructive followed in its wake. As Iakovos stated previously, "[T]earing down…the establishment may mean the creation of more ruins, as opposed to clearing…the existing atmosphere."[72]

With Watergate, Vietnam, the energy crisis, and economic inflation in mind, Iakovos urged the graduates not to despair but to be optimistic, constructive, and hopeful. He advised them that in these times of crises "God is sending forth men filled with the Holy Spirit to offer their total commitment…to reverse disorder into order."[73] As the nation focused on the Watergate scandal

and the imminent impeachment trial of President Nixon, news from Cyprus would shock the Greek American community and its archbishop into action.

With the backing of the Greek military government in Athens—commonly referred to as the Junta—an ultra-right faction of the Cypriot National Guard staged a coup d'état against the democratically elected President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, on July 15, 1974. The goal of the Greek Cypriot faction and the Greek Junta in Athens was to annex the island into Greece by deposing Markarios and declaring "*Enosis"* (i.e., union) with Greece. In response, Greece and Turkey's military mobilized while Greek and Turkish Cypriot combatants engaged in fierce battles in the northern and central regions of the island. Within days of the failed coup, Turkish forces from the mainland invaded from the northeast and pushed the Greeks southward. By mid-August, the Turkish army occupied approximately forty percent of the island leaving over two hundred thousand Greek Cypriot refugees fleeing south in its wake. Moreover, having failed to annex Cyprus and without the support of the United States or the Western Powers, the Greek Junta came to an abrupt end after seven years of oppressive rule. Democracy returned to Greece, but it came at the cost of a divided Cyprus.[74]

Within days of the Turkish invasion, Archbishop Iakovos convened a meeting of the Archdiocesan Council, the presidents of all the Greek American federations, diplomats from Greece and Cyprus, along with prominent Greek American political figures from across the United States. According to the Archdiocese's press release of July 30, 1974, the purpose of the meeting was to coordinate the efforts of the Greek Orthodox Church and all Greek American organizations "to render assistance and relief to the people of Cyprus" and to create political action committees that would lobby the United States government on behalf of Greek and Greek Cypriot interests. Moreover, under the chairmanship of Archbishop Iakovos, the ad hoc committee created the

Archdiocese Cyprus Relief Fund.[75] Initially, the Archdiocese and the largest national Greek American fraternal organization, AHEPA, took the lead in lobbying the White House and Congress for the Greek and Greek Cypriot cause. Soon, other political action groups materialized across the country such as the Washington-based American Hellenic Institute (AHI), Chicago's United Hellenic American Congress (UHAC), New York's Hellenic Council of America, and scores of local "Justice for Cyprus" committees wherever a small population of Greeks resided. Moskos writes that the Turkish invasion of Cyprus mobilized and unified the Greek American community in an unprecedented way, not seen "since the days of the Greek War Relief in World War II.[76]

As archbishop and the only recognized ethnarch of Greek America, Iakovos assumed the lead in Cyprus relief and political lobbying efforts in its behalf. He issued more encyclicals from July to December 1974 than he had ever done in so short a span of time since becoming archbishop. On August 13, Iakovos called upon his congregants "to assure that the senators and congressmen of your state are literally flooded with thousands of messages…of protest regarding the acts perpetrated by the Turks, under the sleeping eyes of our government."[77] He also called upon them to enlighten the local press and religious leaders of the Turkish atrocities occurring in Cyprus, citing two *New York Times* articles from August 8 and 12. On August 27, Iakovos issued another encyclical stating that "over one thousand Greek Orthodox Christians have been expelled from Istanbul, stripped of all of their possessions but $22…yet they have nothing to do with the Cyprus conflict and have caused no harm to Turkey." He went on to say that the Turkish Air Force's napalm bombs dropped on Greek Cypriot villages have left behind burned victims of all ages. Iakovos concluded, "It is not permissible for us to leave to communists the task of protesting the burning of children."[78]

The United States government was aware of what was occurring in Cyprus, yet their priority at the time of the invasion was the transition of the presidency. Richard Nixon resigned on August 9, and Gerald Ford assumed the presidency. On August 16, Iakovos sent a telegram to President Ford appealing for his help and intervention in the Cyprus matter comparing all that Greece and Greek Americans had done for America to what Turkey had done for our country. He informed him that the United States government has recently abandoned the concerns of its Greek Americans, and many felt betrayed. Iakovos conveyed to Ford that Greek Americans love their two countries, Greece and America because they both value one fundamental ideal, the ideal of "Freedom or Death." He concluded, "I plead with you, do not choose our death unless you feel our homeland had supported slavery over freedom, dishonor instead of honor."[79] On August 29, Iakovos issued yet another encyclical on the "deep tragedy in Cyprus" and the retaliations that the few remaining Greeks in Turkey may suffer "for any active protest…or any mass effort of our people here in America to aid…our Cypriot brethren." Iakovos instructed Greek Americans to protest "through massive gatherings conducted in a dignified manner."[80]

Iakovos issued three encyclicals concerning the Cyprus problem during September 1974. On September 6, he informed the faithful of the Archdiocese that the United Nations General Assembly would resume its sessions on September 23 and declared that on the Sunday before they should offer prayers for a just solution and that the priests should offer memorial prayers "for those who were murdered during the unprovoked, barbaric invasion of that island nation by the Turks, the ancient enemy of the Greek people."[81] Iakovos's second encyclical, dated September 17, reiterated his previous message and called for not only the collection of money, but also a separate drive for clothing, blankets, and medical supplies.[82] The following day he issued his third

encyclical addressed to students of the Archdiocese that enumerated the tragic events and the casualties the Turkish invasion inflicted upon the Cypriot people over the summer.[83]

On October 7, 1974, at 4:15 p.m., Archbishop Iakovos had his first meeting with President Ford at the White House. Malouchos cites a memo from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to President Ford explaining who Iakovos was and counseled the president what he should say to him at their meeting. He advised Ford to tell the archbishop that he understands the suffering of the Greek Cypriots and that the United States will strive to resolve the Cyprus issue so that the United States and Greece may continue their close friendship. Moreover, Iakovos and the Greek lobby should help the United States in its efforts to bring a peaceful solution. Kissinger's memo to Ford states that Iakovos holds an important position in Greek-American affairs, is the leader of three million Greek Americans, enjoys close ties with Greece's political leadership, and is well informed on current political issues. Kissinger informed President Ford that he had met with Iakovos on August 24 about American diplomatic efforts concerning Greece and that Iakovos had sent many letters and telegrams to the White House since the beginning of the invasion. Kissinger concluded that the president should convince the archbishop to temper Greek American protests and demonstrations that are counter-productive to the United States' efforts to resolve the Cyprus issue.[84]

After his meeting with President Ford, Iakovos sent three more encyclicals to the Greek Orthodox faithful of the United States. On October 20, he complained about the United States' "unethical politics of expediency, which permits the support and arming of the invader for the total genocide of the innocent Greek Cypriots, the violation of all human rights, as well as the laws of our nation, and all human and divine laws."[85] With the coming of the winter months, Iakovos's two encyclicals, dated October 21 and 31, called upon his congregants to contribute to the

Archdiocese's Cyprus Relief Fund informing them "that the barbarian aggressors have closed, desecrated, or burned the churches in areas taken over by [Turkish] military forces or they have converted them into mosques."[86]

While fulfilling his ecclesiastical duties as archbishop, Iakovos continued his political lobbying on behalf of Cyprus and fund-raising efforts for its refugees. He and the Greek American lobby reminded Congress that the weapons Turkey utilized to invade Cyprus were from the United States, sold to Turkey for defensive purposes only.[87] Because of the Greek American lobby's sustained pressure on Washington, Congress imposed an arms embargo on Turkey in February 1975.[88] Meanwhile, Archbishop Iakovos continued mobilizing Greek Americans to protest the Turkish army's occupation of forty percent of the island. In a March 3 letter to his New York parishes, he announced that the annual Greek Independence Day parade along Fifth Avenue would be dedicated to "war-torn Cyprus and its dreadfully tested Greek people." "Greece," Iakovos wrote, "is ready today for new struggles on behalf of human rights, dignity, freedom, and justice."[89] A week later, Iakovos issued two encyclicals appealing for financial help for the fifty thousand displaced Greek Cypriot refugees.[90] On April 17, Iakovos addressed a letter to the New York parishes calling upon them to demonstrate at the United Nations on April 27; the agenda on that day included the Cyprus issue.[91]

By the mid-1970s, many religious and political leaders in the United States knew Archbishop Iakovos as a leader of a national church and a social activist who eloquently contextualized current events within the framework of his religious beliefs. With the unresolved human travesties of Cyprus and Vietnam and the perpetual condition of hunger in Africa and India, Iakovos proffered a different perspective in his Easter encyclical of 1975. He wrote, "As we set out under the wondrous radiance of the Unwaning Light, which turns our steps toward the life in

Christ where concern for equality and justice for man, God's image, ranks above all else…. Those who live among us, victims…of our insensitivity. Those who live in far places…who long to see in our Christianity the tenderness of Christ."[92] In such a way, Iakovos viewed the injustices of the world and contextualized them as a compassionately religious or ethical imperative for action.

During the summer of 1975, the Archdiocese along with local, state, and federal authorities had already begun preparing for the nation's bicentennial. Iakovos issued two encyclicals describing how the Greek Orthodox Church in America should plan to observe this historic event.[93] In his June 17, 1975 encyclical, Iakovos considered having the 1976 Archdiocese Clergy-Laity Congress convene in Athens, Greece to restore the strained relations between the United States and the motherland—especially after the United States' tacit support for the Turkish invasion of Cyprus—and to celebrate the mutual values both countries share, namely, "the ideals of freedom, independence, [human] dignity, justice, equality, and peace."[94] Although the Archdiocese proceeded in preparing for the nation's bicentennial, Iakovos later decided to have the clergy-laity congress convene in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

On September 10, 1975, Iakovos addressed a letter to Greek American academics and professionals to "counteract the unprecedented pressure exerted by [the Ford] Administration [upon the House of Representatives] …to resume military aid to Turkey." The archbishop called upon the esteemed members of the Greek American community to reach out to their colleagues; the local press; professional, philanthropic, humanitarian organizations; and human rights councils to inform and solicit their support. Moreover, he called upon them to meet with congressional leaders and to appear on radio and television programs to support "a humanitarian approach" to the Cyprus issue, especially for the two hundred thousand refugees. Iakovos concluded his appeal by stressing that "this is neither a Greek nor a Cyprus issue; it is an American issue. Turkey

violated the provisions under which military aid was received with the invasion of Cyprus, therefore is no longer eligible for U.S. aid."[95]

Iakovos maintained his advocacy of freedom as an ideal first articulated and valued by the ancient Greeks, and he believed that freedom is an inherent, indelible, God-given gift to all human beings as well. For Iakovos, being made in the image of God dignifies humankind as theocentric beings; therefore, humanity's natural state is to be free, and from human dignity and freedom proceed justice and equality. The Greeks may have been the first to value freedom, but they were certainly not the last as Iakovos pointed out in numerous correspondences and patriotic orations. He believed that, in theory, the United States continued to value Greece's ideals of freedom, justice, and equality, and he often raged against those who denied or distorted it. In an encyclical dated March 25, 1976, he reminded the faithful of the Archdiocese that

> freedom, human freedom, that divine gift that nourishes and sustains human dignity, 'God's image in us,' is being…undermined by those very people who clamor for freedom. Men and women, in disturbingly large numbers, label freedom the repudiation of the established order…and yet, though they stray ever further from it, they seem incapable of achieving freedom and equality through license, which is their distorted conception of liberty…. They destroy without creating, tear down without ever building up…. They pursue equality only through means that annul and obliterate man's moral and spiritual personality, not in ways that ennoble [him].[96]

In this encyclical, Iakovos noted the difference between "license" and "freedom": the former meant doing whatever one wanted regardless of its effects on others where the latter is freedom to do what we ought to do not only for ourselves but also for the sake of others, as Jesus Christ compels us to do. For Iakovos, God endowed human beings with the divine gift of freedom, the same freedom for which Christ died. Therefore, "we ought to respect the blood by which freedom was bought and guard jealously that freedom 'for which Christ has set us free' (Galatians 5:1)."[97]

The United States' bicentennial came and passed, but 1976 was also a presidential election year that featured an unpopular incumbent president, Gerald Ford, and a virtually unknown former governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter. For Archbishop Iakovos and many Greek Americans, the issue of most concern was the still unresolved matter of Cyprus. The Turkish military continued to occupy forty percent of the island, and the Turkish government in Ankara encouraged Turks from the mainland to migrate there and settle in homes and towns abandoned by the Greek Cypriots. On the Greek portion of the island, the problem of what to do with the two hundred thousand refugees persisted as did the return of Cyprus's sovereignty of the entire island as an independent state. Moskos writes that before the 1976 presidential elections, Greek Americans were approximately forty-eight percent Democrat, twenty-four percent Republican, and twenty-nine percent Independent.[98] Among Greek Americans, the Ford administration was sympathetic to Turkey while Carter campaigned to maintain the arms embargo imposed on Turkey the previous year until the Turkish army evacuated the island. As a result, Greek Americans, both Republicans and Democrats, endorsed and voted for Jimmy Carter by an unprecedented eighty-seven percent.[99]

Carter's electoral victory brought renewed enthusiasm and hope to Greek America for a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus crisis. Moreover, Iakovos believed that the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Turkish nationals of Greek descent, and peoples of every nation who dreamed of fundamental human and civil rights had a new friend and ally in the White House. In his annual Greek Independence Day encyclical (March 25, 1977), Iakovos emphasized the significance of freedom and "our understanding of eternal Hellenic ideals" by stating, "Freedom is not an empty motto but a way of life. It is not a promise but rather a sacrifice. It is not a gift of the state but of God. It is not a dangerous unleashing but rather the restoration of man's dignity. It is not a state of derision but an ideal of civilization. It is not an accident of history, but rather the natural state of

God's children."[100] In another encyclical months later, he wrote, "Greece resounds today to the obvious and hidden enemies of her freedom…to the continued struggle for the security and defense of human rights, which shamelessly are being trodden upon in Turkey, Albania, Cyprus, the Middle East, and Africa…. Enlighten our fellow citizens that human rights can have no geographical, political, or phyletic boundaries."[101]

For Archbishop Iakovos and many Greek Americans, the erstwhile enthusiasm in the Carter administration's Cyprus policy was short lived. By the summer of 1978, President Carter reneged on his campaign promise and had Congress lift the embargo against Turkey while twenty-five thousand Turkish troops continued to occupy over a third of the island.[102] Preceding the lifting of the embargo, Iakovos fervently appealed to the faithful of the Archdiocese to speak to their respective congressmen and senators on behalf of the two hundred thousand Greek Cypriot refugees and the two thousand missing by accepting UN Resolution 3212 and assuring them that "human rights becomes a consistent policy of our foreign affairs."[103] Iakovos had already urged the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches to utilize any political resources they had to help resolve the crisis in Cyprus.[104] Although his efforts were to no avail, Iakovos remained resolute speaking out on the human rights violations in Cyprus, for Asia Minor Greeks, and all peoples as he would write that October, "There is nothing more valuable in the world than freedom…. Let us raise ourselves to our true Hellenic-Christian stature…let us vow to support to the best of our ability the human rights of all."[105] Two months later, President Carter designated December 10 as "Human Rights Day" to reaffirm the nation's "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of human persons, and in the equal rights of men and women." Iakovos entreated Greek Americans to observe this day annually by praying "for those whose human rights are being denied or violated."[106]

In April of 1979, Iakovos celebrated his twentieth anniversary as archbishop, surpassing the tenures of his three predecessors. On September 18, President Jimmy Carter invited Archbishop Iakovos to the White House to announce that he would receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom. In his announcement, President Carter said in part

> As all of you know, the Greek Orthodox Church has been the repository and the avenue through which the culture and the values of Hellenic society have been transmitted and enhanced from one generation to another, in the service of one another and in the service of Jesus Christ…. Our heritage from Greece is indeed extraordinary because from that great country…we have derived the basis for American principles and government-liberty and democracy…. We could not have a better exemplification of the finest aspects of human life than His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos. His life is one which has been dedicated to the pursuit of the broadest possible realm of basic civil rights, basic human rights…. He's been an adviser for many. He's been an adviser for me, and I thank God for it…. Not too long ago, I was at Camp David, considering our Nation, some of its problems, some possible solutions for it…. I needed counsel on our country's spirit…. I asked him to come to Camp David and meet with me…. I'm a great personal admirer of his. And since I've been President, I have given two awards—one to Jonas Salk…and the other to Martin Luther King Jr. And I would like to announce to this group that I will present to Archbishop Iakovos the Presidential Medal of Freedom later this year.[107]

President Carter invited Iakovos to the White House again and awarded him the Medal of Freedom on June 9, 1980.[108]

Constantelos noted that Iakovos's encyclicals and homilies had changed after 1979: he seemed more open and free writing about his feelings and personal beliefs. Although he remained politically engaged, in his compositions, Iakovos emphasized the necessity for spiritual growth and concentrated on "ethical and pastoral issues, education, the youth…and the values of heritage."[109] However, the significance of God-given freedom and the human dignity that emanates from being created in God's image continued to permeate his letters and orations as did the unresolved Cyprus issue and other current events. Commemorating Greek Independence Day 1980, Iakovos wrote, "Whenever freedom is challenged…we are not vigilant…anarchy appears, and this is followed closely by enslavement. It is a struggle to be sure when sin and wickedness

conspire to destroy freedom…. Our Cypriot brothers have taught us how valuable our political freedom is. As on a sacred altar of humanity's eternal ideals, they too sacrificed their lives."[110] A month later, writing about the kidnapping and detainment of fifty American hostages in Teheran, Iakovos wrote, "As Greek Orthodox Christians, we believe fervently in the right of freedom; we proclaim loudly and on all occasions our respect for human rights…. The behavior of the extremists in Teheran…is another insult against humanity and human rights…a blasphemy against God, who created man 'in his image and likeness.'"[111]

From June 28–July 5, 1980, Archbishop Iakovos convened the Archdiocese's Twenty-Fifth Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress in Atlanta, Georgia. While in Atlanta, Iakovos and more than one-hundred-fifty congress delegates along with Reverend Martin Luther King Sr. and Martin Luther King Jr.'s daughter visited Dr. King's tomb that was adjacent to the Ebenezer Baptist Church. After laying a wreath on the tomb and offering the customary memorial prayers, Iakovos addressed Rev. King Sr. and his granddaughter saying,

> Rev. King, we of the Greek Orthodox faith have come in continuance of the journey commenced by your son…twenty years ago in pursuit of the liberties to which all Americans are entitled. We came to pray so that his dream, only partially fulfilled, may someday…be fully realized…. We came to assure Martin Luther King's soul that his grave continues to raise concerns in our hearts over the tardiness of our society in its pursuit of the ideals and values for which he suffered martyrdom.[112]

Iakovos also presented a five-thousand-dollar check to Reverend King Sr. for the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change.[113] Iakovos had communicated with the senior Reverend King six years earlier, the day after a gunman murdered his wife Alberta during a Sunday worship service while she was playing the organ.[114]

Shortly after the 1980 Archdiocesan clergy-laity congress, the Republican and Democratic parties held their national conventions in Detroit (July 14 to July 17) and New York City (August 11 to August 14), respectively. Republican presidential nominee, Ronald Reagan, invited

Archbishop Iakovos to deliver a prayer at his party's convention while incumbent President Carter did the same. Iakovos, wishing not to offend either candidate, accepted their invitations and offered a prayer at both conventions, establishing a tradition that continues to the present.[115] Reagan defeated President Carter in the 1980 presidential election and was sworn in as the fortieth President of the United States on January 20, 1981. Less than ten weeks after Reagan's inauguration, John Hinckley Jr. wounded him in an assassination attempt. A week later, Iakovos issued an encyclical referencing the attempted assassination of President Reagan as an indication of society's "moral and spiritual lethargy." He reminded his congregants that the Church must not sit idly by and watch events such as these unfold; rather, the Church must exercise moral influence both within and outside of its domain and "courageously involve itself in the practical aspects of spiritual efforts."[116]

On July 13, 1981, Coretta Scott King invited Archbishop Iakovos to attend the dedication services for the Freedom Hall Complex of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta, Georgia, and to attend the launching of a fund-raising drive on October 15, 1981.[117] The dedication would take place on January 15, 1982.[118] Iakovos had not met or communicated with Dr. King's widow since his funeral service in 1968. Scott King's July 13 letter was the first in a series of correspondences between her and Iakovos requesting his advice, financial assistance and involvement with committees of the King Center and with the effort of making Martin Luther King [MLK] Day an annual federal holiday, which Iakovos wholeheartedly supported.[119] Approximately two years before MLK Day became a federal holiday, Iakovos issued a press release on January 9, 1984, honoring Dr. King's January 15 birthday, that read,

> The fifteenth of January dawned with a brilliance that illumined the hearts of all freedom-loving people with promise and hope. A child born in the midst of racial hatred was destined to become a giant of a man in his spirit, bringing together, in the name of the Prince of Peace, peacemakers who sought to defend the inalienable

> rights of all citizens, regardless of race, color, or creed. The mere remembrance of that day fills the souls of all with the hope that equality, justice, and freedom will indeed reign supreme if we pursue the legacy of Martin Luther King Jr. with vigilance, and with the conviction that it is through this fulfillment that we continue to serve, here and everywhere.[120]

In 1984, the United States Congress continued to debate whether to declare Martin Luther King Day a federal holiday. Iakovos utilized his political resources and lobbied his congressional contacts extensively in hopes of swaying votes in favor of passage. He believed that the nation's "freedom-loving people" should recognize and annually honor Dr. King who gave his life for freedom, justice, and equality. Iakovos consistently reminded his flock that the meanings of freedom, justice, and equality were first articulated and valued by the ancient Greeks and that throughout Greece's history, men, women, and children—like Dr. King—sacrificed their lives that these ideals may prevail. Iakovos saw a parallel between the fight for freedom and equality of African Americans in the United States with the Greeks' eternal pursuit of freedom. He once wrote that in its long history the small nation of Greece often "rose up like a giant," usually outnumbered and against enemies with superior weapons. They lost many battles but attained glory. "They fought for honor and glory, not for victory." They sacrificed their lives to live free or die.[121]

For Iakovos, Martin Luther King Day would be a celebration of freedom as Greek Independence Day was for Greeks and Greek Americans. In his encyclical commemorating Greek Independence Day 1984, he wrote, "[Freedom is] the most cherished aspect of human life…[that] we ought to embrace with ardent zeal."[122] Human beings should cherish and embrace freedom, because Iakovos believed that it was God's first gift to humanity and that the crucifixion of Jesus Christ aimed to free people from sin and death, ultimately bestowing upon all the grace of human dignity from which all rights, human and civil, emerge. The Martin Luther King Holiday would serve as an additional reminder for citizens of the United States to cherish their freedom, human dignity, and the rights that accompany them.[123]

On March 25, 1985, the Martin Luther King Jr. Federal Holiday Commission's co-chairperson, Claire Randall, in consultation with Coretta Scott King requested that Iakovos serve as co-chair of the commission's Committee on Religious Community Involvement.[124] Iakovos accepted and assigned his ecumenical officer, Fr. Alexander Doumouras, as his representative.[125] Fr. Doumouras directed Fr. Theodore Chelpon to attend the committee's meeting in Washington, DC, on April 22 and sent Iakovos "a host of materials" along with Mrs. King's personal greetings.[126] On August 22, Coretta invited Archbishop Iakovos to attend a luncheon where she addressed the National Press Club in Washington, DC, on September 18.[127] She invited him to join her in the United States capital building on October 24 for the official announcement designating the third Monday of January an annual federal holiday in honor of her husband.[128] On December 18, Scott King requested of Iakovos "to deliver a three-minute tribute to Martin" at the ecumenical prayer service at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church marking the first commemoration of Martin Luther King Day as a national holiday on January 20, 1986.[129]

The Archdiocese issued a press release on January 6, 1986 and an encyclical the following day announcing that Archbishop Iakovos would participate in "King Week 1986" observances that included an unveiling of a bust of Dr. King in the Rotunda of the Capital in Washington, DC, on January 16, the International Conference Against Apartheid with Bishop Desmond Tutu, and the ecumenical prayer service at Ebenezer Baptist Church on January 20.[130] Iakovos attended the "King Week 1986" commemorations and offered his tribute to Dr. King at the ecumenical prayer service on the first annual observance of Martin Luther King Day.[131] He concluded his tribute by stating, "Let us on January 20th and every day pray wholeheartedly that equality and justice and peace and freedom with dignity may reign supreme as we pursue and carry on the legacy placed upon our shoulders by Martin Luther King Jr."[132] In response to Iakovos's tribute and MLK Day

committee work, Scott King sent two letters of appreciation to him dated March 10 and April 12.[133] In a letter to Iakovos dated May 12, she requested that he continue to serve as a national committee co-chairperson for the next observance of MLK Day in January of 1987.[134] Coretta Scott King would enjoy a cordial friendship with Iakovos until his death in 2005; she would pass away less than a year later.[135]

Iakovos remained engaged in and outspoken on domestic and international sociopolitical issues. He continued to interpret them within the context of Greek Orthodox Christian theology, the ideals of the ancient Greeks, the long history of the Greek people and nation, and personal experience. His writings and homilies were replete with references from his Orthodox faith and the wisdom of classical Greece. The significance of freedom and human dignity from which he believed all human rights emerged remained his favorite themes.

However, Iakovos's political outspokenness was not without consequences and considerable risk. During his last trip to Turkey in 1966, the Religious News Service reported that Iakovos "was under close surveillance by Turkish police" who subsequently banned him from celebrating the Divine Liturgy at the Patriarchal Cathedral of St. George in Constantinople because of his comments that were critical of Turkey.[136] Likewise, the Turkish government barred him from entering the country to attend the funeral of Patriarch Athenagoras in 1972, again because of his anti-Turkish statements.[137] In the mid-1980s, Iakovos recalled several attempts on his life during the 1970s.

> I can recall on one occasion a number of years ago, I was driven on various side roads through a roundabout route from downtown Detroit to the Detroit airport.... I suspected something serious was in the wind…. [W]hen two policemen accompanied me onto my airplane, I asked one of them, 'What's happened?' [He responded], 'We got a telephone call that someone wanted to assassinate you on the way to the airport…. A group called and identified themselves as Turkish terrorists. They said that because you're an enemy of Turkey, they've decided to kill you.'[138]

Iakovos stated in his book, *Faith for a Lifetime*, that the assassination attempt was a response from Turkey after he had organized demonstrations in Washington, DC, against the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. He also related assassination attempts in New York in 1970, another after a fund-raising banquet in Jamaica, New York, and a car-bomb threat when he arrived in Greece. He gave no dates and no further evidence to substantiate his claims.[139]

Iakovos longed to make a pilgrimage to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople and travel to his native island of Imbros, which he had not visited in almost thirty years. As indicated previously, the Turkish government had barred him from entering the country to participate in the funeral of Patriarch Athenagoras in 1972. In 1985, Iakovos petitioned the Turkish government for a one-week travel visa to visit Imbros, Constantinople, and his alma mater the theological school of Halki. To Iakovos's surprise, Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal unexpectedly lifted the travel ban for no apparent reason and allowed him to enter the country. Upon arriving in Istanbul (Constantinople), Iakovos noted that the Turkish security officials were courteous but distant.[140] His first stop was to visit Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios I, whom he had not seen since they attended the theological school of Halki in the early 1930s. After an emotional exchange of pleasantries and memories, they discussed issues about the administrative disunity that existed among various Orthodox churches in the United States and how they ought to be unified with or under the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese.[141] After lunch with the Patriarch, Iakovos and his entourage from the Archdiocese visited and prayed at the grave of his venerable mentor, Patriarch Athenagoras—an opportunity denied Iakovos in 1972.

The following day, Iakovos, accompanied by his guests and a Turkish security detail, traveled to his native island of Imbros where approximately one hundred fifty islanders came to greet him with "beaming faces and outstretched arms."[142] He wrote a reflective and elegiac

description of the conditions under which the Greeks of his ancestral island lived. Iakovos later visited the theological school of Halki and shared with his guests the wonderful memories he had as a student there. He visited several other personally memorable places in and around the Constantinople of his younger years, but his memories of the 1930s did not always coincide with what he saw in 1985. Iakovos wished to visit the church of St. George in the Metropolis of Derkon (a suburb of Constantinople) where he was ordained and first served as a deacon before leaving for America. Upon arriving at the site, he saw a large hotel instead. The church and adjacent residence of the Metropolitan of Derkon were gone, "burned to ashes by a Turkish mob on September 6, 1955.[143]

At the conclusion of his trip, Turkish correspondents met Iakovos at the airport and asked him for a statement where he extended "his deep gratitude to Prime Minister Özal and his government…. [for] the realization of my impossible dream to visit the island of Imbros, its people, and the resting places of my always-loved parents and sister; to reverently pray at their gravesites and to kneel in prayer at the tombs of Patriarch Athenagoras and Metropolitan Iakovos [who ordained him to the deaconate], my spiritual forefathers."[144] Iakovos also stated that he made this pilgrimage in order to identify with his island and its people, with Halki, Constantinople, and with the decaying icons peeling from its dilapidated churches' walls.[145] Iakovos appeared to seek a new identity for himself and for others: an identity that emerged from a shared and wounded humanity.

Iakovos was an émigré from this land many decades before. He was also an immigrant to his new homeland and soon after became a citizen. When he served in the World Council of Churches and then as archbishop of the Americas, Iakovos identified with various peoples of the world through the abuses they endured and the tribulations they still faced. He realized that these abuses to human rights were much larger than even the most powerful nation in the world, which

itself was often consumed with poverty, war, and racial hatred. Divided nations or divided citizens could not overcome the persistent threats to humanity. Memories of his years growing up in Turkey and his 1985 pilgrimage to Constantinople, Imbros, and Halki fanned the flames of Iakovos's passion for human rights and inspired him to question his own identity through his life experiences. Is it enough to identify oneself solely by ethnicity, race, or citizenship? Would it not be more just to identify oneself first and foremost as a human being, a citizen of humanity and the world?

After his return to the United States, Iakovos reflected on his recent journey to Turkey and wrote:

> [P]rophets, apostles, teachers, and martyrs believed that the intrinsic value of the human being would rekindle dignity, self-reliance, and social, emotional, and spiritual…renewal. In more recent times, outstanding persons such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King challenged the masses with soul-searching peaceful resistance, revolutionizing their way of thinking. I ask myself, what happened to their legacy? [H]ow long will the people continue in this state of self-abandonment and illusion? Can we hope and work convincingly, singing the ever-valid theme, 'We shall overcome'?[146]

Iakovos refused to acquiesce to the temptation of pessimism nor to rest on the laurels of his past achievements, nor to succumb to the weariness of a man in his mid-70s, he fervently believed that he had more to accomplish in his remaining years. Retirement was the last thing he considered. He would embark on his last decade as Archbishop holding fast to the ancient Greek ideals, his Orthodox Christian faith, the lessons he learned from history, and his life-long experiences in the pursuit of freedom, justice, equality, and unity of all peoples.

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[1] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations for a Living Church: Addresses to Clergy-Laity Congresses 1960–1996*, vol. 1, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998), 125–126.
[2] Coucouzes, 1:5.
[3] Coucouzes, 1:123.

[4] George Christopoulos, "Impact Through Public Relations," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 233–246.
[5] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:65.
[6] The archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America possess sixty-three letters supporting Archbishop Iakovos's appearance with Dr. King in Selma, Alabama, and twenty-seven letters denouncing him. For letters in support and praise, see box E24, folder CF, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. Moreover, the Order of AHEPA, the national Greek American fraternal organization and the Greek American press supported Iakovos's civil rights agenda. See George J. Leber, *The History of the Order of AHEPA, 1922–1972* (Washington, D.C.: The Order of AHEPA, 1972), 430, 442, 444–445; Demetrios Rhombotis, "Black History Month And the Greeks," *USA.GreekReporter.Com* (blog), February 27, 2014, http://usa.greekreporter.com/2014/02/27/black-history-month-and-the-greeks-2/; "AHEPA in Selma: Legacy of Justice - The National Herald," accessed November 19, 2017, https://www.thenationalherald.com/79928/ahepa-in-selma-legacy-of-justice/. Letter of Secretary Peter L. Caparell of the Order of AHEPA'S Athens Chapter No. 24 of Boston, MA to Archbishop Iakovos, n.d., box E24, folder CF, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. See also *The National Herald*, April 9, 1965, box E24, folder CD, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York. In this issue, there were eight letters to the editor: six opposed Archbishop Iakovos's Selma trip and two supported. The letters are written in Greek. The editorial staff of *The National Herald* supported Iakovos's position on civil rights as this issue indicates.
[7] Taylor Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos, January 24, 2002, collection 5047, series 4, box 91, Archbishop Iakovos, Taylor Branch Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
[8] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 1, 1959–1977*, vol. 2, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1999), 49.
[9] Coucouzes, 2:53.
[10] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Paideia: Addresses to Young People*, vol. 4, The Complete Works of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2002), 112.
[11] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:149; Stanley Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound: Social Concern in the Greek Orthodox Church* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1983), 97–98.
[12] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:138–154.
[13] George Poulos, *A Breath of God, Portrait of a Prelate: A Biography of Archbishop Iakovos* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984), 115–116; Nicholas Gage, "Archbishop Iakovos," in *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996), 66–67, 69–70; T. Peter Limber, "The Iakovian Era," in *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop*, ed. Nikki Stephanopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996), 85–86; Julie Charles, "A Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 184, 186; Peter T. Kourides, "Our Three Hierarchs: Archbishops Athenagoras, Michael, and Iakovos," in *History of the Greek*

Orthodox Church in America, ed. Miltiades Efthimiou and George Christopoulos (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 177–182; Christopoulos, "Impact Through Public Relations," 233–246.
[14] George Papaioannou, *The Odyssey of Hellenism in America* (Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1985), 353–354.
[15] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:138.
[16] Coucouzes, 1:138–141.
[17] Coucouzes, 1:149–150.
[18] In an address at an Archdiocesan youth conference on August 27, 1969, Archbishop Iakovos stated, "Goyans cannot and must not betray the soul of Christianity, the heart of Americanism, the ideals of Hellenism," Coucouzes, *Paideia*, 4:83. The "ideals of Hellenism" Iakovos referred to include valuing freedom, justice, equality, human dignity, and the pursuit of truth, knowledge, and wisdom.
[19] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:140.
[20] Coucouzes, 1:140.
[21] Coucouzes, 1:141.
[22] Coucouzes, 1:147–148.
[23] Coucouzes, 1:153.
[24] George Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan: The Greek Orthodox in America under Athenagoras I* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1976), 232–233.
[25] Papaioannou, 234.
[26] Papaioannou, 234–235.
[27] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:71.
[28] Saloutos provides marriage statistics from the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese for the years 1963–1971 that show a yearly increase of interfaith marriages taking place within Archdiocesan churches. For example, of the 4,025 weddings that took place in 1963, 1,132 were "mixed" or interfaith. By 1971, of 5,136 weddings recorded, 2,473 were interfaith—almost fifty percent. Theodore Saloutos, "The Greek Orthodox Church in the United States and Assimilation," *International Migration Review* 7, no. 4 (Winter 1973): 403.
[29] Saloutos, 404.
[30] Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound*, 68.
[31] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:145.
[32] Coucouzes, 1:152–153.
[33] *Atlantis*, Greek American Daily Newspaper, June 30, 1970, New York.
[34] *Atlantis*, July 5, 1970.
[35] George Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, CD, 7 vols. (Athens, Greece: SKAI Records, 2003), compact disc 7, track 7.
[36] Athenagoras, Patriarch, *A letter to Archbishop Iakovos on the Decisions of the Twentieth Clergy-Laity Congress*, September 11, 1970, Protocol No. 760, archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[37] Athenagoras, Patriarch, *Encyclical to the Faithful of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America Concerning the Decisions of the Twentieth Clergy-Laity Congress*, September 12, 1970, Protocol No. 831, archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[38] For a full description on the Greek-English controversy of 1970, see Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, 230–269; George Papaioannou, *The Odyssey of Hellenism in America*

(Thessaloniki, Greece: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1985), 443–475; Theodore Saloutos, "The Greek Orthodox Church in the United States and Assimilation," 404–407.
[39] Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge Concise Histories (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 145–177; Theodore A. Couloumbis, *The United States, Greece, and Turkey: The Troubled Triangle* (New York: Praeger, 1983).
[40] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:207–8.
[41] Coucouzes, 2:208.
[42] The revolutions of the youth and military that Iakovos is referring to are the counter-cultural demonstrations and protests and the Greek military's coup d'état of April 21, 1967 that remained in power until 1974.
[43] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:209–210.
[44] Coucouzes, 2:110.
[45] Coucouzes, *Paideia*, 4:84.
[46] Coucouzes, 4:85.
[47] In calling Jesus "Superstar," Iakovos was referring to the play *Jesus Christ Superstar* that had opened on Broadway in 1971.
[48] With respect to the dignity of the human person, Iakovos conveyed the Orthodox Christian teaching that human beings alone are created in the image and likeness of God. The divine origin of humanity's dignity stems from this belief. All human beings are "theocentric" and divinely endowed with dignity, freedom, equality, and justice. See Thomas E. Fitzgerald, *The Ecumenical Movement: An Introductory History* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004), 159–161.
[49] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 1, track 6; "Why Do They Hate the Ecumenical Patriarchate?," Hürriyet Daily News, accessed December 21, 2017, http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/mustafa-akyol/why-do-they-hate-the-ecumenical-patriarchate-25202; Elliot Tempest, "Greeks in Turkey on the Verge of Extinction," Faithkeepers, February 15, 2017, http://faithkeepers.clarionproject.org/greeks-turkey-verge-extinction/; "60 Minutes," accessed December 21, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wljNfTqxpVw&t=1835s.
[50] For a full report on the strictures placed on the Patriarchate of Constantinople, see Maria Burnett, Ronald Faber, Pia Justesen, Maria Pulzetti, Rob Parker, and Sean Young, "Turkey's Compliance with Its Obligations to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Orthodox Christian Minority: A Legal Analysis," The Allard K. Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic, Yale Law School, February 3, 2005, New Haven; Concerning the Protection and Continued Livelihood of the Eastern Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate, H.R. 50, 104th Congress, 1st Session, (March 28, 1995).
[51] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:212.
[52] Coucouzes, 2:255.
[53] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:158.
[54] Coucouzes, 1:159.
[55] Coucouzes, 1:160–161.
[56] Edward B. Fiske, "Orthodox: When the Patriarch Dies—A Time of Trial," *New York Times*, July 16, 1972.
[57] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 145.
[58] Spiro Agnew's surname was Anagnostopoulos. Although of Greek descent on his father's side, Spiro Agnew was baptized Episcopalian rather than Greek Orthodox. Agnew served as Vice president from 1969 until October 10, 1973 when he resigned due to corruption charges

while governor of Maryland. See Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 42, 116, 118–120.
[59] "January 20, 1969: Inaugural Ceremonies for Richard M. Nixon," accessed December 23, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJzNdTebw-w; "January 20, 1973: Inaugural Ceremonies for Richard M. Nixon," accessed December 23, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJzNdTebw-w.
[60] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 5, track 3.
[61] Malouchos, compact disc 5, track 3.
[62] Malouchos, compact disc 5, track 3.
[63] Malouchos, compact disc 5, track 3. The Malouchos interview with Archbishop Iakovos mention a letter Iakovos wrote to President Nixon on January 25, 1972, concerning the Vietnam War and Nixon's response dated March 7, 1972.
[64] Coucouzes, *Paideia*, 4:34.
[65] Coucouzes, 4:34.
[66] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos,* compact disc 5, track 3.
[67] Coucouzes, *Paideia*, 4:30–33.
[68] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 119–120.
[69] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:67.
[70] Coucouzes, 2:69.
[71] Coucouzes, *Paideia*, 4:32–33.
[72] Coucouzes, *Paideia*, 4:84.
[73] Coucouzes, 4:33.
[74] Richard Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 168–176.
[75] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:129–132.
[76] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 121.
[77] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:184.
[78] Coucouzes, 2:185.
[79] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 5, track 4.
[80] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer,* 2:164–166.
[81] Coucouzes, 2:216.
[82] Coucouzes, 2:167–168.
[83] A synopsis of Archbishop Iakovos's letter addressed to "the Students of the Schools of the Greek Archdiocese," dated September 18, 1974, Protocol No. 122, reads in part,
"My dear children:

"Greeks everywhere in the United States, Canada, Greece, and all over the world have been deeply saddened by the tragic events that began two months ago on the island of Cyprus.
"On July 20, 1974, Turkey, a member of NATO, and neighbor of Greece, attacked Cyprus and occupied forty percent of the island.

"This unjustified military aggression resulted in the following:
"two hundred thirty thousand Greek Cypriots were forced out of their homes and became refugees…about one-third of the island's population.
Thousands of homes and a great deal of personal property were ruined.
A great number of schools, hospitals, hotels, factories…were razed to the ground.
Farms and cattle ranches, two of the island's main sources of livelihood, were ravaged.
Thousands of civilians, mostly children, women and old people, lost their live to the invader.

Also, a great number of the defenseless women, children, and the elderly were abused and even tortured….

"Turkey has tried to justify the military occupation of Cyprus as necessary for the security of the Turks on the island. They asserted that this security was threatened by the political differences among the Cypriot Greeks. However, it is a well-known fact that the Cypriot Turks were in no danger on account of these political differences, and that Turkey used a very poor reason on which to base their military aggression against Cyprus.

"Unfortunately, our Government seems to favor the Turkish view. As world leader in international affairs, the U.S. failed to exercise its power to stop the Turkish invasion of Cyprus….

"Both Greece and Turkey, as our allies and members of NATO…receive military aid from our country to keep strong against any possible Russian invasion in the Mediterranean. "Greece has been a long-term ally of the U.S.A. She fought along the side of the English and this country during WWI and II. Turkey, on the other hand, was aligned with the Germans in WWI and remained neutral in WWII. Yet today she receives from us much more money in military aid than Greece does. Not only that, but Turkey used the very arms, airplanes, and ammunitions, with which we try to keep her strong, against our other ally, Greece, by invading and occupying Greek territory in Cyprus….

"Curiously, while our Government could, it did not stop the Turkish invasion. Whatever the reasons, our Government has not only failed Greece, but has been severely criticized by practically every nation in the world and a great number of our own political leaders, newsmen, and concerned citizens. The U.S.A., they all say, had the moral obligation to stop the unjust Turkish invasion of Cyprus and thus prevent the unnecessary human suffering brought about by the war…." The excerpt is from Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 1, 1959–1977*, vol. 2, 6 vols., The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1999), 217–218.

[84] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, compact disc 5, track 4.

[85] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:219.

[86] Coucouzes, 2:169–170; Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Ecumenical Dialogues: Iakovos's Role in the Quest for Christian Cooperation and Unity*, ed. Demetrios J. Constantelos, vol. 6, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2009), 96–98.

[87] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 120; Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:217.

[88] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 121.

[89] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:220.

[90] Coucouzes, 2:171–173.

[91] Coucouzes, 2:222.

[92] Coucouzes, 2:77.

[93] Archbishop Iakovos issued his first encyclical on the bicentennial commemoration on June 10, 1975, and the second on June 17, 1975. See Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer,* 2:223, 138–140, 233.

[94] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer,* 2:139.

[95] Coucouzes, 2:224–225.

[96] Coucouzes, 2:86.

[97] Coucouzes, 2:86.

[98] Moskos states that the one hundred one percent total is due "to rounding computations. See Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 116n13.
[99] Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 122.
[100] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 2:240.
[101] Coucouzes, 2:242.
[102] Nicholas Gage, "Greece Criticizes U.S. for Lifting the Arms Embargo Against Turkey," *New York Times*, August 3, 1978; Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 122.
[103] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 2, 1978–1996*, vol. 3, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2001), 332.
[104] Coucouzes, *Ecumenical Dialogues*, 6:40, 96–98, 120, 121.
[105] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 3:132.
[106] Jimmy Carter, Gerhard Peters, and John T. Woolley, "Jimmy Carter: Universal Declaration of Human Rights Remarks at a White House Meeting Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the Declaration's Signing.," The American Presidency Project, December 6, 1978, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=30264; Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 3:395.
[107] Jimmy Carter, "1979 Recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom - Former Archbishop Articles - Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America," Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, September 18, 1979, https://www.goarch.org/-/1979-recipient-of-the-presidential-medal-of-freedom?inheritRedirect=true&redirect=%2Farchbishop-iakovos.
[108] Honoring His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, S 149, 109th Cong., Session 1, (June 6, 2005).
[109] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer,* 3:v.
[110] Coucouzes, 3:127.
[111] Coucouzes, 3:336.
[112] Press Release of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, summer 1980, box E24, folder CK, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[113] Letter of Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. to Archbishop Iakovos, July 16, 1980, box E24, folder CK, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[114] Mailgram of Archbishop Iakovos to Reverend Martin Luther King Sr., July 1, 1974, box E24, folder CK, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York; "M.W. Chenault, 44, Gunman Who Killed Mother of Dr. King," *New York Times*, August 22, 1995.
[115] "One Religious Leader in Both Party Conventions," NY Daily News, August 23, 2008, http://www.nydailynews.com/life-style/religious-leader-democratic-republican-conventions-article-1.314036.
[116] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 3:31.
[117] Letter of Coretta Scott King to Archbishop Iakovos, July 13, 1981, box E24, folder CL, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[118] There is no evidence in the archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America whether Archbishop Iakovos attended the Freedom Hall Complex's dedication service.
[119] In addition to the July 13, 1981 letter, the archives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America hold over a dozen letters from Coretta Scott King addressed to Archbishop Iakovos all of which are form letters that bear her signature. They range from 1981 to 1990. These include the following letters that are not cited elsewhere in this manuscript: a letter dated July 25, 1983,

asking for assistance in raising funds for the King Center; a letter dated June 7, 1985, thanking Iakovos for $500 contribution to the King Center; a letter dated May 3, 1986 requesting a donation to help with the expenses of the first MLK Day observance; a letter dated June 26, 1986 requesting Iakovos to attend planning meeting for the second observance of MLK Day; a letter dated August 18, 1986 requesting Iakovos to serve as an honorary director of the MLK Federal Holiday Corporation; a letter of appreciation dated September 25, 1986 thanking Iakovos for accepting to serve as an honorary director of the MLK Federal Holiday Corporation; a letter dated December 6, 1986 asking Iakovos for financial assistance for the King Center and for the second observance of MLK Day in 1987; a letter dated February 20, 1987 announcing plans for a time capsule, assistance in promoting national theme of "Living the Dream: Let Freedom Ring," and the "Freedom Trail"; a letter dated June 23, 1987 expressing appreciation for donation and support to Archbishop Iakovos and Archdiocese Philoptochos Society; an invitation dated July 15, 1987 for Iakovos to attend a celebrity tribute to Martin Luther King honoring Sammy Davis Jr. on November 14, 1987; a letter dated July 16, 1987 requesting financial assistance for MLK Day; a letter dated November 6, 1989 requesting Iakovos attend a breakfast in Washington, DC, and a letter dated March 15, 1990 for Iakovos to continue serving on the MLK Day Committee's Religious Community Involvement Committee. All these correspondences from Coretta Scott King are located in box E24, folders CL, CP, and EE, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[120] Press Release: Archbishop Iakovos Statement on Martin Luther King Jr., January 9, 1984, box E24, folder CK, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[121] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer,* 3:131–133, 169–171, 182–183, 185–186.

[122] Coucouzes, 3:145–147.

[123] Press Release of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, January 6, 1986, box E24, folder CP, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[124] Letter of Co-chair Claire Randall of the Martin Luther King Jr. Federal Holiday Commission to Archbishop Iakovos, March 25, 1985, box E24, folder EE, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[125] Letter of V. Rev. Alexander Doumouras to Dr. Claire Randall of the Committee on Religious Community Involvement of the Martin Luther King Jr. Federal Holiday Commission, April 9, 1985, box E24, folder EE, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[126] Letter of Fr. Alexander Doumouras and Fr. Theodore Chelpon to Archbishop Iakovos and Meeting Agenda and Minutes of the Executive Committee of MLK Federal Holiday Commission, April 25,1985, box E24, folder EE, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[127] Letter of Coretta Scott King to Archbishop Iakovos, August 22, 1985, box E24, folder EE, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[128] Mailgram of Coretta Scott King to Archbishop Iakovos, October 16, 1985, box E24, folder CL, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[129] Mailgram of Coretta Scott King to Archbishop Iakovos, December 18, 1985, box E24, folder CP, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[130] Press Release of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, January 6, 1986, box E24, folder CP, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of

America, New York; Encyclical of Metropolitan Silas of New Jersey on the First Observance of the National Holiday Honoring Martin Luther King Jr., January 7, 1986, box E24, folder CP, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York; "Archbishop Iakovos to Participate in Service Marking Dr. Martin Luther King Holiday," *Hellenic Times*, January 17–23, 1986, box E24, folder CP, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[131] Iakovos's tribute is as follows:

"First Observance of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as a Federal Holiday
National Ecumenical Service
Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia
January 20, 1986 10 a.m.
Prayer of Archbishop Iakovos, Primate, Greek Orthodox Church in the Americas

"'This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in it.' Today is not just another national holiday to be celebrated with the ringing of bells, loud rhetoric and patriotic applause. Such a commemoration would only blur our vision and concept of the true meaning of the day. For the 15th of January 1929, the day when God blessed our nation with the birth of a child named Martin Luther King, was meant to inscribe in the minds and hearts of all, the real understanding of the American dream: the dream that is so gloriously articulated by our oath of allegiance and which still waits to be translated into a happy realty.

"It is, however, a day to be celebrated with thanksgiving, with prayers, and with joy, for God in His providential love and concern, gave us in the life and death of Martin, a new hope that evil will one day be crushed by goodwill, and that injustice, prejudice, bias, violence, and hatred will come to an end if we vigorously pursue the struggle through effective legislation and the enactment of God's commandment that we love one another.

"Yes, today, is a day for rejoicing because we have seen the results of one man's efforts to change not only the course of events, but the course of history. We all have access today to real democracy, as well as those four freedoms so nobly articulated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt during World War II, which, if enacted, would indeed make that war, the last world war in human history.

"Today is a day when we can be glad; for it is a day which gladdens the hearts of all men and women throughout the world with the reaffirmation of the truth that goodness can, indeed, conquer malice, and that death can make life immortal. Martin lived with that faith and in Memphis he sealed—with his own blood—a new covenant between God and humans: that the Kingdom of God may, at last, come to earth and that the generations to come may live in a world where freedom and dignity will reign supreme for the benefit of all. As he fell to the floor of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, we might have heard Martin softly whisper to his orphaned admirers, these words of Jesus: "He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (John 8, 12). There is yet a long way to be walked, and it must be walked with fidelity and courage, with persistence and perseverance, if it is to be successfully completed.

"Martin Luther King Jr. is not gone. And he cannot be memorialized by a bust or a statue. Only by followers, all of us, who share the same dream and the same determination to see our beloved American society, become a model society where humaneness, Christianity, and solidarity will be the cardinal values and principles. Martin died so that unborn generations may enjoy their God-given birthright of equality, justice, and liberty.

"This is the day which the Lord hath made for us to rejoice and be glad in. May His name be blessed and glorified forever. Amen," Archbishop Iakovos's Prayer Tribute to Martin Luther

King Jr., January 20, 1986, Press Release of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, January 6, 1986, box E24, folder CP, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[132] Archbishop Iakovos Tribute to Martin Luther King Jr., January 20, 1986, Press Release of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, January 6, 1986, box E24, folder CP, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[133] Letter of Appreciation from Coretta Scott King to Archbishop Iakovos, March 10, 1986 and April 12, 1986, box E24, folder CP, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[134] Letter of Coretta Scott King to Archbishop Iakovos, May 12, 1986, box E24, folder CP, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.
[135] Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, *Iakovos: A Legacy* (New York), accessed March 29, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XfTP_-UpveI.
[136] Coucouzes, 2:202–203.
[137] Edward B. Fiske, "Orthodox: When the Patriarch Dies—A Time of Trial," *New York Times*, July 16, 1972.
[138] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes and William Proctor, *Faith for a Lifetime: A Spiritual Journey* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 104–105.
[139] Ibid., 105–106. Iakovos did not indicate the dates of when his life was threatened in Jamaica, New York, nor in Greece. He also did not provide any further evidence to substantiate these threats.
[140] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *A Dream That Came to Pass, August 26–September 2, 1985* (New York: Unknown, 1987), 37.
[141] Coucouzes, *A Dream That Came to Pass*, 38.
[142] Coucouzes, 39.
[143] Coucouzes, 50.
[144] Coucouzes, 51.
[145] Coucouzes, 52.
[146] Coucouzes, 60.

CHAPTER 8 THE LAST DECADE AND QUEST FOR UNITY, 1986–2005

Iakovos Coucouzes began his last decade as Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America in his mid-70s. Although he had served longer and accomplished more than his three predecessors, the late 1980s until his retirement in 1996 were bittersweet. Turkish troops continued to occupy almost forty percent of the island of Cyprus after their 1974 invasion; moreover, they continued to claim that the Greek islands that lie off their Aegean coast were within their territorial waters, which raised fears of subsequent invasions. The Ecumenical Patriarchate and Turkish citizens of Greek descent continued to live under oppressive conditions, and the theological school of Halki remained closed since 1971. To the North, the atheistic nation of Albania suppressed the practice of any religion within the state and isolated their citizens of Greek descent living in their southern provinces (Northern Epirus) from contact with Greece. Moreover, Bulgaria always coveted direct access to the Aegean Sea since the Second Balkan War in 1913 and threatened Greece from the north.

By the mid-1980s, Iakovos's Greek American Archdiocese had achieved a level of financial and demographic stability. Without any serious internal problems confronting his Archdiocese, Iakovos was able to focus his attention on perpetuating the ancient Greek ideals and the teachings of Orthodoxy to his communicants in hopes of equipping them to become the standard-bearers of freedom, justice, and equality to an American society preoccupied with materialism and self-indulgence. Moreover, after many years of distinguished service to the Greek American Archdiocese and in the ecumenical movement, Iakovos earned the respect of Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christian leaders and sought to renew his efforts to unify the various ethnic Orthodox Christian churches of SCOBA (Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas). Iakovos believed that unifying the various Orthodox jurisdictions in the Americas

would inevitably strengthen the Orthodox Christian presence and sociopolitical influence upon the national governments in the Western Hemisphere. This chapter endeavors to describe the last decade of Iakovos's active ministry that ended in 1996, his retirement, and his death in 2005.

Iakovos believed that the Greeks were a messianic people ordained by God to educate and edify the world.[1] In his first encyclical of 1986, he wrote, "the moral and spiritual values issuing from the thought and culture of ancient Greece and the teachings of Christ [make] for a correct and productive education of our young." Quoting Plato, Iakovos wrote, "All kinds of knowledge severed from justice and the rest of the virtues must be called craftiness rather than wisdom."[2] In his first encyclical of 1987, he wrote, "The term 'Greek Letters' signifies the spiritual, religious, linguistic, artistic, and scientific contribution of the Greeks from the time of Homer until today."[3] He stated that the early Church "drew from the wisdom of the Hellenes for the purpose of making the dogmatic teaching of Greek Orthodoxy more relevant to contemporary thinking and culture," which explains "the harmonious partnership between Christianity and the Greek spirit." Iakovos concluded by stating the reason why the depictions of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Thucydides appear in the narthex of many ancient churches alongside icons of Christian saints.[4]

In his encyclical dated March 25, 1987, Iakovos reminded the communicants of the Archdiocese that the United States would celebrate the bicentennial of the US Constitution during the summer. He highlighted the similarities between the constitutions of the United States and Greece and regarded both documents as "noble declarations of human rights," which both underscore that "the most precious of all human rights is freedom."[5] Iakovos emphasized that "Freedom is not just an added item on our list of human rights. It is the first and most basic of them all. All others follow it…. Freedom is a gift from God…the Creator presented it as such to Adam and Eve."[6] He continued by stating how easily freedom can be lost and how the teachings of Christ

"to love one another" safeguard our freedom as do political constitutions. Iakovos concluded, "Freedom and democracy are befitting to citizens and nations that know how to live within a framework of real freedom and an uplifting ethos in all aspects of human life in accordance with the teachings of Jesus Christ."[7]

The twenty-ninth Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress convened in Boston on July 3, 1988. The theme of the Congress was taken from a passage of the Book of Joel, "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your elders shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions" (Joel 2:28). In his keynote address, Iakovos hearkened back to the first Greek immigrants who came to the United States, a land "totally different and foreign to their culture." He briefly described their dream of finding a promised land but encountered bigotry and discrimination. He said, "They survived the intolerance and hatred rampant at the time in Utah and Nebraska,[8] and decisively established themselves in the new land."[9]

Having recollected the past, Iakovos shared his "dreams" and "visions" for the future of the United States and the world. He spoke of a future society where truth, righteousness, and intellectual honesty dwell. He concluded, "Just as it has happened with all past generations, we shall need to gather all our strength and hold steadfastly to our faith, with all the ancient and ever-relevant legacy of [the Greek] people."[10] Before the clergy-laity congress concluded on July 8, the delegates unanimously adopted a "Resolution on Political and Racial Justice" that echoed resolutions from four previous congresses.[11]

The end of the 1980s witnessed the beginning of new technological innovations like the home computer, the widespread transition from analog to digital electronics, and shortly after that the emergence of the Internet. Each year, technology was advancing at a seemingly unprecedented

rate, amazing consumers, producers, and investors. The public demanded more powerful and faster computers; many keenly focused on the release dates of upcoming new and improved digital devices. The technological boon did not seem to sway Archbishop Iakovos; instead, he continued to instruct his followers on more fundamental and essential human concerns. Competing, in a sense, with his congregants' fixation and compulsion for acquiring new technological electronics, Iakovos maintained his emphasis on presumably more critical and often overlooked issues such as freedom, rights, and salvation. In his March 25, 1989 encyclical, Iakovos writes, "We the Greek Orthodox believe in freedom as a means to salvation…[they] are intertwined. How is it possible to experience salvation without the synergy of freedom?" Iakovos continues, "Look around, and you will see the miracles of modern technology. So much has been accomplished in our times. Yet, the salvation and freedom of man are not among these achievements. These are the works of God and man together…. [Remember the] Greek Orthodox faithful in Cyprus, [Turkey], and Northern Epirus deprived of basic human rights."[12]

In the early 1990s, Iakovos witnessed the emergence of corporeal enemies new and old against his beloved Greek people and heritage. In an encyclical dated August 28, 1991, he informed the faithful of the Archdiocese that a Turkish mob has once again surrounded the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul and was demonstrating for its removal from their country. Iakovos reminded his Greek American flock that similar demonstrations and threatening ultimatums had been delivered to the Ecumenical Patriarch many times before. He feared the reoccurrence of the infamous September 1955 pogrom that had devastated the shrinking Greek populace of the city.[13] He urged them to alarm their government officials and the media of the Turks latest criminal violations of freedom and human rights against Turkish citizens of Greek descent.[14]

With the fall and fragmentation of the Soviet Union, many Soviet-backed governments fell, and new nations emerged, especially in the Balkans. One such nation was the former Yugoslav province of Macedonia. In September of 1991, the Slavic people of the Macedonian province of Yugoslavia declared their independence and created a new nation called the Republic of Macedonia with Skopje as its capital. The reaction from the Greek government and Greeks around the world was immediate: both vehemently protested what they considered as the usurpation of the name "Macedonia," which had always been associated with Greece and Greek culture from antiquity. Many Greeks, including Archbishop Iakovos, regarded the creation of a Slavic nation calling itself Macedonia cultural theft, offensive to all Greeks, and a prelude to territorial claims against Greece.

On February 6, 1992, Iakovos issued two encyclicals regarding the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's (FYROM) attempts to "usurp the historic Greek names of "Macedonia" …in order to be given more attention and…to promote claims over territory, which is not theirs. They have even laid claim to our culture and identity. Skopje's expansionists are now seeking international recognition as a "Republic of Macedonia." They, meanwhile, unofficially promote the irredentist ambition of a "Greater Macedonia" including a large part of Greece inhabited by two million Greeks and parts of Albania and Bulgaria."[15] Iakovos's second encyclical of February 6 directed that all the floats for the March 25 Greek Independence Day parade "should reflect our determination to resist those who would deny [Greece and its people] rights in Cyprus, Turkey, Macedonia, Albania, and wherever they are ignored or violated."[16] In his 1992 Greek Independence Day encyclical, Iakovos urged Greek Americans to pray for "the freedom of man from evil. We have so many national issues before us: the Cypriot, the Albanian, the Skopje, and many more. We will succeed if we fill our lungs with faith in God and in human rights."[17] On May

18, Iakovos sent another encyclical on the Macedonian issue calling for a massive demonstration to take place in Washington, DC. He wrote, "I am personally inviting all of you to be there. The purpose of this rally is to stress the fact that Macedonia has always been Greek."[18]

In 1994, Greeks around the world commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the invasion of Cyprus. Twenty years had passed, and the issue remained a stalemate: over twenty-five thousand Turkish soldiers continued their occupation of thirty-six percent of the island. The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia continued to press the United Nations and the European Union for recognition and preached their irredentist dreams of a "Greater Macedonia" within its borders. Under continuing repressive measures by the Turkish government, the future appeared bleak for the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the still-closed Halki theological school, and the dwindling number of Greeks in Constantinople, which for centuries was the capital city of the Christian faith. Aware of and involved in these affairs, Iakovos concluded his March 25 encyclical stating, "Clearly, we have no allies in the struggle for human rights."[19]

Brighter skies appeared on the horizon for Archbishop Iakovos and the various ethnic Orthodox Christian churches in the United States before the close of 1994. At eighty-three years of age and having led the Greek American Archdiocese for thirty-five years, Iakovos continued to administer his expansive Archdiocese that comprised the entire Western Hemisphere—including the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. He remained engaged in political issues that affected not only Greece and Greeks worldwide, but also all peoples whose human rights were threatened or violated. Moreover, Iakovos maintained his leadership role in the ecumenical movement through the World Council and National Council of Churches, which sought dialogue, joint actions to promote social justice, and eventual unity among all Christian faiths. As early as 1960, he established and presided over the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas (SCOBA) to create

a unified voice on religious and sociopolitical matters and shared ministries among the twelve or so autonomous ethnic Orthodox churches in the United States and Canada.[20] However, SCOBA did not include all ethnic Orthodox Christian hierarchs in North America; and besides, SCOBA convened only twice a year.

In the spirit of unity among the various, independent ethnic American Orthodox churches—each with ties to their respective mother churches in the Old World—SCOBA invited the Orthodox Christian bishops from the United States and Canada to an informal gathering to meet one another, discuss the state of the Orthodox Church in North America, and explore efforts that could lead to unity. Their intention was not to secede from their mother churches but to strengthen the Orthodox Christian presence in America by exploring ways to achieve unity towards an American Orthodox Church, which would in turn better support their respective mother churches.[21] Thus, the meeting convened at the Antiochian Village in Ligonier, Pennsylvania from November 30 to December 2, 1994, under the chairmanship of Archbishop Iakovos with twenty-eight hierarchs present. The meeting produced two documents, "A Statement on the Church in North America" and "A Statement on Missions and Evangelism."[22] The attending hierarchs were pleased with the Ligonier meeting. All appreciated the opportunity to meet—some for the first time. However, several hierarchs believed the meeting went too far and others not far enough.

The reaction from the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Old-World Orthodox churches was swift. The mother churches objected to the Ligonier meeting's move towards independence from them and the establishment of an autocephalous American Orthodox Church. As the *Washington Times* reported, "An Americanized church is problematic for the mother churches…those churches fear that an American merger might cut back the money sent overseas and would dilute ethnic identity, weakening the ethnic lobby on American foreign policy."[23] In turn, some of the American

Orthodox bishops who met at Ligonier no longer considered their churches as colonies or diasporas of their mother churches. One bishop stated, "We cannot accept the term 'diaspora' as used to describe the church in North America."[24] The response from the Ecumenical Patriarchate was as definitive as it was terse. In a press release issued on January 31, 1995, the Patriarchate announced, in part

> Following the assurances given orally and in writing by His Eminence Iakovos of North and South America, that 'he had no part in, nor did he ever think of participating in the formation of an autocephalous American Orthodox Church,' the matter is considered by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to be closed. Nevertheless, the Patriarchate repudiates all the initiatives taken at the meeting in Ligonier, Pennsylvania for having overstepped its authority and states that it in no way recognizes any of its decisions…. Likewise, the Patriarchate repudiates and condemns the divisive actions artificially created among our faith[ful] in America.[25]

The deliberations that occurred at the Ligonier meeting in December of 1994 brought unprecedented optimism for unity among the various ethnic Orthodox jurisdictions in North America. For an ecumenist like Archbishop Iakovos, who labored to promote unity among all Christian faiths for decades in the World Council of Churches and the National Council Churches, it was a dream come true. After he had founded and presided over SCOBA from 1960 through 1994, he thought that, in the twilight years of his life, he would finally witness a unified Orthodoxy in the New World, four to six million strong, pooling its many resources and financial affluence to guide and inspire future generations of Americans in the moral teachings of Jesus Christ and in the wisdom of Hellenic ideals. However, when rumors made their way to the Ecumenical Patriarch suggesting that Iakovos planned to secede and create a powerful, affluent, and independent American Patriarchate with him as Patriarch, the dream of Iakovos and the aspirations of a unified Orthodox Church in America vanished in an instant.[26] Iakovos did not anticipate such an adverse reaction from the Patriarchate, and it appeared that any overtures he made failed to appease Constantinople.

The future of Archbishop Iakovos and the Greek American Archdiocese was uncertain as the summer months of 1995 approached as was their affiliation with the other ethnic American Orthodox jurisdictions. The relationship between the Patriarchate and the Archdiocese remained publicly intact but privately strained. As the *Washington Times* reported, "The strain between Archbishop Iakovos, 83, and Patriarch Bartholomew, 53, is related to the archbishop being in charge of the North American Greek church for 35 years, some of its members said. Archbishop Iakovos, according to another view, wanted to be elected the 273rd patriarch of Eastern Christendom."[27] Moreover, the *New York Times* stated, "To add to the drama, the two leaders are natives of the same Aegean island, Imbros, and the archbishop's sister is the patriarch's godmother."[28] On August 15, 1995, while both Patriarch Bartholomew and Archbishop Iakovos were visiting their home island of Imbros, Iakovos, believing he could not mend the strained relationship between the Archdiocese and the Patriarchate and according to ecclesiastical protocol, handed the Patriarch his written resignation, which would take effect on his eighty-fifth birthday the following year, July 29, 1996.[29]

Six days later, Iakovos stopped in Greece before returning to New York where he planned to announce his resignation. However, while he was still in Greece, the Patriarchate issued a four-sentence statement announcing that Iakovos had submitted his resignation "willingly for reasons of age and health."[30] The faxed announcement from Constantinople "caught Iakovos's own archdiocese unprepared to comment," reported the *Chicago Tribune*, "For hours officials there could neither confirm nor deny the announcement—an unusual circumstance for the resignation of a major figure."[31] Greek politicians and the Greek press urged Iakovos to rescind or postpone his resignation "in view of the Archbishop's role as a spokesman in the United States for Greek concerns about Cyprus and Macedonia."[32] Upon returning to the United States in mid-September,

Iakovos himself appeared to have second thoughts. The resignation divided Greek Americans: many remained loyal to their archbishop of almost four decades; others believed it was time for a change, for a new and younger archbishop to assume control of the Archdiocese.[33]

By the beginning of October 1995, Iakovos wrote the Patriarch requesting that the resignation be withdrawn, fearing a division within the Archdiocese, but the Patriarch would not concede. Further appeals from Greece and the United States proved futile; the matter was closed, and the arduous task of finding a successor became the primary concern. Iakovos acquiesced to his new destiny, retirement. However, he remained archbishop for nine months before his resignation would take effect. He had little or no say in who would succeed him and appeared uninterested in preparing for retirement; rather, he continued to speak, preach, write, and travel as before. His favorite themes of freedom, equality, social justice, and salvation continued to permeate his writings and orations. Having failed in his bid to remain archbishop, he turned to writing and preaching on his flocks' unique Greek American identity and heritage and how they should manifest them in present times. On October 28, he wrote, "We are Orthodox Christians, Greeks, and Americans, who believe in freedom, justice, and the kingdom of God, which is all about equality, peaceful co-existence, and morality in the relations among the nations, with love as the apex of all.[34]

In June of 1996, within a month of his retirement, Iakovos appealed to the faithful of the Archdiocese to assist in what the *New York Times* called an "Epidemic of Terror." The Southern Christian Poverty Center's Klanwatch reported fifty-seven cases of arson and severe vandalism perpetrated against African American churches in the South, thirty-six of them occurring within the last two years.[35] At a Divine Liturgy opened to the public in New York's Central Park where over twelve thousand attended,[36] Iakovos preached,

> We doxologize [sic] Christ our God, the God of love, the God of peace, the God of justice. Some people throughout our nation are burning churches, churches belonging to our black citizens. It is a shame that just a few years before we end the century, violence and bigotry…and hatred still fill the divided souls of some miserable citizens. I appeal to you to pray with all your hearts that the kingdom of God may find its way upon…these people. For the burning of churches is the burning of religious liberty. The burning of churches is the burning of the faith that has filled the hearts of many men and women for centuries. The burning of churches is an offering…against God's presence in our midst…. The burning of churches should inspire us to practice what they don't practice, but also come to the assistance of those black Christian brethren and help them to rebuild their place of worship. And help them recover the sense that this nation is a nation of civilized men. And to recover something else, their own souls.[37]

On June 18, Iakovos issued one of his last encyclicals concerning the "arson burning of churches" in the South. He writes, "Houses of worship constructed with the funds of believers who desire only to offer praise to God, to study His word, and to fellowship with one another in services to others have been utterly destroyed. We all must embrace their devastations. We all must shoulder their challenges."[38] Iakovos concluded his encyclical stating that the Archdiocese has established a "Burned Churches Fund," and he asked the parishes to accept collections from their parishioners between June 23 and July 21.[39]

Iakovos presided over and delivered his last keynote address at the Archdiocese Clergy-Laity Congress in July of 1996. In his keynote addressed titled, "Behold: A New Future," Iakovos recalled his accomplishments of almost forty years of service as archbishop. He expressed his perpetual concern for the youth and urged the delegates to impart upon them the moral teachings of Orthodoxy and the wisdom of their classical Greek heritage. He paid homage to their Greek immigrant ancestors who toiled against bigotry and discrimination in the United States, succeeded in having subsequent generations achieve equality, and for elevating the status of Orthodoxy as "the fourth major faith in the land." Lastly, Iakovos said, "Human rights, as well as issues of ethnic and political justice, require not the applause of easily dissolved enthusiasms but rather disciplined actions and mobilizations…. [May we all hear one day] 'I have finished the race, and I have kept

the faith. Therefore, there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord will give to me on that day,' (2 Timothy 4:7–8)."[40]

Iakovos's farewell address at the grand banquet of his last clergy-laity congress was as emotional as it was thought-provoking to the over two thousand delegates in attendance.[41] His words filled the silence of the spacious banquet hall. With the memory of Selma still fresh in his mind he said,

> Orthodoxy is a religion and theology that places no boundaries or barriers along the way of those who search for happiness in unity, in peace, and in justice. Orthodoxy will one day, and hopefully soon, rediscover its essential oneness and disavow hunger for power, ethnic superiority, and secularism, which leads it to unchurchly [sic] ambitions…. Being concerned and committed to peace with all religions and to the eradication of bigotry, discrimination, injustice, violence, and racial hatred, the march in Selma, Alabama, will continue to pave the way from which we shall never deviate along the frontiers of unity and social justice. Ours is a commitment to true Christianity, to true justice, to the liberation of people still oppressed, and to true peace.[42]

Thus, after thirty-seven years as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America and on his eighty-fifth birthday, Iakovos Coucouzes retired to his home in Rye, New York on July 29, 1996.

The Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate acted swiftly to elect Iakovos's successor; the very next day, in fact, the Patriarchate elected Archbishop Spyridon of Italy as the new Greek Orthodox Archbishop of "America" (and notably, not of North and South America) on July 30, 1996.[43] Moreover, immediately after Iakovos's "retirement" but before the election of Archbishop Spyridon, the Patriarchate had proceeded to dismember the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, ambiguously stating, "out of pastoral concern for the faithful," into four ecclesiastical bodies: the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, the Metropolis of Toronto and All Canada, the Metropolis of Panama and Central America, and the Metropolis of Buenos Aires and South America.[44] Iakovos, now essentially powerless, vehemently opposed the fragmentation

of the Archdiocese of North and South America.[45] Perhaps there were genuine "pastoral concerns" that prompted the Patriarchate's decision to fragment Iakovos's Archdiocese; however, many Greek American clergymen suspected that the Patriarchate decided to deprive future archbishops of the immense power and influence that Iakovos had possessed for almost four decades.[46] In December of 2002, the Patriarchate proceeded a step further by decentralizing the administrative authority of the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of America by elevating the bishops of the Archdiocese to the status of Metropolitan-bishops. The move made the new Metropolitan-bishops answerable to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and not to the Greek American Archbishop as was the case with Iakovos and his predecessors.[47]

Iakovos acclimated to retirement by keeping busy working on his memoirs, and when his health permitted, he tended his garden, entertained visitors at his home, kept abreast of news and current events on television, and avidly followed the Boston Red Sox baseball team. He enjoyed public television and classical music, and he loved reading the Bible, literature, poetry, classical Greek drama (especially Euripides), and theological and philosophical books.[48] Iakovos loved Plato and called him "the First Philosopher Activist."[49] On Sundays and major feast days, he would sit inconspicuously in the altar for worship services at the Greek Orthodox Church of Our Savior in Rye, New York. In an interview with a *New York Times* reporter, he said, "I will not remain still, or I will die. I will use the time I have left to further my ecumenical work. I will elucidate the positions of the Orthodox Church in America. It must be an active church and an activist church because the world today needs to be rearranged."[50] Iakovos granted two significant interviews during his retirement: one to Greek journalist, George Malouchos in 2003,[51] and the other to Martin Luther King Jr. biographer Taylor Branch,[52] who in his third volume of King's

biography—*At Canaan's Edge*—titled chapter nine, "Wallace and the Archbishop," referring to Iakovos.[53]

Former Archbishop Iakovos made few public appearances during his retirement. In his ninetieth year, he witnessed the tragedy of September 11, 2001, perpetrated by terrorists on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and United Airlines Flight 93, which crashed in rural Pennsylvania. Shortly thereafter, he participated in a memorial service with the current Greek Orthodox Archbishop of America, Demetrios, at Ground Zero. Iakovos's health continued to decline. Although his breathing was laborious and his speech weak and slightly slurred, his mind remained sharp. In April of 2005, he was admitted to a hospital in Stamford, Connecticut, where he died peacefully on April 10, 2005, at the age of 93.[54] Archbishop Demetrios of America presided over the funeral service on April 14 at the Archdiocesan Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in New York City. The following day, Archbishop Iakovos was interred on the grounds of his beloved Hellenic College Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Seminary in Brookline, Massachusetts.[55]

Each year on the anniversary of his death, the over five hundred Greek Orthodox parishes of the Archdiocese conduct a solemn memorial service for the late Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes honoring him as a champion of freedom, human dignity, and human rights. Moreover, they also remember him on the third Monday of January in association with the man and the movement that raised the ideal of equal civil rights in the American mind and because of Archbishop Iakovos's presence in Selma collaterally elevated Orthodox Christianity as the fourth major faith in America. May the memories and dreams of Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Archbishop Iakovos be eternal.

[1] In October of 1987, Iakovos wrote in one of his encyclicals, "Both the ancient and modern Greeks, chosen as special vessels by God because of their bravery, their daring, and their readiness, resisted rather than retreated, challenged rather than submitted, fought to the point of immolation for their liberty rather than lay down their arms…. Struggles for freedom, justice, and peace find fulfillment especially in those places where present day Greeks still raise their voices in inaudible sighs and in fervent prayer. October 26 and 28 celebrations of resistance for the Church and for our people who will always fight, never compromising with those who intend to change us religiously and culturally." Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 2, 1978–1996*, vol. 3, 6 vols., The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2001), 3:169–171.
[2] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 3:287.
[3] The Archdiocese celebrates Greek Letters Day annually on January 30 on the feast of The Three Hierarchs—Sts. Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chyrsostom. These three famous saints of the Christian church were among the first to blend classical Greek philosophy and the revealed teachings of the Bible to articulate the early dogmas and doctrines of Christianity.
[4] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 3:295–296.
[5] Coucouzes, 3:166.
[6] Coucouzes, 3:166.
[7] Coucouzes, 3:167.
[8] Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1970): 100–203; Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 66–70.
[9] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations for a Living Church: Addresses to Clergy-Laity Congresses 1960–1996*, vol. 1, 6 vols., The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998), 1:262.
[10] Coucouzes, 1:264–265.
[11] In his book, *Let Mercy Abound*, *Fr*. Stanley Harakas quotes a statement that the Archdiocese's Office of Social Concerns issued during the 1970 Archdiocese Clergy-Laity Congress held in New York City. It reads, "The civil rights movement of the 1960s brought to the attention of the nation, in dramatic fashion, the many forms of overt and hidden racial discrimination that exist in American society. While all of us have been impoverished spiritually by this stigma upon our nation, minority groups of color such as the Blacks, the American Indians, and the Mexican Americans have borne the brunt of this malady.

"Acutely aware of the racial problems in our nation, Archbishop Iakovos notes in his opening speech to the Twentieth Clergy-Laity Congress that "our contribution to the abolishment of racial segregation and on behalf of social justice, are of a most imperative nature…our Church…has never restricted its love and philanthropy from those 'outside its fold'." We fully concur with this observation. A divided nation, with entrenched racial hostilities, contradicts the Christian gospel that preaches a oneness and unity among people in which there is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female.

"In recent years, gains have been made in the United States destined to improve race relations, especially in our legislatures and courts. We applaud these gains and call upon all faithful Greek Orthodox Christians to support these achievements morally and in practice. However, we also recognize that there is still much ground to be covered. Housing patterns of discrimination in the Black ghettos and white suburbs still persist in many pockets of the nation. The poverty subsistence of numerous Mexican American migrant workers is but a product of traditional discriminatory employment practices. The plight of the American Indians on primitive reservations living in abject poverty and hunger, with poor educational opportunities, reflects another tragic result of racial discrimination.

"We call upon the Greek Orthodox Christians to use their fullest resources in the struggle for human justice for all people, regardless of race, creed, or color. Specifically, we make these suggestions for social action:

"That Orthodox Christians become involved in neighborhood organizations, which welcome minority people into their neighborhoods and try to promote racial harmony.

"That Orthodox encourage greater contacts between Orthodox Christians and Christians of other racial groups in an effort to increase better understanding.

"That Orthodox enter into local projects designed to improve race relations through the tutoring of disadvantaged persons, by helping them help themselves, and through similar programs with like purpose.

"That Orthodox urge governmental leaders to support legislative measures designed to support and promote racial equality.

"We deplore violence as a means of achieving racial harmony and encourage all Greek Orthodox Christians to avoid the extreme groups of both the Right and Left, which advocate violent measures.

"We believe that in today's affluent and technological society, it is possible to make our world socially hospitable for all men while simultaneously promoting Christ's gospel of spiritual rebirth. Finally, we affirm our Church's teaching on the supreme value and worth of every human being in God's sight. Christ died for all men and displayed equal concern for the welfare of every person…beginning in this life and in this world. These are the same ideals we of the Greek Orthodox Church in America aspire to live out in the last third of the twentieth century." Stanley Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound: Social Concern in the Greek Orthodox Church* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1983), 127–128;

During the 1972 Archdiocese Clergy-Laity Congress held in Houston, Texas, the Archdiocese's Office of Social Concerns issued the following statement and suggestions to the congress:

"Our contribution to the abolishment of racial segregation and on behalf of social justice, is of a most imperative nature. We heartily reaffirm this age-old position of the Orthodox Church. We call upon all Greek Orthodox Christians to devote themselves to the task of eliminating racial discrimination from our society, in all its insidious forms.

"Social movements of recent years indicate that Americans of goodwill are ready and eager to support efforts, which will assure equal education, equal employment, open housing, and equal opportunities for human development for people who have been denied them in the past. The conscience of America can no longer tolerate injustices registered against others simply because their skin pigmentation happens to be something other than white. Racial hatred and prejudice, expressed most overtly in the past against the American Indians, the Blacks and the Chicanos contradicts the Christian Gospel of love, which proclaims that in Jesus Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female.

"We applaud the gains achieved in race relations in recent years and call upon all Orthodox Christians to support them both morally and in practice. We acknowledge that the battle to conquer racial discrimination on a national scale, through changed attitudes and concrete social action, has just begun. It must continue. Specific problems needful of our attention, prayers, and actions are:

"American Indians still living at a poverty level on reservations that offer little or no opportunities for an improved life.

"Black Americans still oppressed by a high degree of unemployment and underemployment, ghetto housing, and inferior education.

"Brown Americans who frequently receive starvation wages for hard and long physical labor (for example, migrant workers), and who are still subjected to the same patterns of discrimination perpetuated for so long against Blacks.

"We recommend the following course of action by Greek Orthodox Christians to correct these wrongs:

"Promote local study and action groups in the parish that will foster maximum understanding among different races. In other words, cultivating Christ-centered hearts. Contacting and encouraging government officials at all levels to support and enforce measures of legislation that guarantee equal opportunities to every American, regardless of color. In other words, creating a Christian style of just laws.

"These two ideals, the sensitive heart and the just law, spring out of our Orthodox Christian heritage. They can in practice, make America a hospitable society for all people despite the accident of color, which God has given them.

"We pledge ourselves, as Greek Orthodox Christians trying to live in obedience to the Gospel of love, to pray and work for racial harmony, understanding, and equal treatment in every dimension of living. The time for racial discrimination has ended. The time for brotherhood has come." Stanley Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound: Social Concern in the Greek Orthodox Church* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1983), 136–137;

During the 1978 Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress in Detroit, the Archdiocese's Office of Social Concerns issued the following Statement on Human Rights, which the delegates unanimously approved:

"Man has been created by God according to His own image and likeness, has been graced with a grace second only to that of the angels themselves (Hebrews 2:7), has been adorned with a crown of glory and honor for the purpose of becoming a power of divine intent to be entrusted with ministering to those who are to inherit salvation (Hebrews 2:7), and finally, he has been redeemed by Christ at the price of His own life (I Corinthians 7:23).

"Our Church believes man to have a right of divine love, a love tht derives from the supreme sacrifice of Christ Himself. It also believes and teaches that the right of love that God has granted to men, man cannot deny to his fellow man.

"These divinely inherent human rights include some such life situations and states of personal being as:

"Freedom on all domains of human thought and expression, including political ideologies and life.

"Intrinsic respect for the divine element in man that results in everyday experience in the state of self-respect and esteem by others.

"Self-respect, which in turn is the result of social justice and recognition on the part of governments of those elements in man that render him divine in the course of his finite experience and within his particular social setting.

"Equal access for all to the right to vote, to be voted upon, and to assume a share of the government, of public experience and life.

"Equal opportunity for all to become educated, to be offered employment, and to pursue in freedom, according to personal value and worth, their advancement in work and society; thereby, the abolishment of special privileges and rights usurped by those in economic, or any other type of power, at the expense of the weak, the poor, the semi-developed, the minorities, or the members of cultures other than themselves.

"None of the above rights can be taken away from man. It is in support of this postulate, which issues from no less authority than that of the divine endowment of man, that this Clergy-Laity Congress deplores and protests the occasions when human rights are ignored or set aside for political expediency, however pressing this expediency may appear to be at times.

"We further offer our unreserved support to our President, who has courageously and strongly demanded from the governments of all nations respect for human rights. And we urge him not to allow the sacred cause of human rights to be belittled, lessened in significance, or pushed aside by expediency or by those whose personal interests and lack of respect for the divine image in man dictate against human rights becoming the symbol and signal of a social order truly civilized and conducting its temporal experiences under God the Father." Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound*, 153–154;

At the 1980 Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress in Atlanta, the report of the Social and Moral Issues Committee offered the following Resolutions on Human and Religious Rights, which the congress approved and sent to the Ecumenical Patriarchate for ratification:

"WHEREAS, the twenty-fifth Biennial Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America has convened in the great city of Atlanta, Georgia where AHEPA was founded by a courageous group of pioneer Greek Americans as an effective instrument in the never-ending fight against bigotry and discrimination and 'where the sermon for equal political and civil rights was heralded with the might of a lightning bolt by the martyred preacher, Martin Luther King,' and

"WHEREAS, the Orthodox Church believes and teaches that every human being, without exception, has received from God the inalienable right to freely practice his religious beliefs and tenets; and

"WHEREAS, the United States of America has achieved its preeminent position among nations of the world through its respect for certain fundamental and divinely inherent human rights as exemplified by the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution; and:

"WHEREAS, the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the European Commission on Human Rights, the Helsinki Accord, and other internationally accepted documents recognize the basic human rights of all people; and:

"WHEREAS, human rights consist of those conditions of life that allow us fully to develop and use our human qualities of intelligence and conscience to their fullest extent, and to satisfy our spiritual, social, and political needs, including freedom of expression, freedom from fear, harassment, intimidation, and discrimination and freedom to participate in the functions of government and to have the guarantee of the equal protection of law, and:

"WHEREAS, the policies and actions of certain governments of the world, whether through hypocritically subtle means or overt manifestations of systematic repression, have violated these basic human rights; and

"WHEREAS, it is a shame and stigma for twentieth century civilization that there are nations which, through insecurity resort to practices of the dark ages by holding hostages and that there are ruthless regimes which, by imposing indescribable suffering upon minorities living within their borders, force them to abandon their ancestral homes, which declare free citizens *persona non grata*, which forcibly prevent free emigration of citizens seeking to leave, and which ostracize some as political exiles; and

"WHEREAS, it is the moral and social responsibility and obligation of the free and democratic nations of this world to not only condemn and disavow such violations wherever they occur, but to take such affirmative steps as will restore realization of these inherent rights and a true respect thereof,

"NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Twenty-fifth Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America that we call upon totalitarian and oppressive regimes to restore respect for the rights and dignity of the individual and to insure the free and unhindered exercise of these vital rights by all citizens, regardless of racial or ethnic origin, or political or religious espousal; and:

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we call upon all free and democratic governments of the world, and in particular the United States of America, to exercise their moral and political responsibilities for the preservation of human rights by adoption of clear, concise, and consistent policies, both domestic and foreign, reflective of these fundamental human rights." Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound*, 153–156;

At the twenty-ninth Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress convened in Boston from July 3 to July 8, 1988, the delegates adopted the following Resolution on Political and Racial Justice in the World:

"WHEREAS, our Holy Church teaches that all men and women are created equal regardless of race, ethnicity, or social rank and that all men and women share one common human nature and are thereby endowed with certain basic human rights.

"WHEREAS, these human rights consist of those conditions of life that allow persons to fully develop their potential and to use their human qualities of intelligence and conscience to satisfy their spiritual, social, and political needs. These include the freedom of expression, freedom from fear, from harassment, from terrorism, and from discrimination.

"WHEREAS, the policies and actions of certain governments of the world, whether through hypocritically subtle means or overt manifestations of systematic repression, have violated these basic human rights and,

"WHEREAS, it is a shame and stigma for twentieth century civilization that there are nations which, resort to practices of the dark ages by holding hostages, engaging in or supporting terrorism, and by imposing indescribable suffering upon minorities or majorities living within their borders. Such nations force persons to abandon their ancestral homes, declare free citizens *persona non grata*, prevent free emigration of citizens seeking to leave, and ostracize some as political exiles.

"WHEREAS, it is our moral and social responsibility and the obligation of the free and democratic nations of this world to not only condemn and disavow such violations wherever they occur, but to take such affirmative steps as will obtain the realization of these inherent rights and a true respect thereof.

"BE IT RESOLVED, that we call upon totalitarian and oppressive regimes to respect the rights and dignity of the individual and all persons and to ensure the free and unhindered exercise of basic human rights by all persons, regardless of racial or ethnic origin, or political or religious affiliation, and

"We call upon all free democratic governments of the world, and in particular the United States of America, to exercise their moral and political responsibilities for the preservation of human rights by the adoption and pursuit of clear and consistent polices, both domestic and foreign, reflective of these fundamental human rights." Resolution on Political and Racial Justice in the World of the Twenty-ninth Biennial Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress, July 8, 1988, box E24, folder XX, Archbishop Iakovos, Papers, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[12] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 3:176.

[13] Speros Vryonis, *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6–7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul* (New York: Greekworks.com, 2005).

[14] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 3:319–320.

[15] Coucouzes, 3:321.

[16] Coucouzes, 3:322.

[17] Coucouzes, 3:190.

[18] Coucouzes, 3:382.

[19] Coucouzes, 3:200.

[20] "SCOBA Resources," Assembly of Canonical Orthodox Bishops of the United States of America, accessed January 11, 2018, http://www.assemblyofbishops.org/about/scobaresources/.

[21] "Ligonier 1994 Orthodox Bishops Conference," YouTube, accessed January 11, 2018, http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL1A8E785BDE9A776D.

[22] "PANORTHODOX BISHOPS' Statements ON THE CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA & MISSION AND EVANGELISM (1994 Conference -Ligonier, PA) | Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese," Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, accessed January 11, 2018, http://www.antiochian.org/1040.

[23] Larry Witham, "Single-Church Bid in N. America Hits Greek Hurdle; Patriarch Demands Retraction," *Washington Times*, January 19, 1995, Final edition, sec. Part A, CULTURE, ET CETERA.

[24] Witham.

[25] Press Release of the Ecumenical Patriarchate: Patriarchate Responds to Ligonier Meeting, January 31, 1995, archives, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, New York.

[26] As a priest of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese at the time, the author of this dissertation anecdotally makes this citation based on his memory of many informal discussions he had with other Archdiocesan priests at local clergy meetings, at the 1996 Archdiocesan Clergy-Laity Congress, and in subsequent conversations whenever the issue arose. Moreover, the author states, contrary to the suspicions and rumors of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the time, that he and the priests with whom he had conversed believed that Archbishop Iakovos aspired to establish an independent American Orthodox Church in the United States especially at a time in his life when he was in his mid-eighties. However, the author has found no evidence to either prove or disprove his claim.

[27] Witham, "Single-Church Bid in N. America Hits Greek Hurdle; Patriarch Demands Retraction," A2.

[28] Peter Steinfels, "As Leader Prepares to Leave, a Church Struggles to Keep Its Independence," *New York Times*, November 12, 1995.
[29] Steinfels.
[30] "Orthodox Church Caught by Surprise; Longtime Leader in U.S. to Step Down," *Chicago Tribune*, August 25, 1995; Steinfels, "As Leader Prepares to Leave, a Church Struggles to Keep Its Independence."
[31] "Orthodox Church Caught by Surprise; Longtime Leader in U.S. to Step Down."
[32] Steinfels, "As Leader Prepares to Leave, a Church Struggles to Keep Its Independence."
[33] "Leader of Orthodox Church to Retire: Ecumenism: Archbishop Geron Iakovos, 84, a Leader in Ecumenical Movement, Will Step down next Summer after 36 Years. His Departure Is Called the End of an Era for the Greek Church in America," *Los Angeles Times*, August 26, 1995; Steinfels, "As Leader Prepares to Leave, a Church Struggles to Keep Its Independence."
[34] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 3:206.
[35] Kevin Sack, "Links Sought in an 'Epidemic of Terror,'" *New York Times*, May 21, 1996.
[36] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, disc 7, track 6.
[37] "Archbishop Iakovos Talks About Church Bombings in the South," June 1996, accessed February 23, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dj8_NcgFe-g.
[38] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer,* 3:394.
[39] Coucouzes, 3:394.
[40] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:281–287.
[41] See Nikki Stephanopoulos, ed., *Iakovos: The Making of an Archbishop* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1996).
[42] "Farewell Remarks of Archbishop Iakovos Upon His Retirement in 1996 - Former Archbishop Articles - Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America," Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, accessed January 13, 2018, https://www.goarch.org/-/farewell-remarks-of-archbishop-iakovos-upon-his-retirement-in-1996?inheritRedirect=true&redirect=%2Farchbishop-iakovos.
[43] "Archbishop Spyridon - Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America," accessed March 31, 2018, https://www.goarch.org/archbishop-spyridon.
[44] "1996 Special Regulations and Uniform Parish Regulations - Official Documents - Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America," accessed March 31, 2018, https://www.goarch.org/-/1996-special-regulations-and-uniform-parish-regulations-of-the-greek-orthodox-archdiocese-of-america.
[45] Taylor Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos, January 24, 2002, collection 5047, series 4, box 91, Archbishop Iakovos, Taylor Branch Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
[46] There is no factual evidence for this suspicion among the Greek American clergymen; although the suspicion appears logical, the evidence is anectodal and reflects informal conversations and hearsay that I heard during the 1996 Clergy-Laity Congress and subsequent congresses.
[47] George C. Michalopulos, "The Role of Metropolitan and Its Relationship within the Episcopate: A Reappraisal — Monomakhos," accessed March 31, 2018, http://www.monomakhos.com/essay-bin/the-role-of-metropolitan-and-its-relationship-within-the-episcopate-a-reappraisal/.
[48] Charles, "A Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," 193–198.
[49] Charles, 197.

[50] Richard Severo, "Archbishop Iakovos, Major Ecumenical Force, Dies," *The New York Times*, April 12, 2005.
[51] Malouchos, *Conversations with Iakovos*, CD, 7 vols., I, Iakovos (Athens, Greece: SKAI Records, 2003).
[52] For an audio recording of Taylor Branch's interview of January 2002 refer to Taylor Branch, Interview with Archbishop Iakovos, January 24, 2002, collection 5047, series 4, box 91, Archbishop Iakovos, Taylor Branch Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
[53] Taylor Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965–68* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 94.
[54] Severo, "Archbishop Iakovos, Major Ecumenical Force, Dies."
[55] "2005 Funeral Service for Archbishop Iakovos, Former Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America," YouTube, accessed January 14, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XM1YCmpm940.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

This dissertation consisted of a biography of Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America from 1959 to 1996, and the role he played in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, his continuing advocacy for human rights, and his vision for a humanistically Greek, theologically Orthodox Christian, and socially just society. The fundamental research question that I sought to answer was why Archbishop Iakovos went to Selma in March of 1965 and participated in a memorial service/civil rights demonstration. What were the influences and circumstances that prompted him, a religious leader of an almost exclusively white ethnic church, to join the African American civil rights movement in the 1960s and to continue to advocate for human rights until his death in April 2005? How did Iakovos's identity as a Greek émigré from Turkey, an immigrant to America, and later a United States citizen evolve, and how did he seek to transform the identity of Greek Americans to accomplish his goal of social justice for society?

As the leading prelate of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Western Hemisphere, Archbishop Iakovos's primary responsibility lay in the governance of his archdiocese. Like his predecessors and other contemporary Orthodox hierarchs, he could have utilized his time and energy to focus solely on ecclesiastical matters and ethnic concerns, but he did not. Instead, he desired to break down the Greek American community's parochialism and elevate the status of his Church as the fourth major faith in America. At the beginning of his tenure, the most critical issue at the time was race relations and the civil rights movement. The matter of race relations provided an ideal framework for Iakovos to utilize his cultural background to contribute to the race relations and human rights discourse of the early 1960s and beyond.

I argue that at least four foundational influences dialectically interacted with Archbishop Iakovos's evolving identity from émigré to immigrant to United States citizen to citizen of the world, which prompted his civil and human rights activism and contributed to his ultimate vision of a socially just society and world. These four influences were his conviction to the classical Greek ideals of freedom, reason, the pursuit of truth, justice, and equality; his Orthodox Christian belief in the inherent, divinely bestowed dignity that each human being possesses; the history of an oppressed Greek people and discriminated Greek American immigrants; and his personal experience of bigotry and religious persecution growing up in Turkey.

One of the earliest components of his culture and significant influences on Iakovos was Greek philosophy, a discipline that questions everything and seeks rational explanations from empirical evidence in its critical pursuit of truth and knowledge. Unlike their non-Greek contemporaries who relied on myths and superstition, the Greeks were among the first to question everything they encountered and sought rational explanations from empirical evidence and critical thinking in their persistent pursuit of learning. They first sought to understand the natural world by making it an object of rational thought and public debate. Shortly thereafter, they turned their method of reasoning to abstract concepts such as freedom, the Good, justice, ethics, and beauty. They also utilized reason to understand more practical applications such as the nature of the human person, the best form of communal life in the city-state (i.e., πόλις, the *polis*) and its best form of government. As the Greeks sought to improve life and government of the *polis*, understanding words such as freedom, justice, equality, and morality became indispensable for communal life—especially within a democracy—that gave birth to the art and science of "politics."

Like their ancient Greek ancestors, Iakovos advised Greek American college students that they should study any issue by placing it in the center of public debate (i.e., to objectify it); question

it dialectically (i.e., in Socratic fashion), dispassionately, and peacefully. They should seek to understand it utilizing their God-given reason and the age-old principles of freedom, justice, morality, human dignity, and the common good. While he recommended appeals to history and tradition along with critical inquiry and rational discourse, he believed that no subject lay beyond the realm of the Greek Orthodox Church. As Ware states, "An Orthodox thinker must see Tradition from within, he must enter into its inner spirit, he must re-experience the meaning of Tradition in a manner that is exploratory, courageous, and full of imaginative creativity."[1]

Much like his inquisitive ancestors, Iakovos possessed an unquenchable thirst for knowledge that he retained well into his nineties. Compelled primarily by Plato's metaphysical and moral philosophy,[2] the future archbishop often strived to expand his understanding of personal and societal ills and injustices and sought to re-contextualize them towards pragmatic solutions. Surprisingly, he was free-thinking and unopposed to confronting tradition if he believed it right, a rarity for one expected to personify the rituals and conventions of his ethno-religious group when he became an archbishop. Unquestionably, Iakovos's most prized philosophical acquisition was the conception of freedom as the supreme human ideal about which he wrote prolifically as this dissertation attests. Without freedom, freedom to think, choose, and act, human beings become slaves contradicting Protagoras's ancient aphorism that "Man is the measure of all things."[3]

Iakovos's Greek culture appealed not only to the intellect but to human emotions and the heart. Even by the twentieth century and after hundreds of years of Turkish and Islamic domination, Iakovos's Imbros remained a land permeated in Greek myth, mythological deities, and heroes whose stories lived on the lips of the elderly and in the ears of the young. Iakovos said, "The most precious invention of the old Greeks…is the myth. The essence of Greek mythology is the recognition of the [divinity] of nature. Clearly, mythology still has a voice."[4] Homer's Achilles,

Hector, and Odysseus were not unknown or shadowy figures of a distant past, but autochthonous ancestors that Greek children emulated and impersonated in their games. Since childhood, Iakovos's favorite hero was Homer's Achilles as he once stated, "[Achilles was] a praiseworthy hero for his lion-hearted leadership, his concern for his compatriots away from home and his enduring efforts…to make peace between nations."[5] His favorite Olympian gods were Athena and Apollo. He said, "I have always admired Athena, the goddess of wisdom, for paving the way for patrons of the arts…. As for Apollo…god of the sun, medicine, music, poetry, and the arts…he was the first to encourage the practice of migration. But above all, Apollo was the moral teacher of man."[6]

The plays of the classical tragedians endured the centuries in the original "Archipelago," the Aegean. Sophocles' *Oedipus* and *Antigone* or Euripides' *Medea* and *The Trojan Women* remained relevant to adults and adolescents alike because their tales were cathartic and their morals timeless and thus always contemporary. For the inventors of drama and the tragedy, the theatre was never only a place of entertainment. On the contrary, for the Greeks, theatre-going was a religious experience. It created a liminal space where reality and fiction coalesced. Here, actors drew their audience's misery from their souls and joined it with the inexplicable suffering of a King Oedipus who murdered his father, horrifyingly married his mother, and begat five children with her, one of which was the tragic heroine Antigone—the first recorded female political activist. Seeing the suffering of the tragedy's characters seemed to assuage the onlookers' afflictions, thereby creating a catharsis (i.e., an inner spiritual or emotional cleansing), a uniquely religious experience for its audience. The Greek tragedies, unlike its celebrated epic poetry and acclaimed philosophy, penetrated the deepest recesses of the labyrinthine human soul.

Of the tragedians, Iakovos gravitated towards Euripides. Unlike the other classical Athenian playwrights whose protagonists were men, Euripides's extant tragedies featured women as its suffering heroines who rose above the gender constraints of their time and imparted moral lessons to their audience when the injustices of unrighteous men prevailed. Iakovos's favorite play was Euripides's *The Trojan Women*, because it was, as Iakovos said, "the greatest anti-war play ever written. The imploration of Euripides, in which we all share, can only be lulled into harmony when the spirit of compassion, patience, and…brotherhood penetrates the hearts of all men, for all time, and becomes a reality."[7] Undoubtedly, Greek philosophy, mythology, epic poetry, and drama embedded themselves in the culture that surrounded Iakovos in his youth and proved indispensable to his intellect and emotions throughout his life.

Iakovos's Imbros absorbed Christianity since its inception as myriad churches, chapels, and shrines of saints and martyrs that dot the tiny island attest. Here, as in other historically Greek lands, Hellenism and Christianity merged to form the Greek or Eastern Orthodox Christian faith, a faith that historically traces its origin to Jesus Christ and the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. Orthodox Christianity inherited from Greek philosophy the eternal and critical quest for truth using divine revelation and the uniquely human characteristic of reason. Orthodoxy utilized the language and humanistic ethics and morality of Greek philosophy and tragedy with the divine revelations of the Bible to articulate its beliefs concerning the Trinitarian God, human beings, and the communal relationship they have with God and one another. As Iakovos stated, "Orthodoxy is not simply a faith but a perspective and way of life,"[8] and "Orthodoxy [is] not only…a system of dogmatic teachings, but also a spiritual and moral power capable of monitoring our thoughts and deeds in our everyday life."[9]

The aspect of Orthodox Christianity that appealed most to Iakovos was the immense value it placed on the human person because it professed that unlike any other created being, God made all human beings in His image and likeness. Since humanity alone possesses the image of God, the Church Fathers professed that God endowed all human beings with characteristics of His divinity by grace, which include freedom (i.e., free will), reason, dignity, love, and an inclination towards seeking truth, the good, equality, unity, and justice (or righteousness). Iakovos reminded his flock that "our passions and imperfections are part of our second nature not our first. The first nature was created in the image and likeness of God."[10] Orthodoxy taught Iakovos that all these divine attributes reside in the soul and comprise the natural state of humanity because God is present in the souls of all human beings. As the Apostle John writes, "You are of God…for He who is in you is greater than he who is in the world," (1 John 4:4). Moreover, St. John Chrysostom amplifies the apostle's dictum by saying, "God is glad to dwell in man rather than in heaven."[11]

However, Orthodoxy also teaches that the reality of sin distorts these divine attributes and thereby the image of God within human beings. In this case, truth surrenders to falsehood, evil may overcome the good, the irrational overwhelms reason, lust disfigures love, and the results lead to a host of injustices including disunity, inequalities, and prejudices—even racism. Orthodoxy's "way of life" endeavors to return humanity to its original state before the fall of Adam and Eve by acquiring the Holy Spirit and the mind of Jesus Christ through daily prayer and repentance, studying the Holy Scriptures and writings of the saints, and participation in the sacramental life of the Church. Additionally, daily devotional practices when combined with the above seek to purify the human heart, as Jesus said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," (Matthew 5:8). Thus, the goal of Orthodoxy is vision and communion with God, what the Church calls *theosis* (i.e., literally, "vision of God").

Iakovos viewed humanity's disunity and inequalities, and society's social injustices of bigotry and discrimination as revelations of sin and alienation from God. Moreover, he re-contextualized the ills of the human condition into the spiritual realm of the Orthodox Church to gain new insights in understanding and addressing them. Iakovos instructed the religious educators of the Archdiocese "to provide a theological explanation and understanding of social and moral issues…to encounter life's problems and temptations with greater self-knowledge, courage, and determination."[12] Through the theological lens of Orthodoxy, Iakovos also understood human sin and societal injustices as opportunities for repentance by living in a continuous symbiotic state with God to heal the wounds of human sin and all societal aberrations, as he once stated, "For the Church, all human problems are spiritual problems."[13] Iakovos believed that Orthodox Christianity emphasizes the pursuit of peace, harmony, justice, and ultimately salvation; it begins with love—to love God with all of one's heart, mind, soul, and strength, and to love one another equally as much (Mark 12:30–31)—which ultimately heals all human and societal injustices.[14] As he wrote in one of his Easter encyclicals, "There are no barriers or walls of division among human beings anywhere in the world that cannot be torn down by an earthquake of love,"[15] and "We owe nothing as much as to love one another…fervently and wholeheartedly."[16]

Undoubtedly, the classical Greek ideals of seeking truth through reason, freedom, justice, and Orthodox Christianity's emphasis on the inherent dignity that each human being possesses were significant influences on Iakovos's life, ministry, and human rights activism. Additionally, the dissertation argues that Iakovos's knowledge of the Greek people's history of oppression under the Ottomans and his familiarity with the racial prejudices and discriminations perpetrated against Greek immigrants in the United States were a living past for him as was his personal experience of bigotry and religious persecution before migrating to the United States. The dissertation allotted

considerable space describing the Greeks' misery during the harsh four centuries of the *Turkocratia*, a subjugation that continues for the few remaining Turkish citizens of Greek descent today. Although Turkey had abolished slavery by the early twentieth century and had ended the practice of "child-collection" of their Christian subjects, the Turks continued to remind their Christian population that they are a conquered people, a foe with "infidel" status. Even after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey remained suspicious of any language, culture, or religion that was not Turkish; moreover, they continued the practice of confiscating church and private property belonging to Christians.

The era of the *Turkocratia* profoundly imprinted itself on the psyche of modern Greeks, including Iakovos, much like the residual effects of slavery and the Jim Crow laws had on African Americans, or the Armenian genocide of the First World War on the Armenians, or the Holocaust of the Second World War on the Jews. Along with classical Greek ideals and the Orthodox Christian faith, the *Turkocratia* had a significant effect on modern Greek identity and nationalistic coherency in Greece and Greek America.[17] Arguably, it was the prime historical catalyst that shaped an imagined identity and community for the Greeks in what Benedict Anderson articulated in his book *Imagined Communities*.[18] Iakovos feared for the assimilation of the Greeks in the multiethnic United States. He also utilized the remembrance of the *Turkocratia* to reinforce a sense of a greater Greek American identity, a Hellenic diasporic nationhood, an imagined community—so to speak—for the scattered Greek communities of his archdiocese as seen in his clergy-laity congress keynote speeches and Greek Independence Day encyclicals.[19] Iakovos often utilized what Van Wyck Brooks called "a usable past,"[20] an amalgamation of select legends and myths with history to inculcate a stronger sense of peoplehood in the Greek American Archdiocese.

Of particular interest to this dissertation was Iakovos's knowledge of the racial discrimination perpetrated against the early Greek immigrants that served as an additional influence on him that prompted his human and civil rights activism. The fourth influence on him was his own experience of religious persecution before his first migration to the United States in 1939 as described in chapter two. Thus, this dissertation argues that the four foundational influences dialectically interacted with Archbishop Iakovos's evolving identity, which prompted his civil and human rights activism.

Despite the racial and ethnic prejudices and discriminations prevalent throughout the United States in the early twentieth century, Iakovos had no intention of returning to Turkey or Europe; the United States was his new home. He enjoyed more freedoms and opportunities in America than he ever experienced in Turkey: freedom of religion, personal beliefs, and speech were among the essential ones to him. For Iakovos, identity meant much more than ethnicity, nationality, the color of one's skin, or other perceived racial markers of the time. In his case, Iakovos was born as a Greek Christian subject in the Islamic Ottoman Empire. Within a year of his birth, he became a resident of the Kingdom of Greece. At age twelve he became a Turkish national of Greek Christian descent within the new Republic of Turkey: in just over a decade of his birth, his nationality had changed three times; however, his identity consistently remained Greek and Christian Orthodox even after he obtained American citizenship in 1950.

Although Iakovos's nationality had changed several times in his life, the influences of the Greek ideals, Orthodox Christianity, and the history of oppression of the Greeks played a significant role in his self-ascribed identity; his experiences of religious persecution and discrimination by the Turks served only to reinforce his identity. For Iakovos, whiteness, race, ethnicity, or nationality—or for that matter gender and class— alone did not define the complexity

of human identity holistically: those were merely components of the universal identifier of humanness, a living being made in the image and likeness of God. In other words, Iakovos believed that humanity trumped all other identities or identifiers, and the United States' fixation on race, its respective essentialized stereotypes, and subsequent discriminations always seemed to perplex him because it ignored the inherent, God-given humanity of those considered as "others."[21] He experienced this racialization and discrimination against minorities in Turkey, and he witnessed it in the United States.[22]

In both the Old World and the New, racial and ethnic identity—whether self-ascribed or ascribed by those in power—had far-reaching effects and consequences on racial and ethnic minorities. In the United States of the early twentieth century, an immigrant's race determined entrance or rejection upon arrival; it dictated assimilability or unassimilability. Moreover, immigrants' racial or ethnic identity usually specified in what neighborhoods they could safely reside or what vocations were available to them. It also determined whether immigrants had a pathway to citizenship with accompanying rights and privileges, ambiguous resident status, or deportation.[23] For example, Roediger and Jacobson argued that white ethnics, such as the Greeks, accomplished their assimilation or acculturation by identifying themselves as white Americans in opposition to or at the expense of racial minorities.[24] For Archbishop Iakovos, this mode of thinking ran against his fundamental principles of Greek ideals, his religious beliefs, and his own experience of bigotry and discrimination. Moreover, he recognized many historical parallels between the plight of African Americans and other racial minorities in this country and that of the Greeks under the Turks both during the *Turkocratia* and contemporarily as in the case of the Asia Minor Greeks.

In one significant way, Turkey afforded more accessibility to rights and privileges for its citizenry than the United States. Turkish citizens—whether ethnic Turk, Greek, Armenian, Assyrian, Kurd, or Jewish—could gain more political rights and privileges or improve their social status by formally renouncing their respective religion and embracing Islam. This accessibility was not the case in the United States where whites ascribed racial identity and reinforced it through various prejudices and discriminatory actions at the border, in neighborhoods, and in the workplace. Moreover, once they conferred a person's or a group's racial identity, it was effectively irrevocable. Concerning white ethnics or "inbetween" peoples such as Greeks, Italians, and light-skinned Middle Easterners,[25] assimilation into mainstream white America either took longer, was probationary (i.e., fluctuated according to sociopolitical variables), or did not occur.[26] Greek immigrants to America quickly learned to navigate the hazards of the racialized society where they lived, worked, and raised their children. Both Saloutos and Moskos concurred that by the end of World War II, most Greek Americans had, for the most part, acculturated into the predominantly white American culture but not necessarily assimilated into its population.[27]

Five years after becoming an American citizen, Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I ordained Iakovos to the episcopacy and assigned him to represent the Patriarchate at the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Geneva, Switzerland. While with the WCC, Iakovos traveled extensively and crossed many borders, even visiting most of the nations behind the Iron Curtain.[28] In his capacity as a WCC representative, Iakovos found himself in the heart of the ecumenical movement where the unity of disparate Christian churches and peoples was its continual quest. Moreover, it sought dialogue and cooperative social action with all world religions. At the very least, as a unified Christian presence, they attempted to confront social and political injustices affecting people of all faiths and nations.

Wherever he traveled, Iakovos encountered not only different cultures and religions, but disparities in human rights such as political and personal freedoms, social injustices and inequalities, and various manners of discrimination, which he felt robbed the oppressed of their innate human dignity. Iakovos's beliefs in the wisdom of classical Greek ideals and Orthodox Christian teachings on humanity, along with his knowledge of the history of the Greeks, and his own experience of discrimination intensified his activism. The problems were enormous, and a divided Christendom was powerless to resolve them. Political oppression, racial prejudices, religious persecutions, and violations of human rights knew no borders. No nation was immune to the pandemic of those and other injustices. Orthodoxy taught Iakovos that the darkness of injustice that permeated any society was an outward manifestation of humanity's alienation from God. Iakovos's participation in the ecumenical movement vividly revealed to him what his Hellenic heritage and Church had taught from antiquity that the solutions to social injustices reside in the reason-endowed mind—according to the ancient Greeks—or in the heart of the righteous where God abides according to his Christian ancestors. As social ills permeated the world, so must the Christian message of love for God and one another. For Iakovos, the Christian message had to transcend borders, diffuse itself across nations, and ultimately penetrate the human heart.

Iakovos's involvement in the World Council of Churches and his approximately four decades as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of North and South America offered him a bird's-eye view of the social and political injustices of the world. Instead of viewing these injustices distinctly or in isolation to a particular people or country, he saw them as global realities that laws, governments, and nations alone could not resolve whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, or in the Americas. Although his citizenship changed several times in his lifetime, Iakovos must have contemplated its transient nature. After all, only a nation's government can confer or revoke

citizenship. Governments, laws, and nations may change or even cease to exist as had happened in his case, yet one's humanity remains. As a result, during his involvement in the WCC and long afterward, Iakovos seems to have embraced a universal citizenship with all humanity whose identity transcends race, gender, class, and nationality—a citizenship that exists in the world but not of the world, a citizenship of God's universal kingdom.

At heart, Iakovos was an ecumenist, a Christian seeking unity if not in doctrine, then certainly concerning sociopolitical injustices. He was a citizen of the world promoting peace among nations, but he did not relinquish his Greek identity nor disregard his American citizenship. He believed that the United States' ideals of freedom, justice, and equality descended from the ancient Greeks. He also believed that the United States, as an economic and military superpower, would defend and spread the ideals of freedom and democracy throughout the world. He was proud of his American citizenship and often spoke out against the atheistic aspect of communism and how it oppressed its citizens as much as any totalitarian regime. Iakovos, the fervent anticommunist, once said, "Nuclear war is nothing when compared with the ideological war atheism has waged against all who believe in God. For nuclear war can destroy the body, but not the soul."[29]

Although Iakovos was proud to be an American, he passionately appealed for the preservation and perpetuation of the Greek language, Greek Orthodox culture, and the Greek schools as his encyclicals, lectures, and keynote addresses reveal. However, his ardent support for Greek language and culture was not to maintain a Greek ethnic, immigrant identity to subsequent generations but to introduce to them—unimpeded by translations—what he believed was the noblest culture and intellectually advanced human society in history. For Iakovos, the Greeks introduced the discipline of reason in the search for the truth and defined—and valued—the

meanings of ideals such as freedom, justice, equality, and unity in their moral philosophy. Moreover, the authors of the New Testament and most early Christian writers articulated the Christian faith using the Greek language. Greek language and culture introduced or advanced the arts and sciences of human culture from astronomy to zoology and most everything in between. Iakovos passionately believed in the ennobling effect of classical Greek culture that sought excellence in the human pursuits of goodness and beauty. Addressing the youth at a banquet in 1961, Iakovos said, "Excellence [ἀρετή]…is a continuous effort toward progressive development and perfection of the individual."[30] Almost forty years later, he would say, "[The study of] Greek Letters…lead[s] us to the attainment of reviving and living those values that ennoble human nature…to reach the inner-self of the human…. [Unlike today where] more attention and preference is given to how to make life easier and more comfortable than how to enrich it with moral and spiritual sensitivity and responsibility…. The ancient Greeks were the first people in history to introduce the principles 'Know thyself' and 'Always excel.'"[31]

In Iakovos's mind, Hellenism had universal appeal, and anyone could be Greek by consent not necessarily by descent as Werner Sollors describes.[32] As the classical Greek rhetorician Isocrates famously said, "So far has Athens left the rest of mankind behind in thought and expression that her pupils have become the teachers of the world, and she has made the name of Hellas distinctive no longer of race but of intellect, and the title of Hellene, a badge of education rather than of common descent."[33] For Iakovos, being Greek was not a biological fact but a cultural ideal, a curious and constructive spirit that perpetually seeks truth, knowledge, justice, beauty, and goodness. Although many Greeks by descent (i.e., by blood) did not seek or manifest this eternal Hellenic spirit, he believed that consenting "Greeks" of all races and ethnicities were humanity's greatest protection against superstition, ignorance, and barbarism. His definition of what it meant

to be idealistically Greek explains why he insisted on the perpetuation of Greek language schools and why he continually lobbied the president and the United States Congress on behalf of the small nation of Greece and for Greeks throughout the world especially in Turkey, Cyprus, and Albania.

Likewise, Iakovos recognized that all world religions contained theological truths, but believed that the Orthodox faith possessed the fullness of truth. As anyone may consent to be Greek, Iakovos professed that all people, regardless of race, ethnicity, or class, could profess to be Orthodox. He found within Orthodoxy the perfect articulation of humanity's knowledge of self and its relationship with God and one another. True Orthodoxy, in his opinion, valued the human person regardless of race, gender, nationality, class, or other earthly designations as a being endowed with the image of God and the inherent dignity and respect that follow. For Iakovos, Orthodoxy's commandment to live one's life with equal love for God and other human beings revealed society's potential of living in a world where righteousness and harmony prevail. He fervently believed that God had established Orthodoxy in an America that protected religious freedom so that it could flourish by encompassing its multi-ethnic and religiously pluralistic citizenry.

The Greek lyric poet Pindar once said, "To begin a work, we must place in the forefront a man of radiant countenance."[34] People want their leaders to be pure, above reproach, perfect in every way; however, this way of thinking or believing is both naïve and unrealistic. Iakovos was neither pure nor perfect, but he did display admirable qualities in his compassion and hope for all people. Iakovos was a product of his time, culture, upbringing, and life experiences, but he was not restricted by them. He was a Greek nationalist and an American patriot but also imagined himself as a citizen of the world. He was an ardent adherer to his faith but an ecumenist in seeking to unify churches if not in doctrine then in social action. He prided himself as a torchbearer of his

Greek heritage, but he was also a visionary and an activist of social justice. He was empathetic to those who were denied human and civil rights but rarely risked his life for them.

Often, subaltern groups seek change through revolution, but those in power or among the powerful either keep the status quo or seek change gradually through evolution. Iakovos was not a revolutionary. He opposed revolution and even demonstrations and considered them as a means of last resort. The powerful forces of revolution, although sometimes effective, are unbridled and usually uncontrollable. They not only threaten human life and often destroy sociopolitical and economic infrastructures, but they may also result in anarchy, which is something Iakovos feared greatly. For this reason, he declined to appear in the March on Washington in August 1963. However, two years later, he participated in a civil rights demonstration in Selma, but his primary reason for going was to attend the memorial service for Reverend James Reeb and Jimmie Lee Jackson. Likewise, despite growing up within an oppressed minority group in Turkey, Iakovos opposed the inherently violent and revolutionary nature of liberation theology, which sought to liberate the poor by any means against the political, social, and economic oppression of their government as a means to salvation. He did not look favorably upon the South American variety of liberation theology on behalf of the poor that was based on class nor the emerging black theology's version that was based on race. Again, Iakovos was not a revolutionary.

Contrarily, Iakovos endeavored to initiate change from within the powers that be, especially in the hearts and minds of human beings. He preferred a changing of the heart and mind over revolutions and mass demonstrations. He believed—optimistically or perhaps naively—that the Greek ideals of freedom and justice could be transplanted, adapted, and embraced by all, along with the Orthodox teachings of human dignity and equality. Iakovos strived to change the

paradigm of ascribing an identity to one's self, group, or to others and sought to instill a sense of common humanity above any other identity—not through revolution but gradual evolution in time.

Historically, Iakovos recognized that in more modern times humanity seemed compelled to divide and fragment itself into smaller opposing groups. The age of revolution of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a rebellion against the age-old status quo of monarchy and multiethnic empires. The labor and communist movements of the latter nineteenth and twentieth centuries divided human beings between capitalists and laborers. After World War I, nationalistic identities seemed to trump all others as the number of nation-states multiplied significantly. After the African American civil rights movement, the US population splintered into ascribed identity factions and subgroups. Groups based on race, gender, class, and sexual orientation sought to claim minority legal status, protection, and equal rights.[35] Iakovos lamented the fragmentation of American society into groups such as women's rights, white ethnic rights, workers' rights, gay rights, and others. He strived to reverse the divisions that he saw occurring in American society by infusing it with the concept of a shared humanity and divinely bestowed dignity that all human beings possessed—regardless of race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, class, or religion.

Iakovos's understanding of human rights may have been limited, simplistic, and, perhaps, naïve. The twenty-first century is a different time, where a definition of human rights is broader or even different from Iakovos's era or what this dissertation argued as his solution for the advancement of human rights. Nevertheless, to understand Iakovos's beliefs in human and civil rights, we must begin with those things that influenced him most, the ancient Greek ideals, the Orthodox faith, history, and personal experience. He may not have agreed with or approved of particular beliefs, practices, or lifestyles of some identity groups. He was, for example, staunchly opposed to homosexuality as much as heterosexual promiscuity, considering them as sins.

Nonetheless, he acknowledged the universality of sin and that all sins were forgivable, that all people were a work in progress, and that as beings created in the image and likeness of God, he professed that all should be revered and enjoy equal civil rights and equal protection under the law. Iakovos believed in the sanctity of human life. He was against abortion but agreed that it should be a legal medical procedure, permitted when the life of the mother was in danger. He believed that no assumed or ascribed identity, belief, practice, or lifestyle should deprive anyone of their humanity and the associated human and civil rights that should accompany it. Iakovos taught that we can disagree with other people's beliefs and lifestyles but should never deny their humanity because of them. History and his personal experience of discrimination as a member of a subaltern group while growing up in Turkey revealed to him that we ought to focus our attention on our humanity, utilizing the ancient Greek ideals and the teachings of the Orthodox faith concerning human beings.

From his humble beginnings to his meteoric rise as a church leader of the most powerful nation of the world, during some of the most turbulent decades of its history, Iakovos in some ways remained unchanged and in others evolved considerably. He remained uncompromising to the Greek ideals of freedom, justice, and equality. He maintained the Orthodox Christian emphasis on love, human dignity, and the pursuit of unity all of which influenced his priesthood, ecumenism, and activism, as did his knowledge of Greek and American history and his experience of religious persecution and ethnic hostility. The dialectical interaction of these influences remained virtually unchanged in Iakovos's mind throughout his life. However, these influences certainly transfigured his identity from Turkish émigré of Greek descent to American citizen to a citizen of humanity and the world promoting peace, toleration, and unity among all peoples. The eternal ideals of classical Greece and Orthodox Christianity manifested themselves in him as he endeavored to raise

a racially and religiously diverse humanity to unity and to make humanity once again, as Protagoras said, "the measure of all things."

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[1] Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 198.
[2] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Paideia: Addresses to Young People*, vol. 4, The Complete Works of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2002), 132, 143; Julie Charles, "A Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 197.
[3] Jeffrey Henderson, "PLATO, Theaetetus | Loeb Classical Library," sec. 152, accessed December 31, 2016, http://www.loebclassics.com.proxy2.cl.msu.edu.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/view/plato_philosopher-theaetetus/1921/pb_LCL123.41.xml. Protagoras was a Greek sophist of the fifth century BC.
[4] Charles, "A Reflective Portrait of His Eminence," 197.
[5] Charles, 198.
[6] Charles, 197–198.
[7] Charles, 198.
[8] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations for a Living Church: Addresses to Clergy-Laity Congresses 1960–1996*, vol. 1, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998), 276.
[9] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 2, 1978–1996*, vol. 3, The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2001), 28.
[10] Coucouzes, 3:27.
[11] Costel Ciulinaru, "The Anthropology of the Holy Fathers," *The Scientific Journal of Humanistic Studies* 3, no. 4 (March 2011): 186.
[12] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:251–252.
[13] Coucouzes, 1:253.
[14] Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer*, 3:26.
[15] Coucouzes, 3:57–58.
[16] Coucouzes, 3:356.
[17] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, second (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 58–59, 72, 77.
[18] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Revised (New York: Verso, 2006).
[19] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:14, 68, 134; Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 1, 1959–1977*, vol. 2, 6 vols., The "Complete Works" of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of North and South America, 1959–1996 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross

Orthodox Press, 1999); Coucouzes, *The Torchbearer, Encyclicals: Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Subjects, Administration, Education, Culture, Part 2, 1978–1996*.
[20] Van Wyck Brooks, "On Creating a Usable Past," *The Dial*, 337–341, accessed February 2, 2018, http://www.archive.org/stream/dialjournallitcrit64chicrich#page/337/mode/1up.
[21] See Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (1969; Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1998); James R. Barrett and David Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 3–44; Robert Orsi, "The Religious Boundaries of an Inbetween People: Street Feste and the Problem of the Dark-Skinned Other in Italian Harlem, 1920–1990," *American Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (September 1992): 313–347; Gary Gerstle, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans," *The Journal of American History* 84, no. 2 (September 1997): 524–558; Kathleen Neils Conzen et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1992): 3–41; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White* (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).
[22] For an excellent book on the effects of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne on Greeks of Turkish descent and Turkish citizens of Greek descent and the population exchange, see Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions That Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
[23] Erika Lee, "Immigrants and Immigration Law: A State of the Field Assessment," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1999): 85–114; Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigrants and Immigration Policy Since 1882*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004); Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 2002); David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White* (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Linda K. Kerber, "The Stateless as the Citizen's Other: A View from the United States," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (February 1, 2007): 1–34, https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.112.1.1.
[24] David R Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*; Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*; Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*.
[25] James R. Barrett and David Roediger, "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 3–44; Robert Orsi, "The Religious Boundaries of an Inbetween People: Street Feste and the Problem of the Dark-Skinned Other in Italian Harlem, 1920–1990," *American Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (September 1992): 313–347.
[26] Yen Le Espiritou, "Race and U.S. Panethnic Formation," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Immigration and Ethnicity*, ed. Ronald H. Bayor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 213–231; Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics: The New Political Force of the Seventies* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972); David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (New York: Wesleyan University Press, 2011).
[27] Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States*, chap. 18; Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 142–147. For the distinction between assimilation and acculturation, see Milton M.

Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 60–83.
[28] Poulos, *Breath of God*, 103; *Conversations with Iakovos*, CD, I, Iakovos (Athens, Greece: SKAI Records, 2003), disc 5, track 9.
[29] Archbishop Iakovos Coucouzes, *Paideia*, 97; see also pages 44–47, 95–100, 106–112 for some of Iakovos's anticommunism remarks.
[30] Coucouzes, *Paideia*, 4:4.
[31] Coucouzes, 4:172.
[32] Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
[33] Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, trans. George Norlin (New York: OIA Press, 2015), kindle edition, location 179.
[34] Coucouzes, *Visions and Expectations*, 1:101.
[35] John D Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

EPILOGUE

Admittedly, the dissertation embarked upon a lengthy, peripatetic journey that began in the pre-classical world of the Aegean basin and touched upon the effects that Christianity and the *Turkocratia* had on the Greek world of Iakovos and his ancestors. I also concede that the tone of this dissertation as presented may appear more hagiographic than critical of Archbishop Iakovos. I can only assure the reader that the hagiographic tone reflects the extant or available sources utilized to write this dissertation rather than any bias or prejudice on the author's part. However, I should disclose that I had served as a priest under the late Archbishop Iakovos—albeit from a distance. I admit that scholars rarely know the historical agent of their inquiry, but I appreciate the access to archives and information that my position as a priest of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America afforded me. During the research phase of my dissertation, I immersed myself in Iakovos's homilies and encyclicals, some of which I vaguely remembered hearing read in church or at the seminary many years ago. Many of the Greek ideals, Orthodox Christians teachings, and descriptions of a typical Greek American community and its institutions resonated with me as I grew up in a similar environment and circumstances.

My older sister and I were the children of Greek immigrant parents living on the West Side of Detroit before moving to the suburbs in 1970. We lived our lives in and between two diametrically opposite social spheres. Outside our home we were Americans, speaking English, going to school, and enjoying extracurricular activities with our "American" friends. However, in church or at home, we heard and spoke almost exclusively Greek—except when with our "Greek" or "church" friends did we alternate between both languages. My sister and I—and most of our cousins—spoke Greek before we learned English. The priests conducted the church services in biblical Greek. After Sunday morning church services, the coffee hour took place in the church

hall. We would hear the more familiar modern Greek above the din of political discussions (read: shouting) or the more reticent gossiping but always in an atmosphere of cigarette smoke, strong coffee, and perfume. The church community always felt like a part of our extended family. And growing up Greek American in the 1960s and 1970s, the only archbishop we knew or ever heard of was Archbishop Iakovos in faraway New York City.

The first time I vaguely remembered seeing Archbishop Iakovos was on one of his visits to our church in the late 1960s. Although his photograph filled every issue of the Archdiocesan newspaper, *The Orthodox Observer*, I hadn't seen him again until I attended Hellenic College and Holy Cross Seminary in the mid-1980s. He would visit us several times a year for the Feast of the Holy Cross on September 14, the spring commencement ceremony, and at other times for board meetings or religious conferences. Occasionally, we would see him walking on campus, but he never seemed approachable as clergy, faculty, and visiting dignitaries always surrounded him. He would attend chapel services and address the seminarians from his episcopal throne. I remembered he had aged since the first time I saw him in the late 1960s. His speech fluctuated between a deep, resonant baritone at the beginning of a sentence and either maintained that tone or would ascend to a soft alto but always seemed authoritarian. We never saw him without his traditional clerical robes, pectoral medallion, black cylindrical hat (i.e., *kalimafion*) with veil, and bishop's walking staff. To me, he looked the same in person as he did in the famous *Life* magazine cover photo of him with Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.

A copy of that famous photo hung in one of the common areas of our dormitory at the seminary. Few—if any—of the seminarians knew anything of the story or the circumstances surrounding the picture. Whenever I noticed it, I often wondered why Archbishop Iakovos was standing next to Dr. King. Occasionally, I would ask some of my schoolmates if they knew, and

they would irreverently quip, "Sure, the old man was visiting one of our parishes down South and while walking to the church stumbled onto a parade of blacks and accidentally joined their march." Another satirical story I heard was that the archbishop had stopped to ask for directions or use of the restroom inside the building and when he came out, he found himself standing next to Martin Luther King when a photographer snapped the picture. There were other fictitious stories I remember hearing, but they were always suspect: they were affectionate attempts at humor rather than informative. In the end, none of us knew the truth, and I never inquired further and eventually forgot about it. Almost thirty years would pass before I would again encounter that famous photo.

When I graduated Hellenic College in 1987, the faculty had selected me to deliver the valedictory speech at the commencement ceremony. Protocol dictated that before and after the address, the speaker would proceed to the archbishop for a blessing. I ascended the stage and received Archbishop Iakovos's blessing to address the assembly. Shortly before concluding, I heard him from behind me say in a rather loud voice, "Bravo!" After the conclusion of my speech, I turned and proceeded to him again to kiss his hand. As I did, he looked at me and said, "Congratulations on your graduation from the college. When you finish the graduate school and are ready for ordination, come and see me." That was the first and only personal communication I ever had with him. I never followed up on his invitation; I was sure he had forgotten. Nevertheless, whenever I think back on my seminary years, I regret not meeting with Archbishop Iakovos and often ponder how different my life would have been.

During the summer of 1988, the summer before my last year at the seminary, I had married. In January of 1989, I was ordained a deacon. I shall always remember my first Divine Liturgy as a deacon at the seminary's Holy Cross Chapel. The night before was a sleepless night spent pouring over my pages of notes on how to serve the Divine Liturgy as a deacon. Earlier in the day, the dean

had informed me that the distinguished faculty member Bishop Demetrios of Vresthena (currently the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of America) would preside and that he and I would assist Bishop Demetrios during the Divine Liturgy. The dean concluded, "Bring your A-game tomorrow morning." The following morning, I had arrived at the chapel an hour early—to the sexton's surprise. He smiled and nodded approvingly, "You'll be fine," he said, "Is this your first Liturgy as a deacon?" "Yes," I said. "You'll never forget it," he retorted in a rather ominous way and proceeded in preparing the chapel for the morning service.

I assisted the bishop with his vesting. My hands shook. Bishop Demetrios was pleasantly calm and reassuring, sensing my nervousness. Before I followed him into the altar where the dean and other co-celebrating priests waited, Bishop Demetrios turned to me and said in a soft and paternal voice, "It is a good thing for a priest to tremble before the altar of the Lord. As a priest, never lose your fear and sense of awe before all that is sacred." His words were comforting but quickly forgotten as I stood to the right of the bishop in front of the altar table surrounded by almost a dozen priests. I tried to remember the reassuring words of the bishop, who obviously realized how nervous I was, but my mind kept rehearsing, over and over, all the things a deacon must say and do during the Divine Liturgy. Just before Bishop Demetrios was to exit the altar and ascend the episcopal throne for the start of the Liturgy, Archbishop Iakovos walked into the altar. All the clergy and a startled deacon lined up in single file to receive his blessing before initiating the service. Despite a couple of mistakes on my part, my first Divine Liturgy ended without incident, and I remembered thinking, "The sexton was right: I'll never forget this day."

I saw Archbishop Iakovos several times during my last semester at the seminary and on our senior trip to the Archdiocese and again at our commencement ceremony. After my ordination to the priesthood, I was assigned to a small church in Plymouth, Michigan where I remained for

fourteen years before my transfer to my current parish in St. Clair Shores, Michigan. From 1989 until 1996, I saw Archbishop Iakovos only at the biennial Archdiocesan clergy-laity congresses but always at a distance.

Almost twenty-five years after my ordination to the priesthood, I returned to graduate school to pursue doctoral studies in American history at Wayne State University. While in my first year of coursework, my advising professor, Dr. John Bukowczyk, inquired whether I had selected a dissertation topic. I had not and had no idea what to pursue as a subject. To my surprise, he asked me, "What do you know about that photograph of the Greek bishop and Martin Luther King Jr. from the 1960s?" "Nothing really, other than the Greek bishop was Archbishop Iakovos," I replied, "but I am aware of it." "Well, there's your dissertation," he concluded. After thirty years of wondering and for the last six years of countless hours researching and writing, I finally unearthed the real story behind that famous photograph. And I learned that it was just one small piece of a much larger story of Archbishop Iakovos, an unsung hero of human and civil rights, a priest worthy of emulation, a man who loved his Greek heritage, proud of his American citizenship, but he identified, served, and embraced all humanity as children of God.

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ABSTRACT

A QUEST FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS: ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS AND THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

by

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Advisor: Dr. John Bukowczyk

Major: History

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

This dissertation consists of a biography of Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America from 1959 to 1996, and the role he played in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, his continuing advocacy for human rights, and his vision for a humanistically Greek, theologically Orthodox Christian, and socially just society. The fundamental research question that I sought to answer was why Archbishop Iakovos went to Selma in March of 1965 and participated in a memorial service/civil rights demonstration. What were the influences and circumstances that prompted him, a religious leader of an almost exclusively white ethnic church, to join the African American civil rights movement in the 1960s and to continue to advocate for human rights until his demise in April 2005? How did Iakovos's identity as a Greek émigré from Turkey, an immigrant to America, and later a United States citizen evolve, and how did he seek to transform the identity of Greek Americans to accomplish his goal of social justice for society?

I argue that the four foundational influences dialectically interacted with Archbishop Iakovos's evolving identity from émigré to immigrant to United States citizen to citizen of the world, which prompted his civil and human rights activism and contributed to his ultimate vision

of a socially just society and world. These four influences were his conviction to the classical Greek ideals of freedom, reason, the pursuit of truth, justice, and equality, his Orthodox Christian belief in the inherent, divinely bestowed dignity that each human being possesses, the history of an oppressed Greek people and discriminated Greek American immigrants, and his personal experience of bigotry and religious persecution growing up in Turkey.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Michael Varlamos was born in Highland Park, Michigan on August 14, 1962, and grew up in Detroit and Livonia, Michigan. He graduated from Livonia Bentley High School in 1980 and pursued studies in electrical engineering at Schoolcraft College and Lawrence Institute of Technology. Before completing his engineering program, Michael decided to study theology at Hellenic College in Brookline, Massachusetts where he received several academic honors. He graduated in 1987 as valedictorian of his class with a bachelor of arts in religious studies and matriculated to Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology where he graduated with a master of divinity and high distinction in 1989. Shortly after graduation, Michael was ordained a Greek Orthodox priest and assigned to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary Church in Plymouth, Michigan where he served for over fourteen years. In 2003, he was transferred to the Assumption Church in St. Clair Shores, Michigan where he has served for fifteen years.

In 2007, Fr. Michael pursued his second master's degree at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, studying ancient Greek and Latin. He graduated in May of 2010 with a master of arts in classics. In 2012, he pursued a doctorate in American history at Wayne State University and achieved candidacy status in 2016. He anticipates completing his doctorate in 2018. Upon completing his studies, Fr. Michael plans to continue serving the Assumption Greek Orthodox Church and to teach history on a part-time basis at a university level. He also endeavors to his historical research and publish articles in academic journals.

Fr. Michael Varlamos and his wife Tina reside in Grosse Pointe Woods, Michigan and have been married for thirty years. They have four children, Nicholas, Olivia, Stavroula, and Panayiotis. They also have one granddaughter, Sophia, and anticipate a second grandchild in December 2018.