THE COMMUNITY OF INDIANAPOLIS: A MICROCOSM OF THE GREEK IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

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THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History in the Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1981

Urbana, Illinois
DEDICATED TO THE GREEK COMMUNITY OF

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
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Immigration was one of the significant keys to the development of the United States. The various peoples who settled and developed the United States were primarily Europeans. The initial immigrants to this country had come from northern and western Europe. By the late nineteenth century the pattern of immigration had shifted to southern and eastern Europe.

With this shift in pattern there developed a shift in attitude towards such immigrants. The latter arrivals were labeled as "new immigrants". Much that has been written about such immigrants and their children is of a limited and extremist nature. At one end of the spectrum, there exists the racist attacks of sociologists and anthropologists whom were interested in proving that the newer immigrants were genetically inferior "races" and thus an undesirable addition to the United States. If such people were allowed free entry to this country, the nativists argued, then a mongrelized population would develop here and America would retrogress into a primitive place. On the other hand, there are accounts written by members of the various ethnic groups themselves or by Americans sympathetic to them. The immigrant monographs were resentful, defensive statements written in response to the charges lodged by American nativist groups. The Greek experience in the United States falls within the above paradigm.

Except for a few accounts the Greeks have been written about in a derogatory, abusive manner. The social climate in America was periodically unfavorable to all foreigners through-
out its history. Part of the immigrants' problem was a matter of poor timing. The majority of Greek and other new immigrants arrived at a time when American xenophobia and exceptionalist racism was at one of its recurring peaks. Contemporary commentators lacked the appropriate perspective and interest to produce well balanced interpretations about the new immigrants.

The emphasis of this paper is concerned with the origins and development of the Greek community of Indianapolis. The few histories of Greek immigration available deal with the subject in the United States as a unified whole. While emphasizing the events of the largest Greek communities of this country such as New York, Chicago, Lowell, Massachusetts, and other places, such an approach neglects the histories of the more numerous smaller Greek communities spread throughout the United States. The trends discernible in Indianapolis reinforce the conclusions drawn about the Greek-Americans in general, and in that way the history of the Greek community of Indianapolis demonstrates that that community was a microcosm of the Greek immigrant experience in this country. The second motivation for the writing of this history was to provide the Greek community of Indianapolis with an account of itself before the passage of time rendered the compilation of its history a definite impossibility. Since much of the parish records of Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church have been misplaced over the years I have made extensive use of oral history techniques with select members of the Indianapolis Greek community and more traditional research methods.
Several factors induced me to undertake the writing of this history. As a student of American History my intellectual curiosity was aroused by the ambivalent attitude Americans have possessed toward immigrants and ethnic minorities throughout the history of this country. As a grandson of both Greek and German immigrants who came to the United States in 1893 and during the first decade of the twentieth century I have personal interest in the subject of immigration to the United States. In writing this history I have begun the process of rediscovering my heritage. I am greatly indebted to many professors at the University of Illinois, especially Doctor Natalia M. Belting. I am also indebted to the librarians of the Indiana State Library and the Indiana Historical Society and members of the Greek community of Indianapolis, especially the late Frank B. Pappas, lovingly known as Uncle Frank. May his memory be eternal.

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at Urbana-Champaign
Fall 1980
The Old Country

Greece in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a land of contrasts. It was a scenic land populated by approximately two and one half million people, steeped in and extremely proud of their history and traditions.\(^1\) The terrain of Greece is primarily mountainous, lacking mineral wealth in large quantities. While Greece was poor materially, it was enriched by the optimistic spirit of its inhabitants. A growing middle class desired to mold the domestic and foreign policies of the nation, aiming at the re-creation of the Byzantine Empire. The nation was yearning for expansion and economic betterment.

The chief desires of the Greeks were for territorial expansion and internal improvements. The main foreign policy goal was the union of the "unredeemed" Greeks of Crete, the Aegean Islands, Macedonia, and the other Greek-speaking areas of the Ottoman Empire with the motherland. As important to the country as foreign affairs, Greece was becoming an industrialized state. Foreign capital, primarily Belgian, German, and French, was funnelled into Greece to finance Greek industrial growth. Under such arrangements, the Greek state reaped a fraction of the profits. Essential to its economic growth was the completion of the transportation system. The largest such projects were the Corinth Canal and the various railroads which linked the country together, providing avenues for further investment and growth. By the standards of the highly industrialized Western nations, the achievement was small, but in an under -
developed country, like Greece, any improvement was substantial. The most significant change was the migration of the peasants to the towns and cities of the kingdom and, later, to the United States in search of economic opportunities unavailable in rural Greece. Wherever the Greeks settled, their optimistic hopes for Greece accompanied and comforted them during the long, lonely hours of work in the strange new lands which they settled in around the world. That regenerated spirit of Hellenism kept the Greek immigrants fervently connected to their families, church and motherland. The Greeks who immigrated to the United States were not disenchanted critics of Greek society. They transplanted Greek culture to this country.

Greece and the other Balkan states developed differently than the nations of western and central Europe. The cultural and philosophical estrangement of eastern and western Europe manifested itself in the division of Christianity between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic communions. While the West was evolving out of the bondage of feudalism, the Balkan peninsula passed under Ottoman rule. The Turks, being a nomadic people, had not developed an urbanized merchant class at the time of their great conquests. As a consequence, trade with western Europe diminished, and the conquered Greeks failed to develop an influential middle class capable of political administration similar to the nations of western Europe. The Greek War of Independence was led by merchant princes from outside Ottoman territory whom upon the successful conclusion of the war as-
sumed the leadership of the country. Due to three centuries of Turkish misrule and neglect, Greece lacked basic internal improvements, and its productive power was minimal. The revolutionary leaders' attempts to form a stable government by themselves were fruitless experiments. The philhellenic Great Powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia, intervened for their own benefit. Those states established the boundaries of Greece without regard to Greek ethnic considerations and sapped Greece financially with large loans. As the Greeks did not have a native dynasty, the Great Powers sent the Bavarian prince Otho as king - "a lad of seventeen, absolutely ignorant of kingcraft, utterly incompetent to govern, capable of nothing but the indefinite increase of the national debt and escorted by an army of hungary Bavarians". The new kingdom was saddled with an autocratic king and large loans which kept Greece perpetually bankrupt.

The revolutionary leaders supported and were rewarded by the king's government. Under the Turks, Greece had been an agricultural land, dominated by large, wealthy landowners. The majority of the Greeks remained tenant farmers. After independence was achieved, the Greek government did not redistribute the land equally; it replaced the Turkish landlords with wealthy Greeks that supported the king. Initially, the lot of the Greek peasants did not change much after independence. Greek support for King Otho diminished as he lavished favors upon his Bavarian advisors.

Growing opposition to Otho resulted in his ouster in
1862. He was replaced by George I, a prince of Denmark, who granted a liberal constitution in 1864. The wealthy, landed elites who supported King George formulated Greece's domestic and foreign policies. In the late nineteenth century various administrations adopted policies designed to help the peasants acquire land, but the existing statistics are unreliable. Despite such gains, the peasants had legitimate grievances that remained unsettled for years.

Two sources of friction in Greek society were the tax and political systems of the nation. The peasants believed they bore the brunt of the tax burden and received few of its benefits in return. One tenth of the gross agricultural produce was requisitioned as tax during the nineteenth century. While the high taxes were despised, the method of tax collection was abusive and archaic. Tax monies were collected by contractors whom had bid and had been awarded the various provincial quotas. Those greedy, bureaucratic individuals chose the time for harvesting the crops and collecting their levies whimsically. The Greco-Turkish War of 1897 and the cost of internal improvements led to the imposition of even higher taxes. Tax monies obtained from the agricultural provinces were spent on public buildings, utilities, and port facilities for Athens while improvements for the rural areas were deferred or canceled. To further compound the problem, the national politicians lacked practical knowledge of their constituents problems, because as an occupation agricultural laborers held low status in Greek society.
Under the royalist administrations Greek domestic and foreign policies were both contradictory and ill planned. The peasants, unused to political maneuver, were emotionally allied to the monarchy, despite their outstanding complaints, and they were used as a buffer by the ruling elites against the growing power of the urban merchant classes. The simmering civil war between the royalists and the liberals shaped the political life of Greece at the turn of the century, and their actions had severe ramifications in the Greek communities of the United States. The failure of King George's policies, an economic boycott of Greece by Turkey, and the revolt of the Young Turks in 1908 presented the liberals the opportunity to come to power. Such humiliations, especially in the diplomatic sphere, were more than the average Greek could endure in those years. In 1909 a Military League seized power and demanded reorganization of the military and reform of the political system. The members of the military junta found themselves incapable of governing the country, and they chose Eleutherios Venizelos to save Greece.

Venizelos's rise to power has been viewed as the triumph of the Greek middle classes, representative government, and Panhellenism. When Venizelos came to power, Panhellenism was at its peak. Commonly referred to as the Great Idea, it was an effort to unite all the Greeks under the Greek flag. The Great Idea envisioned the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire and the revitalization of Greek culture. The new Greek empire was to embrace the Balkans, Asia Minor, and portions
of the Near East with Constantinople as its capital. A patriotic Greek, living in Greece or not, believed in the extension of Greece's influence over areas inhabited by people who spoke Greek, worshipped God in the Orthodox tradition, and adhered to customs practiced by Greeks. Panhellenism was alive in the hearts and minds of all Greeks, wherever they settled. Evidence of that sentiment was demonstrated by the formation of various societies dedicated to the implementation of the Great Idea. The Society for the Formation of a National Fleet was created to raise money from Greeks, worldwide, to finance the construction of a modern Greek navy. Another society entitled The Hellenismos Society which claimed over ten thousand members worldwide by the turn of this century. The Great Idea inspired such activism on the part of the Greeks that it was partially responsible for the unfortunate wars fought between Greece and Turkey and for the bitter civil war in the Greek colonies of the United States.

The Greeks were among the last Europeans to emigrate to the United States. Except for the small settlement at New Smyrna, Florida, the activities of Congregationalist missionaries in the 1820s, and a few Greek cotton merchants in New Orleans, Greek emigration to this country occurred primarily during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. The peak years of Greek immigration occurred between 1907 and the years immediately following the conclusion of World War One. Statistics about
the Greeks arriving in the United States are questionable. There are two main reasons for the problem. Initially, the Greek government did not keep accurate figures on departures, especially during the early years, because it assumed the emigrants would return to Greece quickly. The other aspect of the problem is concerned with the interpretation of nationality. Like most Europeans, ethnicity to the Greeks is eternal; a man's blood cannot be changed or obliterated. If a person's father is Greek, then he or she is Greek too, regardless of where they were born or now live. Opposed to the Greek interpretation was the American criterion of nationality. The United States accepted the country of a man's birth as his nationality. While American authorities considered people born of Greek parents in Turkey, Bulgaria, or Serbia as Turks, Bulgars, and Serbians respectively, the Greeks claimed them as Greeks. According to American statistics, 186,204 Greeks entered this country between 1820 and 1910. The Greeks claim twice that number immigrated to the United States. Despite these differing figures, one thing is clear about the Greeks that arrived during those years. Approximately ninety five percent of the Greeks entering the country between 1899-1910 were males.

The Greeks came to the United States for various reasons, but the primary motivation, in my opinion, was the desire for economic betterment. The Greek constitution of 1864 guaranteed religious and political freedoms so that persecution was not a major reason for emigration from Greece. Greece
was an agriculturally based country. In such a land, when tragedy hits the agricultural sector, emigration is stimulated. Disaster struck the Greek farmers around 1890.

The immediate cause of Greek immigration to the United States was the decline in the demand and price of currants. In 1863 the French vineyards were ravaged by the phylloxera disease which attacked the roots of the grape vines and killed them. The French wine industry placed large orders for Greek currants to continue wine production in order to survive economically. Many Greek farmers speculated in the future of currants. The crisis for Greece occurred when the French vineyards recovered around 1890 and demand for Greek currants fell off sharply. Hard times beset the Greek farmers. Many had chopped down their olive groves to expand currant production. With the fall in the price of currants, the speculators were wiped out financially. Faced with bankruptcy, such individuals were ready for personal economic change.

When trouble and failures upset the peace, the Greeks had emigrated traditionally for other areas of the Balkan Peninsula. Nationalism and mutual jealousies between Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria choked off the traditional areas of Greek emigration. Rumania and Bulgaria began to persecute the Greeks that migrated to their countries. Hostility between the three countries grew to the breaking point as evidenced by the Second Balkan War. As a consequence, the Greeks began to emigrate to other countries, especially to the United States of America.
II

The Pioneer Years

Once in this country the pioneer wave of Greeks headed for every region of the United States. The rationale for such behavior was the search for employment and locations to establish businesses. When a Greek arrived in the United States he would go to the home of an established friend or relative who was, usually, from the same village back in Greece. The newly arrived immigrant brought messages from loved ones and inquired about available jobs. The host Greek would either arrange a position locally or suggest the most likely area to find employment. The Greeks settled primarily in the cities of the nation in order to find work easily and to enjoy the comradeship of other Greeks. In that way a community of Greeks developed in Indianapolis at the turn of this century.

By 1900 Indianapolis had become the home of twenty-nine Greeks, while Indiana as a whole had eighty-two Greeks. The problem of accounting accurately by the American Census Bureau has been discussed previously. To further complicate verification, early Indianapolis records of Holy Trinity are now non existant. Indianapolis had a population of 169,000, and it was a main rail center for the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads. Nearly all of the Greeks in town worked at the New York Central yards or were peddlers. Peter Floros was the notable exception. Arriving at New York in 1882, he was one of the first Greeks to enter the United States. Floros went to Chicago where he learned the confection trade. He was the first Greek to be self-employed in Indianapolis. Mr.
Floros started a confectionary at 45 West Washington Street in 1900. His shop was located in the heart of downtown Indianapolis. He was the only Greek businessman in town at that time.\textsuperscript{13}

Despite the small size of the community, the first Greeks in Indianapolis transplanted the social and cultural life of Greece to their new environment. The community was composed mostly by young men from the area around Tripolis and other villages of the Peloponnesos. When a sufficient number of Greeks had settled in an area, they established a kinotitos, a community, which provided for the establishment of a church, election of officers, and the administration of funds. Another type of organization which kept Greek traditions alive in America was the local benefit society. Organized according to villages, towns, or islands from which their members came, such societies collected money for public works in their provincial areas. No such provincial societies developed in Indianapolis due to the small, diffuse nature of the resident Greeks. In most cities the Greeks organized themselves into a kinotitos before establishing a church. In Indianapolis the evidence shows that a church was instituted prior to the formation of a kinotitos.

Three men, William Laspezes, Pantelis L. Cafouros, and an itinerant Greek priest, decided that the Indianapolis immigrants would welcome the establishment of a Greek Orthodox church. Being head waiter at the fashionable Claypool Hotel, Cafouros had contact with various businessmen and public of-
ficials, and through his contacts he was able to rent a room on the third floor of the Mark Kaiser Bank Building, 27 South Meridian Street, to house the new church. The church was temporary at best. The altar and iconostasis were set up prior to the services and removed upon conclusion. Laspezes served as the caretaker. The priest worked with other Greeks at the rail yards to support himself. Discouraged by the situation, the priest departed for Greece after serving in Indianapolis for three years. He left in 1903. The Greeks and fellow Orthodox Christians were left without a church until 1905.

The reason the Greeks retained their Old World religion is simple to understand. In the United States, Greek Orthodoxy and Hellenism were synonymous. The Church served as the link that kept the Greek immigrants attached to the motherland, nurtured their patriotic hopes, and preserved their faith and language in America. Most of the immigrants were teen age or young adult men and absence from home and family made them embrace their faith and culture more fervently. Attendance at church was a comforting interlude from the hectic life in any American city. Church services reminded the immigrants of home. The need for an Orthodox church in Indianapolis was proven also by the attempts of Methodists to win converts amongst the Balkan minorities of the city.

During the years the community was left without a church, the number of Greek-owned businesses in Indianapolis increased. Most of the Greek businesses were located along the major arteries of the downtown area such as: Washington Street,
Illinois Street, Market Street, Indiana Avenue, and Massachusetts Avenue. The Greeks not only worked downtown, they usually lived near their places of employment and stores. By 1904 Athanasios Sioris had a shoe shine parlor at 7 South Illinois Street, John Leckas operated a confectionary at 11 South Illinois Street, and James Christofilakis had a shining parlor at 24 South Illinois Street. Meanwhile, John and Samuel Smyrnis operated their Smyrnis Brothers Shoe Shine Parlor at 104 East Market Street. Also in 1904, Peter Costas opened a shoe shine parlor at 27 East Market Street, Michael Harakas began his restaurant at 306 Indiana Avenue, and John and James Clones were listed as peddlers. In 1906 the Cloneses were operating a tavern with George Alexis. The tavern was named Clones and Alexis, and it was located at 606 East Washington Street which was the main thoroughfare of the city. With the growth of the community, the need of a church became acute.

In response to the demand for a church, Pantelis Cafouros and the aforementioned men set about to re-establish an Orthodox church in Indianapolis. The Greeks in town formed themselves into a kinotitos and elected officers whom hired Father Nicholas Velonis as pastor. Cafouros rented the same room in the Kaiser Bank Building for a sanctuary of the new church. Membership dues were set at six dollars a year, and Father Velonis received a salary of fifty dollars a month. Such sums appear paltry today, but in those days six dollars would have been equivalent to a week's wages to the average Greek immigrant. The new parish was named in honor of the Holy
Holy Trinity was not only the first Greek Orthodox parish in Indianapolis, but it was also the first Eastern Orthodox church in the entire state.

The Greek community of Indianapolis was composed of young men who had been raised in the various epiarchies of the Peloponnesos which were the provinces affected the most by the economic collapse of the 1890s. They were of poor peasant stock and came here to better themselves and their families in Greece economically. Many sent money back to Greece to help provide for their parents and siblings. While their educational levels varied, few of the immigrants had had a complete course of schooling in Greece. Once in America and Indianapolis the Greeks suffered from their inability to communicate effectively. For that reason, many Greeks were forced into low paying positions or became peddlers and bootblacks to earn their livelihoods, because the knowledge and proper usage of English in such trades were unnecessary. One Greek in town decided to do something to help his fellow countrymen.

In Fall 1906 Pantelis Cafouros started a night school for the Greeks to expand their knowledge of English. Cafouros came to the United States in 1893. He was literate in Greek, German, French, Italian, Bulgarian, Turkish, and English. Being proficient in so many languages, he interpreted at the municipal courts for other immigrants, free of charge, to help his fellow man when the need of his services arose. Cafouros found his idea of a school well received by the local Greeks. He rented a room on the fifth floor of the Magnolia Building
which was centrally located on South Capitol Avenue. To aid the school, the students constructed the classroom furniture. The first night of class was held on October 22, 1906 with thirty students in attendance. Wishing to make the opening night an auspicious occasion, Cafouros asked Governor Hanly of Indiana to make the inaugural address. As head waiter he had served Governor Hanly many times at the Claypool Cafe, and due to that relationship the governor agreed to come and address the members of the Greek night school. After a five minute speech by the governor the class applauded and attempted to sing "America" for their esteemed guest. After that song, they sang the Greek national anthem. The governor then departed and Cafouros began the first English lesson.23

The following years witnessed the continual growth of the community and church. The first two Greek children born and baptized in Indianapolis were the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Floros. The baptism of their second daughter, Anna, was written up in the Indianapolis News on February 2, 1907. The article described the sacrament of baptism in great detail. The most interesting aspect of the report was that the baptism was administered in the Floroses's home which led the reporter to assume that no Orthodox church existed in the city.24 Holy Trinity in those early years was neither conventionally housed nor was it equipped to perform all the functions of a church adequately. The best accounting of the Greek communities in the early years is Spyros Kotakes's book E Ellenes en Ameriki. In that book Indianapolis was referred to as the largest Greek
community in Indiana, having nearly 180 Greeks living there in 1908. The business community was expanding too.

Pantelis Cafouros opened the Majestic Cafe in 1907 at 140 South Illinois Street. The Majestic Cafe was a short lived, fast food restaurant, catering to the appetites of the general public. After closing the Majestic Cafe, he established the Devil's Cafe at 108 West Maryland Street which was a more traditional restaurant. The Devil's Cafe opened in 1908. The Smyrnis Brothers, John, Andrew, and Samuel, expanded their shoe shining concern to four locations being: 42 South Illinois Street, 43 North Illinois Street, 104 East Market Street, and 215 Massachusetts Avenue. Other Greek owned businesses begun in 1907 were a barber shop, operated by Dennis Velonis at 610 East Washington Street, and two shoe shining parlors. The shoe shining parlors were operated by George Georgokopulos, Frank B. Papatheofanis, and Angellos B. Papatheofanis. Their experience in coming to and forming businesses in Indianapolis is illustrative of the method used by many Greeks all over the country.

Frank Papatheofanis, better known to many as "Uncle Frank", came to the United States in 1903 with the financial assistance of relatives in Wheeling, West Virginia. He was fourteen years old when he arrived in this country. Once in Wheeling Uncle Frank went to work shining shoes for the relatives that had sponsored him. He was typical of many of the Greeks who came to the United States during the early part of this century. Young Greeks who wanted to come to America contacted
established Greeks from their home villages for sponsorship. If a boy did not have the money to pay for his passage, the patron would advance the money in return for the immigrant's labor once in this country. The indebted immigrants worked for their sponsors until their debt was paid off. The employers of such boys provided them with food, shelter, and a minimal monthly salary. The workers shared a common sleeping and eating room above their place of employment. One beneficial aspect of such an environment was that it helped an immigrant to adjust to life in America. Uncle Frank was paid five dollars a month of which he sent half to his mother in Greece. A bootblack's hours were long. In Wheeling, Uncle Frank started to work at 6:30 A.M. and worked till 11:00 P.M. seven days a week. The price of a shoe shine was only five cents. Uncle Frank worked nearly three years to pay off his debt of seventeen dollars. During the first two years, he shined shoes, and in the third year he was promoted to tending his bosses' shooting gallery. Eight months after Frank had left Greece his brother, Angellos, emigrated to the United States. Angellos financed himself, arrived in Cleveland, Ohio, and went to work for a Greek named Mavros. He worked as a bootblack. After settling his account in 1906 Uncle Frank left Wheeling to join his brother in Cleveland.

The two brothers started a bootblacking business inside a dry cleaning shop in Cleveland. They entered into that type of enterprise because they needed income to survive and bootblack was the trade both of them knew the best. Neither
Neither Frank or Angellos knew much English at that time, but what they lacked in education was supplanted by their ambition to be successful. After a short time in Cleveland, the two brothers and George Georgokopulos began to search for a new city in which to shine shoes. They had enough money to send Angellos to Indianapolis. Once there he examined the downtown area, looking for a good location to shine shoes.

Angellos set up a shining stand behind the O'Keefe and Sullivan Tavern, 56 South Illinois Street. After a week he sent for Uncle Frank to join him in Indianapolis. Arriving in town with George Georgokopulos, they started a shoe shining parlor in the Severin Hotel, 209 South Illinois Street. Seven months later Angellos opened a shining parlor in a narrow room connected to the Cozy Theater at 134 North Illinois Street. Both shops were opened in 1907. The going rate for a shoe shine remained five cents.

The subsequent years witnessed the development of several more Greek owned businesses in Indianapolis. In 1908 Peter Brown opened a saloon at 541 East Market Street, and Nicholas Manolios established a bakery at 703 East Market Street. By 1910 Peter N. Karnegis and Peter Kontos were operating a shoe shining parlor at 109 North Illinois Street, and James Campas opened a restaurant at 617 East Washington Street. Those arriving later lacked the funds to set up stores immediately. Generally, they would work for another Greek, the railroads, or Kingan's which was a large meat packing company that hired many immigrants. Without complete church records it is impos-
sible to know the names and occupational backgrounds of every Greek in town.

Another important event occurred in 1910. On January 29th of that year Holy Trinity's formal charter of incorporation was filed with the Secretary of State of Indiana. The name adopted for the corporation was the same as that of the parish. The primary objective of the corporation was the "promotion of the religious, social, and intellectual welfare of its members and to exert an influence for good upon all whom the members may come in contact, as well as the purchase, erection, holding, leasing, and maintenance of a suitable and proper house or building, for The Greek Orthodox Church, St. Trinity of Indianapolis...". The management of the community's property and funds were placed under the control of eleven directors who were members of the church. The directors were also responsible for adopting by-laws concerned with elections, terms of office, membership privileges, and other sundry matters.

The members of the first board of directors were: Pantelis L. Cafouros, president and secretary, Peter Floros, treasurer, and board members - Peter Konstandouros, Ernest Koumoundouros, Tomis Sioris, James P. Christofilakis, John Leckas, John Smyrnis, Paul Costas, James Clones, and George Georgokopulos. Peter Konstandouros had arrived in town in 1909, and he operated a shining stand at 41 West Ohio Street. Ernest Koumoundouros arrived in 1908 and was employed as a cook. The church remained located at 27 South Meridian Street.
until 1914. Father Velonis was the pastor.

As the community continued to increase, the church facilities on Meridian Street proved inadequate. By 1910 the Greek community of Indianapolis numbered 249 souls. The search for a new location went on for a few years. Around 1912 the decision was made to build a church in the 200 block of North West Street. The location was ideal. At that time a Greek and Balkan neighborhood was centered around the near west side of the city. It surrounded Military Park and was bounded by West Street on the east, Blackford Street on the west, New York Street on the north, and Washington Street on the south. The first attempt to construct a church building eventually failed. Pantelis Cafouros purchased a house at 209 North West Street, and he had the house demolished to make space available for the construction of a church building. Cafouros's actions precipitated a small factional split in the community. Some members expressed concern over Cafouros's presumed total control of the community, and they were able to block the construction. A ground breaking ceremony took place on the vacant lot donated by Pantelis Cafouros, but a church was never built on that spot.

The second attempt to find a more permanent structure was successful. Under the guidance of Father Kyrillios Georgiades, who served Holy Trinity during 1914 to 1915, the community purchased a two story wooden frame house located at 213 North West Street which was next to the aborted first site. The first floor of the house was converted into the
sanctuary; Father Georgiades lived upstairs on the second floor. The second home of Holy Trinity served the community's spiritual needs until 1919. The daily life of the immigrants was dictated by need. The Greeks in town worked long hours, twelve to sixteen hours a day, seven days a week in order to make a living for themselves. Leisure time was at a minimum. The community of Indianapolis was so small in size that the most vaunted Greek institution after the Church, namely the kaffeneio - coffee house, never developed during the initial years due to economic concerns. The Greeks' social life revolved about the ecclesiastical calendar. The main holidays were the same as those celebrated in Greece.

Of the semi-secular holidays Greek Independence Day, March 25th, was the most important. In the larger communities of New York and Chicago, parades commemorated that annual event. In Indianapolis it was celebrated by a church service and private merry making. Throughout a year's time, though infrequently, members of the community would have picnics at the various parks around town, especially Fairview Park which was seven miles north of the city. The usual fare at such outings included roasted lamb and other Greek foods. The feasting would be accompanied by traditional music and dancing.

Given that the Greeks were Orthodox Christians, the fasts and feasts of the Church were observed faithfully in America by the Greek immigrants. The main periods of fasting were the Christmas Fast, the Great (Lenten) Fast, and the first two
weeks in August in honor of the Dormition of the Theotokos. The Great Fast was the longest fast covering forty eight days each year. The rules of fasting consisted of the abstinence of meat, eggs, butter, cheese, and on occasion fish. Of the various religious holidays, Easter was and remains the most important. The influence of the Church permeated the immigrant's life beyond the above mentioned dates. Whereas in this country native Americans celebrated their birthdays on the exact date, a Greek celebrated his birth on his saint's name day which could vary widely from his actual date of birth. Instead of commercializing Christmas, the Greeks gave presents to each other on Saint Basil's Day (New Years).

The most common way used to celebrate Saint Basil's Day in Indianapolis as elsewhere occurred on the eve of that day. Individuals would have parties around town with their friends at their homes or businesses. The Greeks in town prior to the Great War were single men for the most part and the parties usually included several card games of chance besides the cutting of the Vasilopita. The Vasilopita was a loaf of sweet bread, round in shape, and baked with a gold coin inside of it. The person who received the piece containing the coin was considered lucky for the coming year. Another indicator of good fortune for the coming year was gauged by success at the gaming table. If a man won substantially at cards, he, being considered lucky, might expand his business. If he lost, then he would be more conservative with his capital. Such gambling began on Saint Basil's Eve and continued throughout
the night.

Another reason for the Greeks to celebrate was the birth of a child, especially that of a man's first son. In Greece the birth of a man's first son resulted in a celebration with the jubilant father firing a twenty-one gun salute to mark the arrival of another soldier against the "unspeakable Turk".

The birth of Pantelis Cafouros's son, James, on August 25, 1911 was celebrated in a similar fashion. Ever the showman, Cafouros wanted the whole city to take notice of the event and his joy. He purchased one hundred dollars worth of fireworks and then received permission from police and city officials to fire the traditional salute. At 8:30 P.M. that evening the show began from the roof of the Devil's Cafe. The fireworks display was the largest seen in Indianapolis up to that time, attracting the attention of thousands. At the conclusion of the last explosion Cafouros, surrounded by other Greeks, opened up his cafe and distributed cigars. The birth of his second son, George, was celebrated differently.

In the center of downtown Indianapolis stands the Soldiers and Sailors Monument. The Monument was the landmark of the city, but its beauty was hidden by darkness at night. Comments by tourists and friends sparked Cafouros's next public coup. Thinking of the city's welfare and to honor the birth of George on April 28, 1913, he offered to donate five hundred dollars towards a fund to illuminate the Monument. While expressing gratitude to him for his generous offer, the project was taken over by state and city governments, explain-
ing that private citizens should not sacrifice themselves financially for projects that government should sponsor. The Greek community and Cafouros got the publicity and it did not cost him a cent. 40

The Greek community of Indianapolis developed slowly over many years. Initially, the majority of the Greeks in Indianapolis were young, single men from the Peloponnesos who were ambitious to be financially successful. With youthful optimism, they transplanted Greek culture to Indianapolis and to a degree to the Central Indiana area. The Greeks were new immigrants in the sense that the reasons behind their migration differed completely from that of earlier ethnic groups. The Greeks were not alienated from the motherland and its culture. During their initial years, the Greeks viewed Indianapolis and America as a mere stopping place to make money, a resting place on the long journey back to Greece. Events in the Balkan Peninsula gave the Greek immigrants the opportunity to help Greece.

When the Balkan wars broke out the Balkanists Union attempted to act as a recruiting office for the Greek government. While its intentions were admirable, the actual success enjoyed by the Union was quite limited. After the Balkan Wars the Union lapsed into a state of almost inactivity. The fatal defect with the organization was its loose administration and uncoordinated actions of its individual chapters. By the end of World War I the Union had disappeared due to the changing
Old World Loyalties

Though apparently established in Indianapolis, the Greek immigrants there and elsewhere in the United States continued to be genuinely patriotic to Greece. Several societies arose in this country to capitalize on the immigrants' desire to aid Greece. The most well known society was the Panhellenic Union in America. The Panhellenic Union started in New York in 1907, and its chief desire was to enroll every Greek in the country as a member. The Union's dues were low, and its ceremonies were uncomplicated. The main premise of the Union was that most Greeks would eventually return to live in Greece. Until that event, the Panhellenic Union was designed to help perpetuate the Greek Church and language in America. Chapters of the Union developed in every major city of the United States. Unfortunately, the records of the Indianapolis chapter have not survived the passage of time. Probably the majority of Greeks in town were members, but to my knowledge the three known members were Messrs. Stalas, Smyrnis, and Angellos Papa-theofanis.

When the Balkan Wars broke out the Panhellenic Union attempted to act as a recruiting office for the Greek government. While its intentions were admirable, the actual success enjoyed by the Union was quite limited. After the Balkan Wars the Union lapsed into a state of confused inactivity. The fatal defect with the organization was its loose administration and uncoordinated actions of its individual chapters. By the end of World War I the Union had dissolved due to the chaotic
affairs in Greece and the crusade for Americanism in the United States.\textsuperscript{43}

The Balkan Peninsula has been referred to as the "tinder box" of Europe due to the many wars fought and instigated in that area of the world. The Balkan Wars can be viewed as two more in a series of useless conflicts. To the Greeks of Greece and the diaspora the wars were of tremendous significance. Those wars were part of the Great Idea which was the campaign to recapture the past glories and Greek speaking territories that had formed the Byzantine Empire. Greek ethnocentrism and patriotism were at fever pitch during the first quarter of the twentieth century, and the wars were strategies used to further the growth of Greek influence in the world. Since 1908 Greece had been suffering under the effects of a Turkish trade embargo. Persecution of "unredeemed" Greeks in the Ottoman Empire intensified the strained relations between Greece and Turkey. Inspired by the success of the Italians in the Libyan War, Venizelos formed the Balkan League which consisted of: Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. War was declared against the Ottoman Empire on October 12, 1912. To the surprise of the Great Powers, the Orthodox countries were victorious, and the Turkish empire in Europe collapsed. By the Treaty of London, May 30, 1913, Turkey ceded all of its European territories to the allies except for the city of Constantinople and its environs. The Greek military contribution was centered in Southern Macedonia, Epeiros, and the Aegean Islands. The Greek fleet kept the Turkish fleet at bay throughout the
Mutual jealousies between the allies over the spoils of the first war led to the outbreak of the Second Balkan War. Greece and Serbia, joined later by Rumania and Turkey, declared war on Bulgaria on June 29, 1913. That war was fought over Eastern Macedonia, and the Bulgarians were defeated within a month's time. Victorious in the wars, Greece emerged with her territory increased from 25,014 square miles to 41,933 square miles and her population supplemented from 2,631,952 in 1907 to 4,821,300 in 1914. All of Southern Macedonia, Crete, Samos, most of Epeiros, and all of the Aegean Islands, except the Dodecanese, Tenedos, and Imbros, were added to the kingdom.

News of the war was received enthusiastically by the Greeks in the United States. The major metropolitan areas of this country became debarkation centers for the Greeks going to Greece to fight the Turks and Bulgarians. Love of country was one reason why the Greeks went back to fight; another was the feeling of obligation owed to the old country by the immigrants. Many Greek immigrants returned to discharge their military duty to Greece so that when they did return to stay no problems with the government would exist to disturb them. Those Greeks that were citizens of the United States did not return to fight in the Balkan Wars. By 1913 approximately twenty five thousand of an anticipated one hundred thousand Greek American contingent had arrived in Greece. At the conclusion of the wars some forty two thousand to forty five
thousand Greek-Americans had served with the Greek armed forces. The three known Greeks from Indianapolis that went back to fight in the wars were: Angellos B. Papatheofanis, Peter N. Karnegis, and Theodosios Manolios. The former two men operated shoe shine parlors on North Illinois Street. Mr. Manolios worked as a baker, and later on he opened his own bakery on the west side of Indianapolis. All three men were from the village of Kandila which is in the Peloponnesos near Tripolis. After the war they, like the majority of Greek American volunteers, returned to the United States. For some Greeks their second emigration to the United States was different from their initial one.

The initial emigration had been that of single men. Their goal was to make a modest fortune, return to their families in Greece, and purchase land or set themselves in business in Greece. The difference in the post Balkan Wars emigration was that some returning veterans took their families with them to the United States. Others, like Angellos Papatheofanis, married a girlfriend from their home villages, and the newlyweds left together for this country. The primary reason behind the return emigration of the Greeks remained the economic lure of the United States. The veterans knew that life in Greece would be difficult due to the disruptions caused by the two wars. Other Greeks felt that they had not amassed sufficient amount of money to live the good life in Greece. For whatever reasons, the majority of the Greek American veterans returned to the United States to resume their
old jobs and businesses or to start new enterprises.

Within a year after the conclusion of the Second Balkan War, World War One broke out in Europe. The Greek immigrants, like the other European ethnic groups in this country, were affected by the events of World War One. The Greeks were primarily concerned with the role of Greece in the hostilities. Being independent thinkers and stubborn, the Greeks in the United States aligned themselves into two main factions - the "Vasiliki", meaning royalists, and "Venizeliki" who were supporters of the statesman Eleutherios Venizelos. The royalists maintained that the best interests of Greece would be served if the country remained neutral throughout the duration of the general European conflict. King Constantine I of Greece was married to Sophia who was a sister of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, and he was influenced in his decision by familial loyalties. The Venizelists contended that Greece could best achieve its territorial aspirations by supporting the Allies. British offers of Cyprus, the Dodecanese Islands, and other territories in Europe and Asia Minor in return for Greek entrance into the war were tempting morsels which helped make the Venizelists' position strong in the Greek world. Although the king was the hero general of the Balkan Wars, King Constantine's decision to keep Greece neutral increased the tensions between the two factions to the breaking point in Greece and amongst their respective followers in the United States.

Events in Greece accelerated the splintering of the Greek colonies in America. After unsuccessfully persuading the king
to join the Allies, Venizelos formed his revolutionary gov­ernment at Thessalonika in late 1916. The effect in the United States was the formation of Liberal Clubs and Loyalty Leagues. The Liberal Clubs expressed the views of Venizelos and the Loyalty Leagues championed the opinions of the king. Such clubs developed in the largest Greek communities of this country. In Indianapolis the debate was on a more casual lev­el. When asked by a person of known partiality, the most common response appears to have been to give tacit agreement and to go on about one's business. The real winners were the few Greek children in town at the time. When asked who they supported, if the child gave the anticipated response, the pleased adult would buy the child a chocolate soda. After awhile the children manipulated the questioning to their ad­vantage. Learning the opinions of the adults, certain children developed a routine that netted them many free chocolates.

To further complicate the situation, the Church of Greece became embroiled in the dispute on the royalist side. In re­action to Venizelos's actions the Metropolitan of Athens ex­communicated him on December 26, 1916. The actions of the hierarchy were understandable due to its conservative outlook and the Greek Church's relationship with the government of Greece. The Church of Greece, being the official state church, was indebted to the king and was considered the right arm of the king's government. People, like Venizelos, threatened the whole structure of Greek society, and in the view of the of the royalists such people had to be stopped immediately. In
America the result was the splitting of the Greek Orthodox parish churches into two armed camps. The controversy in the Greek-American communities became acute as more and more priests omitted the name of the king and royal family from the Divine Liturgy. Holy Trinity was affected adversely, but an internal schism did not develop within the parish until 1923. The schism of 1923 was caused by internal community politics and the actions of certain church prelates. The intrusion of the Church of Greece into domestic political concerns of Greece led to the continuation of the royalist - Venizelist controversy.

While the Greek immigrants were concerned about the old country, they were also concerned about the role of America in the European war. On the American domestic front the majority of Greeks supported American neutrality and active participation throughout the war years. The First World War provided the Greeks the opportunity to prove their loyalty to this country. The Greek press urged their readers to lead the other nationalities in the purchase of war bonds and to volunteer for the American armed services to spite their American detractors.54 Venizelos's government declared that Greeks in the United States that served with the American armed forces would have fulfilled their military obligation to Greece. Because the United States War Department did not keep ethnological statistics, an accurate accounting of the Greeks that served with the armed forces of this country is impossible to know with certainty. The best estimate places the number at sixty thousand men, but that figure is disputed by Greek
The Greeks also supported the war effort through the purchase of small war bonds which amounted to thirty million dollars. The Greeks proved that having pride and interest in their motherland in no way detracted from their loyalty to the United States of America.

The decade of 1910 to 1920 were years of business and population growth for the Greek community of Indianapolis. In 1910 Charles Apostol opened his restaurant, Charlie's Steak House, at 133 East Ohio Street. In 1911 Peter Floros's confectionary was taken over by another Greek named Carellas. Also in 1911 the Hantzis brothers established themselves in the restaurant business at 472 West Washington Street and 526 Indiana Avenue. Two businesses in Indianapolis that were unique for Greeks to operate were: the Spanos and Pouletosos grocery, 539 East Washington Street, and the Indiana Commisary Company which was an employment agency operated by John Zazas. Mr. Zazas's office was located at 535 E. Market Street in 1911. In 1914 Chris Demetriou had opened a barber shop at 560 West Washington Street. The following three years witnessed the formation of the Clones and Morris Billiard Hall and the International Hotel at 602 East Washington Street and George Alexas's billiard parlor at 560 East Washington Street. George Staneliou operated a billiard parlor at 467 West Washington Street. During those same years the Latsos and Zacharias Confectionary was established at 54 South Illinois Street. More Greeks opened their own shops in Indianapolis between the years of 1918 to 1920. George Kiris started a
confectionary at 543 Indiana Avenue in 1918 which was taken over by Adam Poulos in 1919. Michael Harakas continued to operate his restaurant, and in 1918 he expanded into hotel management with the Chicago Hotel, 212 West New York Street. In 1919 the Latsos Brothers' Confectionary moved to 102 South Illinois Street, James Zacharias's confectionary, The Imperial Confectionary, was located at 54 South Illinois Street, and George Vavul's Dew Drop Inn, a confectionary, was located at 41 North Illinois Street. Several billiard parlors opened in 1920. The Zakouras brothers operated one at 604 East Washington Street. The Stathopoulos and Antonopoulos Billiard Parlor which was located at 46 South Illinois Street became the Polson and Adams parlor in 1920. The Assimakis Billiard Parlor was located at 44 South Illinois Street. Another billiard parlor operated by a partnership of Messrs. Velonis and Smyrnis was located at 455 East Washington Street. Thomas Calapapas opened a confectionary at 223 South Illinois Street in 1920. After 1920 the nature and types of businesses owned and operated by Greeks in Indianapolis began to change.

After the First World War Indianapolis became a more industrialized city. The city's growth affected the Greek community in an unexpected and positive way. In 1919 the Zenite Metal Company wanted to expand and consolidate its holdings on North West Street. The principle obstacle to Zenite's goal was the presence of Holy Trinity. The church's location at 213 North West Street divided the company's properties on West Street in half. The expansion plans of Zenite were fur-
ther complicated by the fact that the Greek community did not want to move its church to a new location. After a period of negotiations, a compromise was adopted between Zenite Metal Company and the Greek community. The Greek community traded its property at 213 North West Street to Zenite in return for the lot at 231 North West Street, two houses with lots on West New York Street which abutted the lot on West Street, and twenty-five thousand dollars cash. The Marion County records show only one dollar and considerations in regards to the transfer of the properties, which appears to be the standard comment on such transactions. The money was used to build a brick church building that served the needs of the Greek community until 1960.

The actions of the Indianapolis Greek immigrants during the Balkan Wars and their interest in the Venizelist controversy demonstrated their concern about Greek affairs. By the conclusion of World War One the Greeks were beginning to feel like Americans too. The Greeks supported the American war effort once the United States entered it officially by purchasing bonds and serving in the armed forces of the United States. Indications of the permanency of their residence in the United States began to become obvious. The returning veterans of the Balkan Wars bringing their wives, families, and the building of more permanent churches provide evidence that some Greeks had decided that America was their new home. The transformation from immigrant to permanent resident to naturalized citizen was a gradual process that differed from per-
son to person. Success in business, marriage and the starting of families, participation in World War One, and the upheavals that befell Greece after the war, all contributed in changing the Greek immigrants idea about remaining in America. Though the majority of Greek immigrants were permanent residents after World War One, they continued to have genuine interest in the political and foreign affairs of Greece.

Political events in Greece affected the composition of the ruling body of the Church of Greece which, in turn, led to the division of the Greek churches in the United States and their congregations into two meeting camps for many years. The experience of the Indianapolis Greek community was typical, but it developed a scenario peculiar unto itself.

Eleutherios Venizelos had led Greece into the Great War on the side of the Allies, but despite Allied promises, Greece did not obtain fulfillment of its territorial ambitions. Directly after the war Greek-Americans attempted to influence American foreign policy in favor of the Greek claims. Their efforts were fruitless. With the war over, the railways in Greece renewed their struggle against Venizelos.

Developments in Greece and Asia Minor favored Venizelos initially. In July 1920 Greece received a mandate from the Allies to restore order in Thrace and western Anatolia. Riding high on his diplomatic victories, Venizelos pledged, after the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres, a parliamentary election for Greece. Venizelos viewed the election as a vote of confidence on his policies. He lifted the war-like restrictions so that
The Schism

While the United States became isolationist after World War One the Greek communities became embroiled in the political conflicts of Greece. The post war political conflict battle was in reality round two of the royalist-Venizelist controversy. The results of the renewed debate were to prove more devastating than the initial one. Political events in Greece affected the composition of the ruling body of the Church of Greece which in turn led to the division of the Greek churches in the United States and their congregations into two hostile camps for many years. The experience of the Indianapolis Greek community was typical, but it developed a scenario peculiar unto itself.

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criticisms of his regime would be minimized. Venizelos expected to win an overwhelming victory due to his diplomatic and military triumphs. The election results were ironic. Venizelos had misread the mood of the people of Greece. The average Greek citizen was more concerned over domestic issues than foreign adventures. Mobilized since 1912 the Greeks were weary of war, the rule of Venizelos, and the illusion of empire. Venizelos and the liberals were defeated by a landslide. The royalist victory heralded the return of King Constantine to the throne and the voluntary exile of Venizelos.

After the restoration of the monarchy the royalists attempted to receive American recognition of the king’s government. The United States broke off diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Greece from December 26, 1920 until January 29, 1924. The United States refused recognition of royalist Greece due to King Constantine's behavior during the Great War, the non-recognition of his government by the Allies, continued Greek military adventurism in Anatolia, and the American desire to remain aloof from involvement in foreign entanglements.

Once restored to power, Constantine, believing the prophecies of the past that the Great Idea would be manifested under the reign of a king named Constantine, decided to continue the war against the Turks. King Constantine's decision ruined Greece. The continuation of the Greco-Turkish war witnessed the total defeat of Greece, the demise of the Great Idea, and the loss of all the territories Greece had acquired.
through the skill of Venizelos. As a result of the defeat Constantine abdicated for the second time in September 1923, and the Turks deported 1.5 million Greeks from Asia Minor to Greece adding to Greece's problem of reconstruction. 66

The Greek defeat had two effects on the Greeks in the United States. The Greek immigrants began to re-assess their old world loyalties. They began to withdraw from the arena of Greek politics, and their interest in Greek cultural affairs began to dwindle. Life and interest in American developments filled the void for the second generation. Given the problems of Greece, America, where the Greeks had established businesses, families, churches, and close friends, became accepted as their permanent new home throughout the decade of the 1920s. Also in the 1920s the naturalization rate amongst the Greeks of Indianapolis and elsewhere increased dramatically. By remaining and becoming United States citizens the Greek-Americans eventually learned they would be able to help Greece more by staying in this country than by returning to Greece. The breakdown of concern for purely Greek affairs was the result of American pressures and the disruptive effects of the civil war in the Greek Orthodox parishes in the United States.

During the early years of Greek immigration no ecclesiastical administrative structure existed to co-ordinate the activities of the various Greek churches in this country. The scattered parishes in the United States were officially under the control of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constan-
tinople. When the Russians began pressuring the Ecumenical Patriarch to transfer his spiritual jurisdiction over the churches in America to the Church of Russia the situation changed. The Ecumenical Patriarch gave authority over the Greek churches to the Holy Synod of Greece which administered them loosely from 1908 to 1922.67

A local church community, as has been seen in the example of Holy Trinity, was and remained a self-governing community incorporated under the laws of the states in which it was located. The community of Indianapolis elected eleven directors annually entrusted with overseeing the community's funds and properties. The most important piece of property belonging to any community was the church building itself. Every dues paying member was a co-owner of the communal properties, and each member had a vested interest in the efficient operation of the church. Under such decentralized conditions the directors of Holy Trinity and the other parishes were free to hire and discharge priests as they could do with any other employee. Noting the lack of organization of the American parishes the hierarchs of the Church of Greece set out to rectify the situation. The solution they adopted proved disruptive throughout the Greek communities of the United States.

In 1918 Meletios Metaxakis, Metropolitan of Athens, head of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, who was also a Venizelist, came to the United States with the expressed purpose of establishing an American archdiocese. The formation of an archdiocese was expected to centralize the ecclesiasti-
cal authority over the Greek churches in this country; the actual result contradicted the initial purpose of its formation. The appointment of the Venizelist Alexander, Bishop of Rodostolou, as Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in America intensified the ongoing conflict in the Greek colonies. When the royalists returned to power in Greece they reacted negatively to Bishop Alexander by refusing him funds and urging the priests in the United States to disobey his instructions. When King Constantine returned to power Metaxakis was retired as Metropolitan of Athens and his plan for the American parishes fell with him. 68

Comprehending the developments in Greece, Bishop Alexander formed The Association of Canonical Hellenic Clergymen. The objectives of the Association were to preserve the doctrines of the Greek Orthodox Church and to proclaim the independence of its members. The Holy Synod ordered the rebel bishop to appear before it, but Alexander refused on the grounds that he could not communicate the degraded clergymen of the Holy Synod. Bishop Alexander also issued a proclamation that he could not enter into a working relationship with the Holy Synod of Greece. His actions were endorsed by the Association. He communicated only with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in regards to his authority. 69

Bishop Alexander and Metaxakis exercised jurisdiction over the Greek churches in the United States, refusing to yield to pressures from the Greek government. The Holy Synod responded by declaring the two prelates and their followers to
be schismatics. Bishop Germanos Troianos of Sparta, a royalist, was sent to the United States in 1922 to establish Synodical control over the Greek churches there. As Synodical Exarch, Bishop Germanos appointed priests favorable to the Holy Synod and attempted to have all others dismissed from their posts. Bishop Alexander reacted in a similar manner, and the actions of both bishops splintered the various Greek church communities around the country. In 1922 Meletios Metaxakis was elected Ecumenical Patriarch. One of the most important acts of his short reign was the transfer of the Greek churches in America from the control of the Holy Synod of Greece to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. As the rival factions fought for control in the individual church communities, secession movements and court battles for control over church properties increased sharply. The schism in Indianapolis was a long, bitter struggle.

The split in the Indianapolis Greek community was preceded by long, heated arguments between the respective supporters of King Constantine and Venizelos. The discussions centered on the beneficial and detrimental effects of both leaders' policies of the past decade. Seething with anger after the Anatolian campaign, the royalists and the Venizelist were looking for scapegoats to blame for the inglorious demise of the Great Idea. The Greek immigrants were independent and spirited people, possessed of strong political opinion, fiery tempers, and stubborn determination when convinced they were right. Politics, especially the old country's,
was the Greek immigrants’ passion. Though no Greek newspaper was printed in Indiana, the Indianapolis Greeks kept aware of events in Greece and the United States by reading Atlantis and the National Herald which were available at local distributors. The former paper favored the king and the latter sided with the Venizelists. The major royalists in Indianapolis were: Pete Brown, John Zazas, Mike Harakas, James Angelos, George Poulos, James Demitroulas, James Katsoulis, John Leckas, Angelo Pappas (Papatheofanis), Father John Kargakos, and Chris Demitrou. The champions of the Venizelist cause in the city were: Harry Alexander, Gregory Dale, Gus papantonopoulos, Efthemia Paris, George Vlaseros, Polikarpos Lemperis, Savvas Theorides, and Pete Kostarides. The schism in Indianapolis was aggravated by personality conflicts between some of the major antagonists and purely internal parish politics of Holy Trinity.

The majority of Greeks in Indianapolis in 1922 had royalist sympathies. The elected directors were: John Zazas, president, Mike Harakas, James Katsoulis, Savvas Theorides, Pete Kontalonis, Tom Broulis, Harry Alexander, Christ Georgopoulos, and George Ricos. While the board of directors had members of both factions, the officers were strong royalists. Sensing their ideological isolation from Bishop Alexander, the royalist officials of Holy Trinity sought to transfer the parish's allegiance from the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Holy Synod of Greece represented by Bishop Germanos. The Venizelist hierarchy had caused the initial open rift in Indi-
anapolis by refusing to accept as binding the marriages and baptisms performed by Father John Kargakos who was the community's lawful priest and a royalist. That action amounted to de-facto excommunication of Holy Trinity. In response the royalists closed ranks and by their numerical superiority effectively disenfranchised the local Venizelists in matters relating to the operation of the parish church and properties.

Accusing the royalists of discrimination by refusing them use of the communal properties, the Venizelists attempted unsuccessfully to remove the pastor and the royalist trustees from their officers. The Venizelists then appealed for a redress of their grievances to Bishop Alexander who upheld their appeal. Bishop Alexander refused to recognize Father Kargakos and the royalist board of directors as legitimate and ordered them to turn over control of all the community's possessions to the Venizelists. Ignoring Bishop Alexander's commands, the board of directors refused the Venizelists permission to hold services with a priest of their choice. In response to Bishop Alexander's instructions, Father Kargakos and a majority of the parish's trustees declared at a meeting of the church assembly that Holy Trinity would be free and independent of both the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Holy Synod of Greece. Since both the Patriarchate and the Holy Synod were controlled by Venizelists the royalist parishes had no other option except declaring themselves independent. Father Kargakos, backed by the majority of the Greeks of Indianapolis, began to preach that the parish was not a part of
either organization and that the congregation should not recognize the authority of either the Ecumenical Patriarch or Bishop Alexander. Being in the minority and having no effective voice in governing the parish the Venizelists withdrew from Holy Trinity to form another Greek Orthodox church.

In early 1923 the Venizelists founded Saint James Greek Orthodox Church at 45 South West Street. The location of the new church was a few blocks south of Holy Trinity, and the pastor was Father Simon Matatakis. The forced separation was bitter and sundered the Greek community of Indianapolis. Initially, friends who found themselves differing on the ideological aspects of the debate would not speak to each other or socialize outside their factional circles in general. Though the Venizelists had lost the first battle they were not defeated. Besides ascertaining which side was correct in the ideological sphere, the controversy in Indianapolis centered over control of the community's real estate and money. Reflecting that their dues and contributions had helped keep Holy Trinity solvent, the Venizelists prepared to regain their rightful place in the community. The parish of Saint James was intended to be temporary. Services were held in a rented house, while the leaders of the congregation planned its return to Holy Trinity.

The Venizelists realized that the only way to settle their problem with the royalists was through the legal system of the State of Indiana. To obtain their rights, the leading Venizelists filed suit against their royalist counterparts.
in Marion County Superior Court, Room 3, on April 23, 1923. The case was entitled Harry Alexander et al vs. Pete Brown et al, and the presiding judge was the Honorable Sidney S. Miller. Ten attorneys were involved in the case.

The Venizelists' complaint alleged that the actions of Father Kargakos and the royalist trustees were in violation of the articles of faith, doctrine and discipline of the Greek Orthodox Church. Under Canon law the penalty for those found guilty of such charges was excommunication, but such a prescription was meaningless in the Indianapolis case because Holy Trinity had declared itself independent. Nevertheless, the Venizelists filed suit against the royalists on the grounds that the majority of the members of Holy Trinity indorsed, aided and abetted the unlawful and wrongful statements of Father Kargakos against the ecclesiastical authorities and therefore did not truly represent Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church. The Indianapolis Venizelists, represented by Harry Alexander and nine other Greeks, claimed that they had remained loyal to the teachings and doctrines to both the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Holy Synod of Greece and were the true representatives of Holy Trinity. Their complaint also alleged that the majority royalist trustees refused to permit the Venizelist trustees to officiate as trustees at Holy Trinity and from excercising control over the church property, depriving the Venizelist minority from the peaceful enjoyment of the rights to which they were entitled. On October 15th the trial jury was sworn in, and upon adjournment
for the day the Court continued the case until December 3rd. The introduced evidence dealt with the relationship between a parish and ecclesiastical hierarchy and with specific information concerned with the schism in Indianapolis. The case continued until December 14, 1923. 82

December 14, 1923 was a fateful day in the history of the Greek community of Indianapolis for on that day judgment was rendered in the case. Judge Miller instructed the jury of its options, and the jurors retired to deliberate and to make a decision. After returning to the courtroom, Foreman John A. Miller read the verdict:

We, the Jury, find for the plaintiffs and find that the plaintiffs are entitled to the control and possession of the property, real and personal, books, records, and moneys of the Greek Orthodox Church St. Trias of Indianapolis, Indiana. 83

Judge Miller rendered judgment in compliance with the verdict. The judgment entitled the Venizelists to take possession of the records, moneys, and all properties belonging to Holy Trinity. The Court further ordered the Sheriff of Marion County to place the plaintiffs in possession of the properties. Besides losing control over the community's properties and funds, the defendants were required to cover the plaintiffs' court costs. 84

The Venizelist victory was a stunning blow to the royalists. The royalists had been duly elected to the various offices of the Greek community by a majority of its members and yet a secular court had the power to strip the royalists of their authority. A letter from the Venizelist ambassador
of Greece to the United States, explaining the nature of the Venizelist-royalist debate, was introduced as evidence by Harry Alexander. That letter proved to be the most crucial piece of evidence for it persuaded the jury of the truthfulness of the Venizelist position and resulted in the aforementioned verdict. The rationale underlying the jury's decision remains an enigma. The royalists were in the vast majority in Indianapolis, but the jury and the court stripped them of control of their communal properties and gave that control to the minority Venizelists. The effect of the decision was the intensification of the struggle between the two factions. The fight for control over the church building and the associated properties remained the real burning issue amongst the Greeks of Indianapolis throughout the years of the schism.

The royalists did not accept the mandate of the trial court. On January 11, 1924 the royalists filed a petition for a new trial, but the Marion County Superior Courts overruled their motion on February 23, 1924. The royalists refused to vacate the community's properties. On November 7, 1924 the sheriff of Marion County, following a directive of the court to place the Venizelists in possession of the properties described in the judgment, padlocked the door of Holy Trinity and delivered the key to the Venizelists. Technically, the sheriff had placed the Venizelists in possession of the properties, but they never had real control at that time. Father Kargakos continued to live in the parsonage, and the tenants who had leased the double residence from the royalist
majority continued to occupy it and paid rent to that faction. The Venizelists tried to remove Father Kargakos by breaking his contract. On November 8, 1924 Father Kargakos obtained from the Marion Superior Court, Room 4, a temporary restraining order preventing the Venizelists from excluding him from the church or the use of the church property. That suit was entitled John Kargakos vs. Harry Alexander et al and it was venued to Morgan Circuit Court where on May 7, 1925 that court issued a permanent injunction against breaking the employment contract between Father Kargakos and Holy Trinity.

The legal cases left the Greek community temporarily leaderless. Marion County Superior Court, Room 3, intervened and appointed two attorneys, one for each faction, to serve as receivers for the church on June 30, 1925. On September 21, 1925 a petition in the name of Holy Trinity was filed asking for the discharge of the receivers, because on July 31st nine trustees had been elected and that according to the parish's by-laws they were entitled to possession, management, and control of the physical property of the corporation. The trustees were from both factions. On October 16, 1925 Joseph R. Morgan, receiver for the Venizelists, brought to the attention of the court all the proceedings and rulings and alleged that the controversy arose from the teachings and services of Father Kargakos and asked for permission to terminate the employment of Father Kargakos. He also requested that the property be turned over by the receivers to the Venizelists which was in accordance with the original judgment. The court
agreed with Morgan and ordered the transfer of the church's properties to the Venizelists and the termination of Father Kargakos as priest of Holy Trinity. \( ^{89} \)

The royalists were not idle. After being refused a new trial they prayed an appeal to the Appellate Court of Indiana. The appeal was granted upon the filing of an appeal bond of ten thousand dollars with Pete Brown, James Angelo, Angelo Papatheofanis, Frank B. Papatheofanis, George Poulos, Gus Poulos, James Demas, and Michael P. Harakas as surety. \( ^{90} \) By February 28, 1924 the aforementioned men had raised the necessary capital for the bond. The royalist appeal was dismissed by the Appellate Court on October 11, 1924. The Appellate Court ruled in favor of the Venizelists on January 13, 1925. \( ^{91} \) The royalists vacated Holy Trinity after the Marion County Superior Court order of November 23, 1925. In 1927 the royalists appealed to the Supreme Court of the State of Indiana. The Supreme Court found seven errors in the proceedings of the trial court, but the appeal was based upon whether the original judgment remained in force or not. The Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the trial court on November 18, 1927. \( ^{92} \) With that decision the royalists grudgingly accepted their fate.

After the royalists withdrew from Holy Trinity they formed their own parish. That church was originally located on the near south side of the city. The second site of the royalist church was Saint George Syrian Orthodox Church on North Sherman Drive with whom they held services from 1926 to 1929.
The Syrians shared their facilities with the Greeks because the royalists were able to supply a priest. When the Syrians obtained a priest of their own tradition, the royalist Greeks moved to another location once again. After leaving the Syrians the royalists were able to negotiate a deal with the Roumanians to hold services at the Roumanian Orthodox Church which was located at 633 West Market Street. The royalists held services there from 1930 thru 1933.

The minority Venizelists had won a stunning victory in the courts. The trustee election of 1926 marked the real emergence of the Venizelists to power over Holy Trinity. In March of that year the elected officers were: Harry Alexander, James Zacharias, Gregory Dale, and Gus Papantonopoulos. The board members were: Efthemios Paris, George Vlaseros, Polikarpos Lemperis, Savvas Theorides, Pete Kostarides, Sam Kassoumis, and John Koufodemos. The evidence indicates that the above mentioned men were returned to office frequently during the schism demonstrating the respect held for them by their factional compatriots. The biggest event for the Venizelists after the trials was a visit by Bishop Philaretos of Chicago in late November 1928. The reason for his visit is now unknown. The bishop did pose for a picture with the Indianapolis Venizelist congregation during his stay in town.

The maintenance and operation of Holy Trinity before the schism must have been burdensome. In splitting the Greek community the schism divided the limited financial resources of the Greeks between two churches to the detriment of all the
Indianapolis Greeks. By January 1928 Holy Trinity was in a pitiful financial condition. The church had $175 in its bank account and was delinquent three thousand dollars on its mortgage. To help the church out of its financial quagmire Harry Alexander and Gregory Dale advanced the Venizelist community fifteen hundred dollars and five hundred dollars respectively. Though helpful, their generosity did not halt the financial collapse of Holy Trinity. As the Depression worsened Holy Trinity's properties were auctioned by the sheriff of Marion County on November 19, 1931 to pay off its mortgage. Railroadmen's Savings and Loan, holder of the mortgage, became the new owner by having the high bid of $9,194.94.

The financial collapse of Holy Trinity was the lowest point in the history of the Greek community of Indianapolis. It appeared as though all the sacrifices had been for nothing. The Venizelists continued to hold church services at 231 North West Street, but the atmosphere was different. Instead of having full control over the properties, the Venizelists paid rent for the next three years to an impersonal company in order to hold services in their own church. The situation was lamentable, but there was little the Greeks could do to change it as long as they were divided into two hostile factions. Though the foreclosure of the mortgage and the loss of proprietary rights were immediately disastrous to the Greeks the calamity proved to be beneficial in the long run. Historically, the Greeks have found it difficult to work together for long periods of time, except when faced with adversity which
which threatened all of them. The transfer of Holy Trinity to non-Greek control was a catharsis for the whole Hellenic community of Indianapolis. The factional disputes were put aside temporarily for the common goal of restoring Holy Trinity to its rightful owners - the Greek people of Indianapolis. To accomplish that hoped for restoration, a new Holy Trinity corporation was formed on March 31, 1934 to buy back the church and its associated properties from Railroadmen's Savings and Loan. The directors of the new corporation were: Angelo James, Tony Pappas, Sam Smyrnis, and Louis Speropoulos. The chairman of the board and majority stock holder, with eight hundred dollars worth of shares, was John Zazas.99

John Zazas had arrived in Indianapolis in 1911 where he started an employment agency originally named The Indiana Commissary Company and was later re-named The Indianapolis Commissary Company. Zazas's agency catered to the needs of the various railroads which had lines running through Northeast and Midwest regions of the United States, but his main client was the New York Central Railroad. As the railroads were the major mode of transportation during those years, thousands of laborers were in constant demand to lay new track and to repair existing lines. Zazas found positions for men interested in such work for a finder's fee of a few dollars each. The laborers lived in rural camp areas near the various construction and repair sites, and food had to be trucked into them. Besides securing the laborers jobs Zazas provided them with food through his commissary with the railroads his agency serviced.
Over the years Zazas built his business up to the point where he was hiring and providing for thousands of workers. Politically John Zazas was a royalist in Greek affairs, and he was a strong Republican in American politics. As work on the railroads declined in the 1930s Zazas closed his agency and lived off his investments. John Zazas was the wealthiest Greek in Indianapolis for many years according to my sources. It is believed that he was one of the first Greek millionaires in the United States. He had the type of personality that made one like or dislike him immediately.

With the formation of the new Holy Trinity corporation the royalist - Venizelist controversy in Indianapolis came to peaceful end outwardly. The Greeks united to regain possession of their properties, but the wounds of the schism were not healed at the time of the reunification. The royalists, due to Zazas's position in the corporation, resumed attendance for services at 231 North West Street with the Venizelists. on January 29, 1937 the following officers were elected: John G. Zazas, chairman, James Clones, vice-chairman, and George Morris, Louis Speropoulos, George Angelopoulos, George Pappas, Gus Poulos, Angelo James, Nick Hantzis, and James Raftis were directors and stock holders. The following administrative officers were also elected: Angelo James, president, Nick Hantzis, first vice-president, Theodore Speropoulos, secretary, and Louis Speropoulos, treasurer. A period of surface tranquility descended upon the battle scarred community. For unity and survival the divisive debate went into suspend-
ed animation. The next problem became the funding of the church. Due to the parish's poor economic condition the real executive authority gravitated into the hands of one man. Though his administration was efficient, John Zazas was considered by many of the congregation to be autocratic. In many ways he acted as though Holy Trinity was his personal possession. Despite his faults, John G. Zazas was responsible for saving Holy Trinity and restoring it to the whole Greek community of Indianapolis. He was basically a good man who did what he considered his duty when the situation warranted it. The community of Indianapolis was indebted to John Zazas during his life and his memory should be eternal amongst the members of that community.

The open schism had lasted over a decade nationally. The main detrimental effect it had in Indianapolis was the retardation of that community's internal and physical growth. On the national level the prelates of the Holy Synod of Greece and the Ecumenical Patriarchate saw the damage being done to Hellenism in America, and they set about to remedy the situation. Working to heal the wounds, both administrative groups chose Athenagoras, Metropolitan of Corfu, to serve as Archbishop of North and South America in 1930. John Zazas was a member of the Archdiocesan Council. The expansion of the archdiocese's power occurred over many years. While financial matters and administration were left in the hands of the local communities, but the appointment and discharge of priests came under the jurisdiction of the new archbishop. The schism on
the official, national level was ended for all practical purposes by the formation of the Archdiocese of North and South America. The schism in the individual parishes ended on varying schedules. The open schism in Indianapolis lasted twelve years. The final wounds of the Indianapolis schism were healed over during the 1940s.
Greek Owned Businesses

Given the peasant backgrounds of the vast majority of Greek immigrants their business success in America was truly a remarkable achievement. The situation in Indianapolis was similar to that faced by the Greeks anywhere else in the United States. The Greeks arrived there with little capital or experience in the trades they were to make into careers for themselves.

Many factors influenced a Greek immigrant to start his own business once in this country. The desire to acquire wealth and to return to Greece to spite their detractors motivated some. Hearing that the streets of America were paved with gold, many Greeks entered into businesses in the belief that it was the surest path to success, wealth, and serenity. Being self-employed was certainly preferable to working long hours for meager wages. The chief desire was for economic independence and being the proprietor of a store appeared to be the best avenue to achieve that cherished goal. In many ways business represented a form of desired freedom to many Greeks. Being the owner rather than an employee working for a weekly wage, the Greek businessman was free from the domination of a boss. Those individuals who operated their own shops found it difficult to work for another person even if that meant making smaller profits than working for higher wages.

In Indianapolis the Greeks engaged in such varied businesses as: confectionaries, shoe shining, taverns, restaurants, theaters, billiard halls, tailoring shops, barber shops,
groceries, dry cleaners, and flower shops. The period between the two world wars witnessed the development of new Greek owned businesses in Indianapolis and the expansion of existing ones there. Most of the Greek shops were either single proprietorships or unincorporated partnerships. Statistical information concerned with income level was impossible to obtain accurately. Over the years members of the community or their surviving relatives have discarded their business ledgers and cash books of the years under discussion. The few sources available, being in private possession, were inaccessible for obvious personal reasons. The second main source of such material, namely the Indiana Census Reports, were also inaccessible due to that state's seventy-five year ban on examining the confidential reports of the census. The attempt to gather detailed financial information about the Greek owned businesses were hopelessly frustrated by the aforementioned conditions. Greek business expansion in downtown Indianapolis reached its peak during the years of World War One and 1941.

The Greek owned businesses in the city remained centered in the heart of the downtown area of Indianapolis. The war and post war years was a time of expected conformity in the United States. The effect that mood change had on the Greeks in town was a series of name changes of their stores by 1922. Prior to those changes the shops were usually named after the proprietors. The Greeks developed an interesting patch quilt of small businesses in the downtown during the first four decades of this century.
By the decimal numbering system adopted by Indianapolis, one hundred numbers are allotted to each city square. On streets running north and south the numbering begins at Washington Street, and the streets running east and west are numbered East and West from Meridian Street. All other streets not commencing at either of the above points are numbered in accordance with that system. Odd numbers occur on the south and east sides of the streets and even numbers on the north and west sides.

Illinois Street was the location of many Greek owned businesses. At 7 South Illinois Thomas Sioris had established a shoe shine parlor in 1904. His ownership passed to several partnerships, each involving one of the Smyrnises, which renamed it the Indianapolis Shoe Shine and continued to operate it as a shining parlor until 1931. The Clones Brothers Cigar Store was located at 14 South Illinois from 1922 to 1925, and James Clones opened the Point Bar at that address in 1933. John Leckas moved his confectionary, The Palace of Sweets, from 11 South Illinois to 16 South Illinois in 1915. He remained at that address until 1923 when he moved into the fruit business at 143 South Illinois in 1932. By 1936 his store was located at 147 South Illinois. George Georgopulos started his shoe repair shop, The Towers, at 18 South Illinois in 1931. James Asimikas's billiard hall at 44 South Illinois lasted from 1920 to 1923. The Polson and Adams Billiard Hall, 46 South Illinois, was in business from 1920 to 1928. In 1928 Chris Polson became the sole owner and continued to operate at that location.
The Zacharias confectionary was located at 54 South Illinois from 1917 to 1926, and it was renamed the Imperial Confectionary by 1922. In 1926 James Zacharias moved his store to West Ohio Street. Frank and Angelo Papatheofanis renamed their shops at 56 South and 134 North Illinois to the Star Service Shop by 1922. By 1929 they were engaged in hat cleaning, shoe repair, and dry cleaning, besides boot blacking, at both locations. The partnership of Cranas and Fikas operated the American Restaurant at 106 South Illinois from 1920 to 1923. Between 1926 to 1928 Ernest Koumoundouros operated a restaurant at that location, and Chris Polson did the same in 1929 with the Polson Restaurant. By 1936 George Clones was running a billiard hall at that location. James Clones opened the Budwiser Cafe at 102 South Illinois in 1932, and in 1933 he changed his cafe into a tavern which was known as the Budwiser Bar. In 1933 Sam Smyrnis opened a billiard hall at 113 South Illinois, and George Clones had a restaurant at 116 South Illinois. Ernest Koumoundouros opened the Grand Pool Room at 124 South Illinois Street in 1938. James Kakavecos had a shining stand at 144 South Illinois in 1933. In 1934 he moved to 149 South Illinois. George Georgokopulos, better known as George Pulos, moved his shining business from 209 South Illinois to 151 South Illinois in 1918 where it remained until 1924. John Poulis operated a shoe shine at 149 South Illinois in 1929 and moved to 151 South Illinois in 1934. The H and L Restaurant, 224 South Illinois, was operated by two Greeks, Hantzis and Lemperis, and it was in business between 1922 and
More Greek owned businesses were located along North Illinois Street. In 1913 Harry Bookedis opened the first Greek owned flower shop in the city at 8 - 10 North Illinois. His store was known originally as Bookedis and Bookedis and later on as The Claypool Florist. The Claypool Florist closed its doors in 1932. The Dew Drop Inn, owned by George W. Vavul, was located at 41 North Illinois from 1920 to 1922, at 209 North Illinois from 1923 to 1924, and at 19 North Illinois from 1925 to 1928 whereupon it apparently closed for business. George Pappas operated a flower shop at 19 North Illinois from 1931 to 1932. The Peter Karnegis Shoe Shine Parlor, 109 North Illinois, became known as the Victory Shoe Shine by 1922, and it was owned by Louis Pihos from 1922 to 1924. George Pulos took over the Victory in 1925 and diversified into dry cleaning and shoe repair. In 1933 he and his brother, Gus Pulos, moved the shop to 119 North Illinois. George Pappas started his first flower shop at 111 North Illinois in 1923. He converted it into a soft drink and confectionary in 1928. In 1926 that address was the site of George Pappas's fruit stand. At 133 North Illinois George Pappas established a restaurant in 1924 which became his flower shop in 1925. He sold his share of the flower shop to Thomas Vallas in 1926. Thomas Vallas and Gus Pappas operated their New York Flower Shop at that location for a few years before moving to 137 North Illinois and renaming their store The Lyric Flower Shop. They remained in business until 1970.
There were other Greek owned enterprises along North Illinois Street. The other Star Service Shop, 134 North Illinois, moved to 130 North Illinois in 1929. Gus Belcas had a restaurant at 150 North Illinois from 1929 to 1932. In 1934 Nick Chyrsanthos was running a restaurant at that location. The Eastern Shoe Shine, operated by William Merticos, was located at 154 North Illinois from 1918 to 1930. In 1931 that site was the address of Gus Belcas's confectionary. At 160 North Illinois Nick Seremelis ran a restaurant from 1923 to 1926. The Brevor Shoe Parlor, 205 North Illinois, was established by John Cherpas in 1919 and by 1931 he had branched into hat cleaning and shoe repair. In 1932 Peter Belcas started a restaurant at 148 North Illinois. In 1933 Mike Houles moved his grocery from Washington Street to 216 North Illinois. After closing his store Houles sold Greek specialties out of his home, and he did deliveries out of his car. John Farmakes had moved his restaurant to 736 North Illinois by 1933. Nicholas Manolios moved his bakery from East Maryland Street to 217 North Illinois in 1934. From 1934 to 1938 the Budwiser Cafe No. 2 existed at 238 North Illinois. That cafe was operated by James Clones and Sam Smyrnis. Upon the death of Sam Smyrnis in 1934 the cafe was operated by James Clones and Andrew Smyrnis. In 1940 Anest Poulos opened a second dry cleaning store at 235 North Illinois.

Indiana Avenue was the location of thirteen Greek businesses. At 216 Indiana Avenue John Spirtos had a restaurant from 1928 to 1931. From 1931 to 1937 his restaurant was lo-
located at 206 Indiana Avenue and was known as the Indiana Restaurant. In 1937 Spirtos moved his restaurant which was then known as the Arrow Lunch Room to 227 Indiana Avenue. Harry Nicholas opened a hat cleaning shop at 252 Indiana Avenue in 1928, and in 1932 he changed the name of his shop to Indiana Cleaners. George Gabaras ran a soft drink shop at 254 Indiana Avenue in 1934. Michael Harakas's restaurant was located at 306 Indiana Avenue from 1904 to 1930 and was known as the Chicago. Two more restaurants both of which opened in 1940 were located at 329 and 347 Indiana Avenue. Gus Theofanis operated the latter one. A Greek named Yeovis operated a restaurant at 357 Indiana Avenue in 1922 - 1923. That location was also the site of the Varnes and Spoulos restaurant, 1923 - 1924, and of Mr. Karandos's restaurant in 1925. At 526 Indiana Avenue the Hantzis brothers started a restaurant in 1911 which became known as the New York Restaurant by 1922. The Indiana Confectionary, 543 Indiana Avenue was in business from 1918 to 1924. John Mitsis opened a restaurant at 802 Indiana Avenue in 1933. Nick Demetroff started a billiard hall at 866 Indiana Avenue in 1933 which he converted into a restaurant - tavern in 1936. In 1931 Frank Ramos had a restaurant at 910 Indiana Avenue.

Pete Brown had a restaurant, Coney Island, at 9 Kentucky Avenue from 1918 to 1929. In 1931 Peter Kappas's restaurant occupied that location and by 1940 his was the only Greek business on Kentucky Avenue. Nick Merianos started a restaurant at 21 Kentucky Avenue in 1916 and continued to operate
until 1920. Nicholas Vlahakos operated a restaurant at 21-23 Kentucky Avenue from 1920 to 1926, and Peter Kappas's restaurant was located there from 1927 to 1930. Nick Marianos owned a restaurant at 22 Kentucky Avenue from 1914 to 1921 when it became the Demas and Skoures Restaurant from 1921 to 1923 and the Scures Brothers Restaurant in 1923 to 1924. Gus Teazis operated a restaurant at 22 Kentucky Avenue from 1925 to 1929. The Lincoln Tailor Shop, 24 Kentucky Avenue, was owned by James Raikos who operated it there from 1922 to 1924. The New York Billiard Hall, 25 Kentucky Avenue, was located there from 1921 to 1925, and it was owned by Sam Smyrnis. Samuel Smyrnis's barber shop was located at 28 Kentucky Avenue from 1927 to 1933. The Clones Brothers Cigar Store was located at 29 Kentucky Avenue in 1925.

Other Greeks established themselves along Maryland Street. Nick Manolios moved his bakery from East Market Street to 627 East Maryland, and his bakery was located there from 1922 thru 1940. John Bazis had a restaurant at 134 East Maryland from 1923 to 1933. He moved his restaurant to 20 South Delaware in 1934. William Beikes established a restaurant at 36-38 East Maryland in 1927. The Athens Cafe was in existence at 33 West Maryland from 1922 to 1925, and in 1926 that location became home to George Clones's restaurant. From 1929 to 1934 33 West Maryland was the site of the Apollo Lunch owned by Tom Sofios. Samuel Smyrnis had a billiard hall at 35 West Maryland from 1926 to 1932. The Uncle Sam's Cafe, operated by James L. Cafouros, was in business at 40 West Maryland from
1918 to 1927. A restaurant owned by the partnership of Sofios, Asimos, and Pappas was located at 108 West Maryland from 1923 to 1927. That location had been the site of the Devil's Cafe which went out of business in 1922. In 1936 Tom Sofios opened the Apollo Restaurant at 108 West Maryland. Theodosios Manolios opened the Manolios Bakery at 443 - 445 West Maryland in 1920. His shop was located at that address until 1934 when he moved it into the building he had built for it on West Washington Street. Andrew Nicholas had a grocery at 538 West Maryland in 1927-1928. John Christ operated a restaurant at 544 West Maryland from 1924 to 1930. In 1923 Tony Pappas started a restaurant at 602 West Maryland. In 1924 the Billianis Ice Cream Company was located at 602 West Maryland until 1929 when it was moved to 46 South California Street. By 1932 the company's name had been changed to Lilly Ice Cream Company. In 1934 the Speropoulos and Zarvas Restaurant was located at 602 West Maryland Street.

Massachusetts Avenue was the location of several more Greek owned businesses. At 215 Massachusetts John Smyrnis operated a shoe shine parlor from 1908 to 1925 and from 1927 to 1933 Chris Zilson was running a shoe parlor at that address. Angelo Gravos had a restaurant at 250 Massachusetts Avenue from 1928 to 1935. John Decas ran a restaurant named after himself at 309 Massachusetts from 1919 to 1922 and from 1923 to 1929 that location was the site of Chris Noutsis's restaurant. A Greek named Samargis had a hat cleaning shop at 338 Massachusetts Avenue from 1933 to 1934. John Farmakes's res-
taurant called the American Restaurant was located at 401 Massachusetts from 1923 to 1927. Peter Costas had a shoe shine and repair shop at 403 Massachusetts from 1923 to 1928. The Alex Anderson Shoe Shine, 404 Massachusetts, was open from 1922 - 1925. The Boston Shoe Sine was operated by John Costas in 1922 and by Gus Gekas from 1923 on. It was located at 530 Massachusetts Avenue. By 1936 Gus Gekas's shoe repair shop was located at 411 Massachusetts Avenue, and in 1938 John Costas's shoe repair was located at that address. In 1940 Peter Costas had a shoe repair shop at 413 Massachusetts Avenue.

Charles Apostol's restaurant, known as Charlie's Steak House, was located at 34 East Ohio Street from 1924 to 1926. From 1926 to 1930 it was located at 126 - 130 East Ohio Street. In 1931 Apostol relocated his restaurant for the last time moving to 144 East Ohio Street. Nick Chryssicos's tailor shop was located at 145 East Ohio Street from 1932 to 1939. He moved his shop to 141 East Ohio Street during 1940. A branch of the Smyrnis Brothers Shoe Shine Parlors was located at 15 West Ohio Street from 1911 to 1926. That site was taken over by Nick Vozikis in 1927. 17 West Ohio Street was the location of Nicholas Poulos's shoe shine during 1923-1924. From 1926 to 1932 James Zacharias ran his Imperial Confectionary at 17 West Ohio Street. George Settos's Ohio Theater was started in 1937 at 41 West Ohio Street, and Nick Kockopoulos's flower shop was located at 43 West Ohio Street from 1931 to 1934. Anest Poulos's shoe shine shop, The Ohio, was
located at 45 West Street. The shop specialized in shoe repair and dry cleaning. Frank B. Pappas opened a confectionary at 105 West Ohio Street which was in operation from 1923 thru 1925.

Washington Street was and remains a central thoroughfare of Indianapolis, and several Greeks established businesses along that street. At 134 East Washington James Katsoulis started his shoe repair shop in 1925 and remained in business at that location until 1934. The Lincoln Restaurant, 253 East Washington, owned and operated by James Angelo was in existence from 1922 thru 1925. The Peoples Shoe Shine operated by Chris Georgopulos was located at 425 East Washington in 1922. The Manos Restaurant, owned by Peter Nomos from 1922 thru 1923, was located at 428 East Washington. Chris Pappas's restaurant was located at 345 East Washington from 1923 to 1937. In 1936 Chris Pappas started a parking lot 339-341 East Washington. In 1938 John Bazis had moved his restaurant to 345 East Washington. Stavros Kondoulis's shoe repair shop was located at 351 East Washington Street from 1925 thru 1927. In 1919 The Liberty Restaurant was started at 435 East Washington by James Velonis, and Samuel Smyrnis and he were partners in the Liberty Billiard Hall, 455 East Washington Street, from 1922 thru 1927. In 1928 The Liberty Restaurant was moved to 455 East Washington. The Kalas and Stathakis Restaurant was located at 501 thru 503 East Washington from 1923 thru 1924; in 1925 George Poulis had a soft drink parlor there, and from 1926 thru 1931 Mike Houles had his restaurant and Greek grocery at that lo-
cation. He then moved his business to 216 North Illinois Street. H. D. Hantzis established a soft drink parlor at 547 East Washington from 1931 thru 1932 and a restaurant at 561 East Washington in 1934 which became his tavern in 1938. Chris Zilson established a dry cleaning shop at 454 East Washington Street in 1934 and by 1938 the shop's name was changed to the Capitol Service Shop operated by Chris Zilson and Peter Costas. The Zakouras Brothers Billiard Hall, 602-604 East Washington Street, closed in 1925. George Geroulis started his dry goods store at 606 East Washington Street in 1934.

Along West Washington Street several more Greek businesses were established. At 150 West Washington was the location of the Thomas and Melcon Shoe Shine in 1925. From 1926 thru 1927 the Speropoulos and Marinos Shoe Repair was located at that address. In 1928 the Tony and Marinos Service Shop established at 150 West Washington. By 1933 George Tony and Tom Marinos had renamed their shop the Indiana Hat Cleaners, and by 1936 they moved the shop to 144-146 West Washington and renamed it the Indiana Service Shop. The Capitol Tavern, owned by Steve Fotiades and Jordan Jannetides, was opened in 1935 at 152 West Washington, and in 1936 the tavern was relocated to 150 West Washington where it remained until closing in 1980. Nick Merianos had a restaurant at 363 West Washington from 1922 to 1926 when he moved his eatery to 365 West Washington. The Gagaris Restaurant was operated by Michael Pappas in 1919, by Gus Karas in 1920, and by George Poulas in 1922. The restaurant was located at 401 West Washington Street. From 1923
thru 1926 that restaurant was owned by Harry Siamese. In 1927 Chris Paris's restaurant was located 401 West Washington.
Nicholas Marianos had a restaurant at 406 West Washington from 1923 thru 1924. In 1935 The Manolios Baking Company, owned by Theodosios Manolios, was moved from West Maryland Street to 426 West Washington Street. Mr. Manolios had the building which housed his bakery on that street built to his specifications. Harry Alexander started his hardware store at 462 West Washington in 1922, and by 1931 he had two locations one at 973 North Belle Vieu Place and the other was at 2445 West Tenth Street. The Demetroulas Restaurant was located at 467 West Washington from 1926 thru 1928. The Paris Brothers Confectionary was located at 468 West Washington from 1922 thru 1926. The Manhattan Restaurant was begun by Charles Merianos at 470 West Washington Street in 1922. In 1925 Nick Marianos took over that restaurant from Merianos, and in 1926 Paul Gian- nakos took over the Manhattan Restaurant and operated it until he retired from the business.

Other Greek businesses were scattered throughout the city. George Angelopoulos opened his grocery at 166 Geisen- dorf Street in 1923, and he was in business at that location until 1949. The Vudis Billiard Hall opened in 1930 at 27 South California Street. Also in 1930 James Demos opened his Wash-U-Kwik Car Wash at 339 North Capitol Avenue. In 1932 James Angelo, better known as Jim Angel, had a billiard hall at 602 East North Street, and in 1934 he was the owner of the Pennsylvania Service Shop which was located at 124 North Pennsylvania
Avenue. In 1936 Jim Angel started the A&B Typewriter Supply Company at 233 North Pennsylvania Avenue which is still in business today. The Post Office Cafe, 218 North Meridian Street, was opened for business by a Greek in 1916, and by 1931 George Karras was and remained its proprietor. In 1933 the partnership of Zakoras and Spanos established a shoe repair shop at 1042 Virginia Avenue. The Palace No. 2 Restaurant, owned by George Pulos in 1919, was located at 340 Virginia Avenue. The Lemcke Service Shop, owned and operated by the Speropoulos brothers, Louis and William, was located at 108-112 East Market Street. In 1936 George N. Skoulas opened his shoe repair shop at 207 South State Street, and in 1940 he moved his store to 2215 Shelby Street where he remained in business till the mid-1970s. William Zilson was the first Greek attorney in the city of Indianapolis. He began his practice there in 1925, and his office was located in the Hume-Mansur Building, 23 East Ohio Street, which was the professional building of the city. The Hume-Mansur Building, a beautiful edifice, was demolished in 1980.

A small number of Greeks were self-employed in Indianapolis prior to World War One. Beginning during the war years and continuing throughout the period under examination many more Greeks in town became the owners of their own small businesses. By the 1920s the Greeks were moving into the middle class group of Indianapolis. By the late 1920s the large number of Greek bootblacks in town had diversified into shoe repair, hat cleaning and blocking, and dry cleaning as the demand
for shoe shining declined as city street maintenance improved. A few Greeks were grocers and florists, and a few others went into unusual businesses such as hardware, typewriter repair, parking lot ownership, car wash, and theater management. The Indianapolis Greeks also operated many pool halls and confectionaries in town. Restaurants and taverns made up the largest number of Greek-owned businesses in Indianapolis throughout the period. Undoubtedly during Prohibition speak easies existed in Indianapolis and probably some of those establishments were operated by a few Greeks. Following the repeal of Prohibition several Indianapolis Greek business men established tavern and bar enterprises. It is impossible to know all the personal reasons why certain businesses existed longer than others, but in general after World War Two the small confectioners were unable to compete against the discount stores and by theaters which began to sell their own confections. Another reason for the termination of small Greek entrepreneurs in town was the declining profitability of being self-employed. The second generation Greeks in Indianapolis for the most part entered the professions, the corporate life, or entered into their own businesses which were usually different from that operated by their parents. It is lamentable that given the growth of big business and government that all small businessmen are now on the verge of becoming an endangered species in this country.
VI

Nativism and Social Life

Though America was developed by immigrants from many nations, native-born Americans have always had an ambivalent attitude towards all immigrants. Starting in the colonial years until the 1920s, the doors to the United States were open to every immigrant who wished to come to this country from Europe. Generally, Americans welcomed the newcomers and were proud of the reputation their country possessed as a refuge for the destitute and for those seeking greater opportunity. The policy of free immigration attested to the American peoples’ generosity and to their confidence in the stability of American institutions. It was an ethnocentric view of the world which complemented the prevailing belief in American exceptionalism. The American immigration policy during the aforementioned years assumed two concepts: America had the ability and vitality to remold the immigrants, and the immigrants would be able to be and want to be remade into an “American”. The economic reasons for free immigration helped to maintain the policy until the 1920s. In the early days of the republic the country was untouched and bountiful, but it lacked the necessary population to develop it effectively. The immigrants were welcomed because their labor was in great demand. The immigrants in those days were primarily from northern and western Europe. Ironically, there has not been a period in the history of the United States without some form of nativist reaction to unrestricted immigration. The immigration problem was aggravated by the nativists failure to
realize that the various ethnic groups desired to preserve their own languages and customs in the United States.

In periods of political upheaval or depression Americans have lost confidence in their institutions and have projected the reasons for the failure of the economic system on the immigrants and foreigners in this country. Instead of coming to grips with the real problems affecting the United States, the immigrants and Negroes became the scapegoats for all the ills of the country. Nativists argued that American institutions were not viable enough to cope with the ever increasing flow of immigrants from Europe during the industrial transformation of the United States. While all European immigrants faced some form of discrimination and physical violence after arriving in the United States, southern and eastern European immigrants sparked a more virulent, racist form of American nativism.

Although people are people, concerned American politicians and scholars, noting the shift in the immigration pattern from northwestern to southeastern Europe, labelled the latter arrivals as "new immigrants". Restrictionists argued that the newer immigrants were less willing and able to assimilate into mainstream America than had been the case of their predecessors from northern and western Europe. That the later arrivals possessed different customs, faith, languages, and darker skins added to their difficulty of being accepted by some native American groups. The new immigrants, especially the Greeks and Jews, were viewed as clannish because they lived
in compact neighborhoods in the major cities of the country. It was also argued that such immigrants were genetically inferior and had to be kept out of the United States. If they were not stopped, then America would develop a mongrelized population and decline into a primitive state of existence, ran the logic of the restrictionist groups of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The new immigration was composed of many diverse ethnic groups whose experiences in America were all different. The Greeks were one element of this new immigration.

Unfortunately for them, the Greeks began arriving at a time when American nativism and nationalism was at fever pitch. Due to the changing nature of work, worker alienation, business management, ruinous competition, and foreign competition, the Panic of 1893 broke out issuing in four years of depression. To the nativists the problem was the foreigners. Restriction seemed to be the practical answer; it was the simplest solution to the country's problem by far. By the time the Immigration Restriction League and other nativist organizations were powerful enough to push legislation to curtail further immigration prosperity returned to America, forestalling action on the immigration bill.103

The period between 1900 - 1920 witnessed the emergence of intellectual studies to justify and espouse immigration restriction. Men such as William Z. Ripley and Madison Grant advanced the genetic inferiority thesis about the new immigrants in their monographs. They feared the new groups that
which were entering the United States. With affluence and the changing role of children in nineteenth century America, the birth rate for the Anglo-Saxon portion of the population was declining compared to that of the newer immigrant groups. The indigent immigrants had larger families due to religious beliefs and economic necessity. The prolific newer arrivals posed a double threat. Not only would they mongrelize America eventually, but they would gain political control by sheer numbers and destroy the whole American way of life. Such theories, though understandable, were truly paranoid. While the above paradigm describes the situation in general the Greeks received a similiar reception wherever they settled.

The main question asked of the Greeks, as well as the other minorities, was: Will they become good citizens? Many scholarly works were published on the response to that question. Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of Sociology, wrote voluminously about the different problems associated with immigration. In 1911 Yale University Press published Fairchild's monograph Greek Immigration to the United States. Generally, Professor Fairchild did not view the Greeks in a favorable light. To him the Greeks were clannish, dirty, and lusting after money all the time as evidenced by:

A large proportion of our population seems to look upon the ideal American citizen as the man who tends strictly to business, makes money, lets other people severely alone and expects them to do the same. If we adopt this point of view, we can have little hesitation in saying that the Greeks answer the requirements, for as we have seen, they are distinctly a money-making class in this country, and if some of the methods by which they do it will not bear investigation - that is nobody's business
according to the hypothesis. 104

The main problem with the Greeks then was not that they had not adopted the values of American capitalism; it was that they were keen competitors. To Fairchild, the Greeks' immorality was re-inforced by their lifestyle in compact inner city neighborhoods. His prescription was: if the Greeks socialized more with Americans of the "better class", then they (the Greeks) would develop admirable qualities such as honesty, truthfulness, harmony, stability, regard for women and children, and social value. 105

The primary problem with Fairchild's analysis was his apparent limited knowledge of the Greek immigrants and the American people of his day. He was obviously confused in stating his solution for the problems of the Greeks. A similarity exists between the problems experienced by Negroes and the new immigrants. Though the Greeks were of the Caucasian race they were viewed as inferior by the average American. Most native born Americans did not wish to live near or associate with the new immigrants on terms of social equality, so it is difficult to comprehend how the Greeks could have achieved such exposure to middle class Americans in anyway. Fairchild's book on the Greeks, like the treatises of other eugenicists, was an attempt to justify racism. The Greeks proved themselves to be an industrious people, yet they were not socially recognized in this country until 1940. Rejection by the Americans helped maintain the ghettos of the immigrants longer and helped delay the prime nativist goal of assimilating all the immigrants
Many comments were made about the clannishness of the Greeks. The initial Greek immigrants were primarily men who lived in the industrial cities of the nation for obvious reasons. Nativists claimed that trend as evidence that the Greeks did want to assimilate into mainstream America. Such commentators missed the real issue behind the settlement of immigrant groups in compact inner city areas. Immigrants found their first homes in quarters native Americans would not inhabit any longer. The middle class and the well-to-do were not willing to live in close proximity of their factories and offices, because of the blighting of the old neighborhoods by industrial expansion in a downtown area. The simplest, most profitable use for houses located there was to divide the old houses and buildings into apartment type lodgings. While the rent on each apartment was low the aggregate returned large dividends. The proximity of such housing to downtown areas meant that the immigrants could save money that otherwise would have been spent on transportation. As ethnic groups concentrated in the centers of the major metropolitan areas the various urban ghettos developed. In Indianapolis the Greeks were so few in number that they did not come to dominate a certain part of the city by themselves. Over the first two decades of this century a Balkan neighborhood composed of Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, and Rumanians developed on the near west side of Indianapolis. In the 1920s there were two other concentrations of Greeks in Indianapolis.
besides the west side Balkan neighborhood. A considerable number of Greeks resided on the east side of Indianapolis during the 1920s through the 1940s. That neighborhood was bounded by Fulton Street on the west, Randolph Street on the east, Michigan Street on the north, and Washington Street on the south. Living in close proximity to one another bred a special spirit of community. The focal point of the east side neighborhood was Highland Park on East New York Street. The main attraction was the park's hill, better known as Greek Hill, which was across the street from the Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company on New York Street. As Military Park was the meeting place for the Greeks of the west side, Highland Park and Greek Hill was the central meeting place for the east side Greeks. The nightly social gatherings began with the first warm nights of Spring and continued unabated throughout the Summer on an annual basis. As most houses lacked air conditioning in those years the nightly interludes were welcome relief to the heat of the houses. Another small group of Greek families lived in the exclusive neighborhoods of the city's north side. John Zazas lived at 4356 North Meridian Street which was across the street from the Governor's Mansion. Other Greeks lived between Thirty-Fifth Street and Fortieth Street along North Illinois Street which is one block west of Meridian Street. The disruptions caused by World War II and the prosperity of the war years led to the break up of all the Greek neighborhoods in Indianapolis within a few years after the conclusion of World War Two.
Opposition to the Greeks stemmed from many quarters other than elitest scholars. The early years of the Greeks in the United States were made uncomfortable by the more established non-Greek immigrant groups and by native born Americans. Some of the difficulties the Greeks faced was caused by their own inadvertant actions. The Greeks were eager to make money, but for the most part they did not understand the language or customs of the United States. Greeks would take jobs in factories where the local unions were striking. By going to work in such places the Greeks broke the effectiveness of a strike and were condemned as "scabs" by the press and organized labor officials. The average citizen held stereotypes about Greeks which had been generated by justifiable criticisms, but the ripple effect exaggerated those in circulation to the detriment of all Greeks.

The initial reception the Greeks received by the Indianapolis press was neutral. The Greeks arrived there in such small numbers that their presence was unobtrusive. The difficulties experienced by the pioneer Greeks of Indianapolis were the same as those faced by all the new immigrant peoples. Native Americans looked down on all foreigners in Indianapolis, criticizing their languages, customs, religion, and occupations.107

Throughout 1907 one of the local daily newspapers began a series of articles on the effects of continued unrestricted immigration. The statistical report of 1906 was alarming enough for the Indianapolis Star to express concern over the
numbers admitted and the sub-standard nature of the immigrants being admitted to the United States. To explain the phenomena, eugenicists cited the lures of America to the rest of the world with appropriate suggestions for curbing the current flow of immigrants. The publication of naturalization statistics put to rest local xenophobist fears about the loyalty of the state's foreign population. Marion County naturalized more immigrants than any other county in the state of Indiana. No specific information about the Greeks was contained in the report, hinting at the small number residing locally then or interested in being naturalized at that time.

The year 1907 witnessed the largest migration of people to the United States in a single year in its history. Most of the immigrants that year came from southern and eastern Europe. Fear of the new comers resurfaced in the United States. Reacting to the renewed flood of immigrants, Indiana state legislators proposed a bill to restrict all but German aliens from entering the state. Nothing came of the proposed law as more Greeks and non-Germans continued to settle in Indiana. The negative editorial policy of the Indianapolis Star reflected the mood of a proportion of its readership on the issue of continued immigration. The attempt to discourage all immigrants from settling in Indiana achieved its desired effect temporarily.

Not all Indianapolis citizens and businessmen subscribed to immigration restriction, nationally or locally. In mid-1911 John H. Holliday, editor and proprietor of the Indianapolis
News, merged The Immigrants' Aid Association and The Cosmopolitan Center into one effective organization and named it The Immigrants' Aid Association. Under his presidency The Immigrants' Aid Association opened a combination school, club, and house for foreigners at 617 West Pearl Street which was known as Foreigners' House. The primary goals of the organization were the betterment of the living conditions of the immigrants residing on the west side and of the whole city and for their assimilation into Americans. The clubhouse was intended to serve them as a social as well as an instructional center. The Association put emphasis on personal hygiene and on banking their money instead of sending funds out of the country, a notable trend amongst Greek immigrants.

Foreigners' House opened on October 6, 1911. The House was a two story frame structure containing four small rooms and one large assembly room on the ground floor and two large rooms fitted for bathing purposes on the upper floor. Each bathing room contained four showers and two tubs. The smaller rooms were used for classrooms. The House also had pool tables and other conveniences for the immigrants. Foreigners' House was open six days a week from 9:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., and on Saturday till 11:00 P.M. to accommodate those desiring to take baths. During 1911-1912 a night school was conducted on Tuesday and Thursday nights. The school was divided into five classes, each in a separate room based upon the individual's ability to speak and read English. The average attendance at each session was sixty. The daily attendance during the week was twenty-five, and on Saturday afternoons the average atten-
dance was sixty. During the Winter months meetings for men were held at the house on Sunday afternoons from three to four o'clock. Addresses were delivered on topics relating to good citizenship, and such lectures were given in conjunction to music programs. Those Sunday meetings had an attendance of one hundred fifty. The Foreigners' House sponsored entertainment for the immigrants on Thanksgiving Day, New Year's Day, Christmas Day, Washington's Birthday and Lincoln's Birthday. On those occasions the house was filled with over three hundred people.\textsuperscript{116}

The second annual report of the Immigrants' Aid Association shows that the same programs were in operation as the previous year. Due to the outbreak of the Balkan Wars and the return of many Indianapolis immigrants to fight in those wars attendance was reduced to fifty in 1912-1913. Also during 1912-1913 over eight thousand men, women, and children made use of the bath facilities. The Serbians and Rumanians organized a string orchestra and a choral group respectively. The Association secured jobs for 169 men free of charge that year to the detriment of fraudulent labor agencies.\textsuperscript{117}

The major accomplishment of the Immigrants' Aid Association was its ability to attract the city's diverse ethnic groups to forget their animosities, demonstrating that they could all work together for a common goal. Besides designed courses to Americanize the immigrants Foreigners' House provided them with a place to socialize amongst themselves. The admitted stronger appeal of the Association was that it pro-
vided the immigrants' a place to perform their native dances. The Serbians and Rumanians developed orchestras that provided music for the dancing. Though the expressed aim was the Americanization of the foreigners, the Balkan groups put on public demonstrations of their dancing skills for the enjoyment of certain Americans. Admission was low and the events were held at the popular Tomlinson Hall. Foreigners' House became in a very real sense the social center for many immigrants of Indianapolis. In 1923 the name of the Immigrants' Aid Association was changed to American Settlement. John H. Holliday was its president and Mary Rigg was its lifelong superintendent. American Settlement continued and expanded the programs of its predecessor organization, serving primarily the ethnic groups of the near west side of Indianapolis with a variety of Athletic and educational services. Angelo Angelopoulos was a star athlete of American Settlement for many years. After World War Two, American Settlement declined as a viable institution, but it had accomplished its goal of helping the immigrants and their children to adjust to life in the United States.

How frequently Greeks attended functions at Foreigners' House, or American Settlement was not reported in the available sources. Given the nature of the Greek community, few would have been able to take time from their jobs or businesses to attend regularly. Having their own English school I doubt if many went to the classes held there. Most likely the Greeks went for the entertainments and dances. Since Indianapolis
had a chapter of the Panhellenic Union in those years few Greeks would have been willing to renounce Hellenism for Americanism. Another reason for the half success of Foreigners' House was its lack of support by the general population of Indianapolis. The Immigrants' Aid Association was administered by a group of educated, concerned middle-class professional people. The average American was more concerned about work and the mundane realities of life than the progress of aliens whom competed for their jobs. Foreigners' House did not break down the psychological walls between the Greeks and other immigrants in town and the native Americans on a large scale. The Greeks' social life in Indianapolis as elsewhere was segregated from that of the native Americans by mutual choice.

As Greek businesses and families proliferated in town, the public attitude towards them changed. During the early years the daily press began to attack the Greeks' moral integrity over a short period of time. Whenever a crime occurred in town the Greeks received the blame whether the real criminal was Greek or not. Such reports gave the Greeks a bad reputation which hurt their businesses. Infuriated by the slandering of the Greek name, Pantelis L. Cafouros threatened to sue the offensive papers and their owners for libel if the unsubstantiated reports continued to be published. The prejudicial reporting ended and the Greek name was cleared.  

The First World War and its aftermath also affected the opinions held about the Greeks. The war intensified the question of immigrant loyalty to the United States. Beginning in
in 1915, Americanization drives and activities by extremist
groups after the war put pressure on all immigrants to di-
vulge themselves of their ethnicity and to join in the sup-
posed melting pot of America. The Greeks and other groups fore-
saw the coming storm and professed their loyalty to the United
States by word and deed. Though Indiana was a center of the
Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s the Greeks of Indianapolis were not
the targets of Klan violence on a large scale. A regular cus-
tomer of Frank Papatheofanis’s shoe shine parlor was a highly
placed Klan official. That man liked Frank and Angellos and
the other Greeks because of their ambitious, hard working na-
ture. Due to their connections with this man the two brothers
were able to protect the Greek community from the Klan.\(^{120}\)
In Indianapolis the Greeks adapted to American society outward-
ly as evidenced by the name changes of their various businesses
by 1922. American place names became common, replacing the
proprietors’ surnames that had served as the orinal logos.
The antiforeignism of the 1920s caused other changes.

Other pressures acted on the Greek community of India-
napolis resulting in its acculturation to American society.
After the Asia Minor disaster interest in Greek political and
foreign affairs was dwarfed by the schism in America and the
restriction of immigration to this country. The passage of
the two National Origins Acts motivated long established Greeks
in Indianapolis to become naturalized citizens throughout the
1920s.\(^{121}\) By becoming citizens the local Greeks figured they
would be in a better position to bring over their relatives
and friends from Greece if the need arose. In 1922 four Greeks founded the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association in Atlanta, Georgia. Its development was due to the post war xenophobia. The purpose of the organization originally was to counteract nativists claims against the Greeks by promoting and encouraging Greek immigrants to become citizens of the United States. The AHEPA grew rapidly, but the schism in Indianapolis retarded the formation of a chapter there until 1929. The AHEPA was also a remedy to the social isolation experienced by Greek businessmen in the United States.

During the early years the social life of the Greeks of Indianapolis were small in scale. The Greek businessmen and workers had little time or money to expend on parties due to the nature of their goals. The social activities of the pioneer Greeks set the pattern for the community throughout the period under discussion. As new Greek families increased the size of the community the magnitude of the activities grew proportionately for such celebration as there were were communal in nature.

Besides the major feasts of the Church the Indianapolis Greeks only other social affairs were nameday parties and an occasional church picnic or dinner. After a Greek child was born his or her name was selected from amongst those of the saints of the Church. Instead of celebrating a person's actual date of birth the Greeks commemorated that event on the particular saint's day. Social life was centered in the home.
Since the community was small and everyone knew one another there was no need to invite people to come by on a name day; all were welcome along with their children at such parties. The celebrating persons were prepared at home with food and drink for their guests. The main fare was Greek wines, cheeses, olives, pastries, and various main dishes including roasted lamb. It was also customary to make the rounds of everyone observing a nameday. By evening the houses of the celebrants were full of people eating, drinking, dancing, and having a good time. Greek dances accompanied by live or recorded music topped off the night's entertainment. Since foreigners were viewed with disdain and the Greeks preferred to associate with their own people social contact between the Indianapolis Greek community and native Americans were infrequent at best. To Americans the Greeks possessed an incomprehensible language which seemed out of place in the United States, coupled with strange customs and religious practices. The Greeks felt more at ease with people they could communicate with in their own mother tongue. Motivated by belief in their own cultural superiority both the Greeks and the Americans withdrew to social circles of their own design. Greek culture in the United States was protected and transmitted to the second generation by that isolation.

The size of the Greek community of Indianapolis and Central Indiana can be only roughly estimated during the first four decades of the twentieth century, because church records of that time period are extremely sketchy. The other method
of determining population size is through use of the various state censuses. In 1920 there were five hundred and sixty-four foreign born Greeks in Indianapolis, and by including the outlying feeder towns of Holy Trinity parish such as: Anderson, Bloomington, Crawfordsville, and Muncie the total number equalled six hundred fifty-two. By 1930 the size of the Greek community of Indianapolis, including the four outlying cities, equalled one thousand one hundred thirty-nine men, women, and children of whom nine hundred fifty-one resided in Indianapolis. In 1940 there were four hundred sixty-one foreign born Greeks in Indianapolis of whom three hundred twenty-seven were men and one hundred thirty-four were women. The 1940 Census of Indiana did not report figures relating to the children of the immigrants or for the smaller cities of the state. The Ahepa estimated the number of Greeks in Central Indiana at one thousand eight hundred in 1940.

The second generation lived in two worlds: the Greek world of their parents and friends and the American world of their school and American friends. The local elementary school attended by the children from the Balkan neighborhood was Public School Number 5, and the Greek children from that area attended Manual High School. Other Greek children in town attended Shortridge and Arsenal Technical High Schools. Living in compact neighborhoods around people of the same ethnic background bred a special spirit of community which proved to be self-perpetuating.

The Greeks were determined to preserve their culture
in Indianapolis. The Greeks wanted their children to be literate in the Greek language. The perpetuation of the mother tongue was necessary in order to transmit the Greek heritage to the second generation. It was also a necessity that benefited the immigrant generation. The position the immigrants found themselves was difficult after establishing a family. The first generation was trying to learn English while at the same time trying to teach Greek to the second generation. The older generation realized that their children would learn English in school, but only they could teach their children the Greek language. The immigrant generation in Indianapolis and elsewhere was under pressure by the church hierarchs and their own consciences to preserve the Greek language in America. Parents worried that their children would grow up without the appropriate knowledge of Greek and that would hasten the demise of Greek Orthodoxy in the United States. The language question was also vital to the immigrants as a means of communication to the non-Greek groups. The immigrant parents depended upon their children to speak Greek so that they could help translate for their parents when the need arose. During their first years of life the Greek children knew only Greek. Problems developed when the Greek children of Indianapolis began to enter school. In that conformist era teachers and students put pressure on the Greeks and other ethnic minorities to forget their old country languages as useless baggage in the United States. Teachers at School Number 5 treated students that spoke a foreign language in various derogatory ways
in an attempt to purge their languages and to teach them English. Despite the efforts to suppress the use of Greek, the Greek community continued to instruct its children in the language of their ancestors.128

Greek school was held at several places and times in Indianapolis. Lessons were held three times a week, usually Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at the conclusion of regular school, and each class session lasted a couple of hours. The classes for some Greek children were conducted at the church annex, the Y.M.C.A., and for a brief period at Saint John's Academy, all of which were close to the Balkan neighborhood. During the schism there were two Greek schools giving instruction in the language. The teachers were recruited from amongst the members of the community, and several of the pastors of Holy Trinity also served as instructors. Discipline was strict, but the priests were stricter than the lay teachers.129 The teachers imparted their knowledge of Greek grammar, poetry, and history to their students. On March 25th, Greek Independence Day, the school children put on plays commemorating that event to demonstrate what they had learned about the Greek language. Reactions to Greek school from veterans of it were mixed at the time, because attendance at it took away from what free time the children had to enjoy. The benefits of knowing a second language became apparent in later years.130 Teaching Greek to the second generation provided the older generation with an avenue of communication. Children interpreted for their parents at stores as the need arose, but
such action was also a source of embarrassment. Speaking Greek or any foreign language in public in Indianapolis produced negative and obnoxious comments by native Americans and became the major form of anti-foreignism in that city. Continued public condemnation restrained the speaking of Greek outside of the home and the community.\textsuperscript{131}

The Greek children of Indianapolis were exposed to the realities of life at an early age. Free time was at a minimum. Parents wanted their children close to them to help out around the house or the family business. Greek family life was close knit, loving, and patriarchal. Sons were expected to help their fathers because it was their duty. It was assumed that the sons would take over the family business. At the same time all Greek parents urged their children "to be someone" better than themselves through higher education. Academic excellence was prized more than athletic accomplishment. In achieving that goal members of the second generation were exposed to Americans on a different level and moved beyond the self-imposed isolation of the social world of their parents.

That development was the central paradox of the Greek-American experience throughout the United States. The immigrant generation wanted their children to be educated and more upwardly mobile in American society and yet retain and preserve their Greek heritage. Changes were inevitable because the second generation was exposed to a world their parents knew nothing about and wanted to be accepted by their American peers.
It was natural for the immigrants to want the second generation to mirror them. The Greek immigrants were ethnocentric, viewing their culture as superior to any other which necessitated preserving it for as long as possible in America. Their actions were also motivated out of fear. The immigrants did not understand American ways. They depended on their children for advice; if the children broke away the immigrants security would have vanished. The immigrant’s apprehension of the Americans was justified by their individual experiences. Americans did not understand southern and eastern Europeans whom they treated as strange and inferior. The language barrier re-enforced American stereotypes. Greeks seemed so different because they could not communicate effectively in English. The Greeks and Americans lived into two different Americas. The walls between them began to break down by exposure the children received throughout their school careers.132

The life of a Greek child in Indianapolis was pretty well programmed. Life revolved around school, Greek school, chores around the store and home, or in working to get ahead financially. Parental authority was unquestioned. Social life was centered in the home and the Greek Church. Such actions were designed to inculcate Greek mores in the young. The real danger to preserving Hellenism in Indianapolis, as elsewhere, came as the children matured into young adults.

The principal generational conflict involved the desire of the young people for a social life that included both sexes. Such activities were usually frowned upon by immigrant parents
unless they had had a hand in arranging the matches. Even in church the sexes were segregated during the services. The idea of dating was unheard of for the most part. Traditionalists put emphasis on arranged marriages with other Greeks which caused a great deal of conflict amongst the young of every community. Parents would attempt to arrange marriages for their daughters; sons were left to their own devices since it was still considered a man's world in the 1930s and 1940s.

In their own way parents of girls thought they were helping their daughters, because such arranged affairs were the only right and proper thing they knew to do for their daughters. Usually the parents made the arrangements first and then informed their daughter. The conventional wisdom held that marriage came first and love would come later in the relationship. Not wanting to be dictated to, a young woman might choose an American for a boyfriend as a result of parental interference. The girls wanted to marry men that they loved, not because of a man's ethnic background. The immigrant generation did not agree with that interpretation, and feared that inter-marriage would destroy Greek culture in the United States.

A serious relationship with a non-Greek was social death in Indianapolis. The problem was complex and anxiety filled for many young Greek-American women. A Greek girl was not allowed a Greek with her parents approval, and if she had a relationship with a non-Greek, she was ostracized by the rest of the community. The result was that the young women were practically cut off from all social contact with men.
Rebellion was the only option in some cases in town. Gradually, the stigma attached to inter-marriage faded into insignificance. A Greek man had an easier time of it. Generally, no one approved of his dating a non-Greek, but most people looked the other way, especially during the pioneer years when there were few Greek women in Indianapolis. When a man decided to get married it was preferable that he marry a Greek woman in the Greek Church. The above restrictions fostered a fair amount of rebellion amongst members of the Indianapolis second generation who did not want to marry a Greek. In Indianapolis most of the second generation remained loyal to the Greek Orthodox Church, proving the fears of their parents to be unsubstantiated. 134

Another problem confronted by the second generation was that of Greek liturgical language. The second generation had been taught to speak, read, and write demotic Greek at home and school. The Divine Liturgy was composed and chanted in katharevousa (i.e. formal) Greek which resembles Byzantine and ancient Greek. Those who were fluent in Greek could follow along; those who did not have a sufficient level of fluency were at a distinct disadvantage. The services of the Greek Church are beautiful and long which made it difficult to attract some people to remain till the conclusion of the Divine Liturgy on Sundays. Holy Trinity lacked pews until after the renovation of the 1939. Prior to that event the congregation stood throughout the services as was the custom in Greece. The men occupied the right side of the church and women were
on the left side of the church. Not all the priests assigned to Holy Trinity gave sermons regularly, and those that were so inclined did not give one every Sunday.\textsuperscript{135} Despite the problems of the second generation, Hellenism did not crumble in Indianapolis as rapidly as the rumbles of rebellion indicated at the time.

Given the prejudicial non-acceptance of Greeks by Indianapolis social clubs, the Greeks formed their own clubs. The first two such clubs in Indianapolis were chapters of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association and the Greek American Progressive Association. Both clubs were attempts by Indianapolis Greeks to adapt to life in this country. The key to understanding the philosophy of each is contained in the first word of its official name. The American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, referred to as A.H.E.P.A., placed its emphasis in acculturating to American society, stressing loyalty and naturalization. The Greek American Progressive Association, better known as G.A.P.A., was formed in reaction to the conformist platform sponsored by the AHEPA.

The James Whitcomb Riley Chapter Number 232 of AHEPA was founded in Indianapolis in 1929. Its latent beginning in Indianapolis was attributable to the schism within Holy Trinity. The first officers of the chapter were: Andrew Kostas, president, Thomas Marinos, vice-president, Thomas Vallas, secretary, and John Zazas, treasurer.\textsuperscript{136} The AHEPA came into existence as a counter force to nativistic pressures brought against the Greeks in the 1920s. Its chapters also served as a social
outlet for the various Greek communities of the United States. The AHEPA sought to organize the Greek-Americans for the purpose of bettering relations with native Americans. One of the most beneficial aspects of the AHEPA for the immigrants was that its meetings were conducted in English which helped its members practice English and expanded their vocabularies.

The AHEPA served another role in Indianapolis that appealed to the emerging group of successful Greek businessmen. The organization was nationwide in scope, and through its conventions provided a forum where Greeks from all over the United States could gather together periodically to discuss their mutual problems. AHEPA's rituals and secrecy made it popular amongst members of the Greek community of Indianapolis. The members of that chapter were mostly of the royalist persuasion. The AHEPA was a middle-class oriented fraternity that embodied a social season and inherent lobbying powers for its members.\footnote{137}

Initially, AHEPA membership in Indianapolis was smaller than that of the GAPA chapter in town. The early records of the James Whitcomb Riley Chapter have been lost, making it impossible to discern exactly what activities it did sponsor over the years. Press coverage of the AHEPA chapter was limited to announcements of newly elected officers. In 1936 James Angelo was elected president of the local chapter at the Claypool Hotel. Other officers elected were: Gus Belcas, vice-president, James Katsoulis, secretary, and George Georgopulos, treasurer. Members of the board of governors were: George
Anderson, Thomas Sofios, James Alexander, James Velonis, and Peter Kappas. For the year beginning in 1938 James Angelo was elected to the presidency of the chapter for the third time. The other officers were: John Cherpas, vice-president, George Cafouros, secretary, and George Georgopulos, treasurer.

The activities of the AHEPA were by no means acceptable to all the Greeks of Indianapolis. The GAPA was organized similarly to the AHEPA, but it was opposed to the AHEPA on the cultural question of life in the United States. GAPA emphasized the maintenance of a separate Greek cultural identity in the United States. Its meetings were conducted solely in the Greek language. Nationally, GAPA strove to strengthen the Greek language and culture in the United States.

The Thermopylae Chapter Number 134 of the GAPA was started in Indianapolis in 1933, and Harry Alexander was the chapter's first president. The development of a GAPA chapter in Indianapolis at that time was significant in many ways. It indicated that the majority of Greeks in Indianapolis were not willing to reject their heritage despite the subtle and overt slights they had were subjected to by the larger American community. It also indicated that the schism in Indianapolis was not really over in the social sphere. Since John Zazas was a royalist and an Ahepan, the Venizelist faction became members of GAPA after the reunification of Holy Trinity.

In February 1936 George Karas, proprietor of the Post Office Cafe, was elected president of the Thermopylae Chapter, and the other officers were: George Markos, vice-president, Mar-
cos Mishas, secretary, and Paul Gianakos, treasurer. Gus Powell, George Kostarides, and Nick Pappas served as trustees.\textsuperscript{141} Harry Alexander succeeded George Karas as president in 1937, and the other officers were: Gus Pappas, vice-president, William Kondos, secretary, and Sam Scures, treasurer.\textsuperscript{142} Reflecting their displeasure with the new status quo in Indianapolis, members of the local GAPA chapter sponsored their own Greek language school in direct competition with the one administered by Holy Trinity parish.

The establishment of the Thermopylae Chapter of GAPA was in one sense a reaction to platform of the AHEPA and to the authority of John Zazas who was very influential in the AHEPA nationally and locally. The formation of the local GAPA chapter was also in reaction to John Zazas's supposed complete control over the affairs of Holy Trinity. As the major stockholder in the new corporation John Zazas's decisions were fiat upon the whole community. His was an unenviable position to be in, and he did his duty when the time arose. Opposition to John Zazas was not the only function of the GAPA chapter nor was that its primary goal. The guiding principle behind the actions of the Indianapolis Gapans was the preservation and teaching of the Greek language and culture to their children. Their main concern remained the instruction of their children about their Greek heritage.

The administration of Holy Trinity sponsored a church operated Greek school. The teachers of the church's school alternated between the current pastor and lay teachers the
most notable one being Mrs. Maritza Stevens. Harry Alexander retained Mr. Stamatis Zaphiriou as the teacher for the GAPA school. He arrived with his family to assume his duties in Indianapolis in September 1937.

The GAPA chapter in Indianapolis existed primarily for the instruction of its members' children. The location of the GAPA school was at 24 South Illinois Street on the second floor which also served as the offices for the GAPA. Mr. Zaphiriou also conducted classes at a location on North Illinois Street. The Greek school met every day after public school with different grade levels meeting on different days throughout the week. Some classes met twice a week; others met three times weekly. Besides teaching the Greek language, Mr. Zaphiriou taught Greek History, geography, and catechism to his students. Annual activities celebrating Greek Independence Day featured plays and recitations by the students to demonstrate their knowledge of Greek. Dances completed such an evening's entertainment. Throughout the year the Thermopylae Chapter and its ladies auxiliary sponsored dinners and other social activities to fund the operation of their Greek school. The moneys received from such events were used to purchase materials for the school and to pay the salary of the teacher.

The earliest recorded GAPA celebration of Greek Independence Day in Indianapolis was held on March 18, 1934 with the play "Ezme". The GAPA chapter sponsored a pageant and dance at Castle Hall on March 24, 1935 in honor of Greek Independence Day. The Association presented the play "Sklava" in
Greek which told of the revolt of the Greeks from the Turks. The play was attended by eight hundred people. The Thermopylae Chapter also sponsored a Christmas party to celebrate the twelfth anniversary of GAPA in 1935 at Castle Hall. That event was attended by six hundred people. At both events public officials were on hand and they praised the accomplishments of the Greeks.

The 1936 Greek Independence Day play was held at Castle Hall, 230 East Ohio Street, and it was entitled "The Lover of the Shepherdess". The leading parts were played by Mrs. Angeline Serdengestis, Mr. George Markos, and Ms. Lambrini Paris. That play was attended by over sixteen hundred people of which approximately four hundred had come from other cities in Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio. The grand chancellor of the GAPA addressed the audience and stressed the beneficial work of the Greek American Progressive Association. After the play the audience enjoyed Greek and American dancing, and earlier that day the school children had presented songs and recitations in Greek. Besides plays, the Indianapolis GAPA chapter held an annual picnic at Steve's Farm which was located at 49th Street and Kessler Boulevard. Roasted lamb and pig with the customary Greek wines and salads was the usual fare at such outings. Entertainment was provided by members of the chapter or its auxiliary, demonstrating Greek dances. Harry Alexander, as at most other GAPA chapter affairs, was the toast master.

The 1937 Greek Independence Day celebration was held
on April 4th at the Yugo-Slav National Home, 3626 West 16th Street. Recitations by the children of the community, the play "The Evil Way", and Greek dances provided the evening's entertainment. Lieutenant Governor Henry F. Schricker gave the keynote speech. The play "The Evil Way" depicted a personal family tragedy in the lives of a Greek immigrant couple in the United States. Dance music was provided by the Syrian Oriental Orchestra, and several hundred members of the Greek community were in attendance. The annual Christmas party was also held at the Yugo-Slav National Home. The elected officers for 1938 were: George Markos, president, Gus Pappas, vice-president, William Kondos, secretary, and George Karas, treasurer.

In 1939 Stamatis Zaphiriou was informed by the national headquarters of the Greek American Progressive Association that the Association was canceling its school program and that his services were no longer needed as a teacher. Upon being informed of that decision the students of the school rebelled in a show of support for their beloved teacher. Their sentiments were that if they could not have Mr. Zaphiriou for their teacher, they would not continue with Greek school. The older students were the leaders of the protest movement. Organizing a committee, the senior boys marched down to the Post Office Cafe to speak to George Karas, president of the Thermopylae Chapter that year, and to present the student body's consensus view on the termination of Mr. Zaphiriou's tenure as the teacher. GAPA did not reverse its decision. After GAPA ter-
minated its language program the Greek parents in Indianapolis who were members of GAPA withdrew from it and formed an independent association of their own which continued a Greek language program. After Mr. Zaphiriou was relieved as the GAPA Greek school teacher large scale interest in the Thermopylae Chapter declined rapidly and it faded into insignificance by the end of 1940.

The majority of the ex-Gapans in Indianapolis formed a local society known as "Socrates". The Socrates was established to continue instruction in Greek to the youth of the community. Stamatis Zaphiriou became the leader of Socrates besides being the teacher of its classes. There was no interruption in the old class schedule, and classes were held in various locations in the downtown area of the city. Revenue to pay his salary were raised by members of Socrates. Such funds were acquired by weekly bingo games and by occasional dinners and dances. As usual, the main annual event was the Greek Independence Day program and fund raising dance. For those annual events the Socrates sponsored the publication of an album in which all the parents in business solicited advertisements from their contacts and suppliers. Stamatis Zaphiriou was active in all the fund drives, and Gus Pappas was a very strong, generous supporter of the Socrates association. The members of Socrates were able to get along with the local Ahepanas. Members of Socrates and AHEPA worked together to celebrate Greek Independence Day in 1940. The festivities that year were held at Castle Hall and were attended by three hun-
dred persons of Greek descent. The principal speakers were: Dr. Daniel Robinson, President of Butler University, Stamatis Zaphiriou, Instructor of the Greek school, and George Geroulis, President of the James Whitcomb Riley Chapter of AHEPA.¹⁵⁰

During the 1930s there were other forms of communal entertainment besides those offered by either GAPA or AHEPA. Church picnics were held periodically at Steve's Farm, German Park, and the various parks around the city. Such events drew Greeks from the Central Indiana region cities like Anderson, Muncie, Kokomo, Columbus, Bloomington, and Crawfordsville. Holy Trinity was their parish church too. The parish also sponsored fund raising projects to fund church projects and to maintain the communal properties. The social life of the Greek community expanded beyond nameday parties with the passage of time.¹⁵¹

Holy Trinity suffered from the effects of two fires in the late 1930s. The first fire occurred during the Easter services of 1937. The church annex, a small three room cottage where the community held Greek school and church meetings, caught fire accidently. When the alarm went up amongst the congregation pandemonium broke out, but fortunately no one was injured in the flight from the building.¹⁵² The second fire which occurred in the Fall of 1939 did extensive damage to the church building itself. Faulty wiring of the altar was the cause of that fire. The major effect was the loss of the iconostasio. The Aetna Company's master craftsmen were commissioned to carve a new icon screen for the church. Their completed
piece was a beautiful work of art. Though made of wood the
finished icon screen resembled fine marble. When Holy Trin-
ity moved to its present site in 1960 both the icon screen and
the massive crystal chandelier of the old church were donated
to the Serbian Orthodox Church in Indianapolis.

Like other ethnic and religious groups, the Greeks
established cemeteries as the need for such a place arose.
The Greeks of Indianapolis were able to negotiate a deal with
Crown Hill Cemetery, the largest public cemetery in Indiana
and is located in Indianapolis, to reserve a section for the
Greeks in 1937. During a conversation between Jim Angelo and
Angellos Papatheofanis the subject of death was raised. Both
men decided it would be nice, advantageous if the Greeks had a
reserved section in Crown Hill. A centralized location would
prove to be ideal for visitation and the holding of religious
services for the dead. Jim Angelo checked with Crown Hill and
found out that in order to reserve a section the Greek commun-
ity had to guarantee the purchase of one plot a year and that
three property owners had to act as surety on the deal. Messrs.
Angelo, Papatheofanis, and Manolios went out to Crown Hill,
selected the section, and signed the original contract which
enabled the Indianapolis Greeks to have their own cemetery
area. The cemetery agreement was renewed in 1947.

During late 1937 the adolescent girls of the community
organized themselves into a local sorority. The sorority a-
dopted the name Society of Greek Maidens and the logo of Sigma
Epsilon Delta. Sigma Epsilon Delta provided an avenue for the
young women of the community to get together. There were en­
trance rites to join the sorority. A candidate for membership
had to be seventeen years old and could remain a member until
she was wed. The sorority held monthly meetings, and many
times members gave luncheons in their homes for the members.
Sigma Epsilon Delta also sponsored dances and had an annual
Mothers' Day luncheon to honor their mothers. The sorority
engaged in charity work at Riley Children's Hospital, and dur­
ing World War Two members did volunteer service for the Red
Cross. Sigma Epsilon Delta disbanded when the majority of its
members wed and had to withdraw from the sorority. The Daugh­
ters of Penlope, the auxiliary to the AHEPA, became the suc­
cessor to Sigma Epsilon Delta in Indianapolis.157

On October 28, 1940 Greece was invaded by the Axis. That
day was of tremendous significance for Greeks all over the
world. The Greeks of the diaspora organized themselves into
relief organizations to help their old country in its hour of
need. The crisis faced by Greece help to rekindle the flame
of Hellenism in Indianapolis and to extinguish the residual
hostility caused by the schism in the church.

The Greek Americans' efforts to aid Greece were hampered
by problems of coordination of the diverse clubs into an effec­
tive organization. Two weeks after the invasion the Greek
War Relief Association was established to help Greece. Its
goal was to raise ten million dollars through charity banquets,
dances, and private solicitations for the relief of the Greek
population. All the various communities and clubs around this
country pulled together for their common goal. The AHEPA pro-
vided most of the regional and local leadership, and it has
been estimated that AHEPA supplied ninety per cent of the
total man power of the Greek War Relief Association. The
vast majority of the money came from the Greek Americans them-
selves. The GWRA raised $5,263,000.00 of which $3,336,700.00
was received in Greece to help meet its needs before the Nazis
overran the country.

During the war years Holy Trinity experienced the de-
velopment of several new innovations which gave evidence that
the wounds of the schism were finally healing. The most widely
based group in town was the Greek War Relief Association.
Throughout Greek history there has been a tendency towards
internal faction ridden demolition, but when threatened by
outside aggression Greeks have shelved past differences and
worked together for their common good. To the Americans the
GWRA demonstrated that immigrant peoples could be loyal to
both their old and adopted countries.

The active solicitation for funds in Indianapolis for
the GWRA began during the first week of December 1940. The
Greek community organized a county committee of Greeks and
native Americans headed by Mrs. Demarchus Brown and Mr. John
Zazas. The treasurer was Hugh Mck. Landon. Among members of
the county committee were: George Settos, George Morris, Louis
Speropoulos, Charles Apostol, Harry Alexander, George Karas,
Father Prodromides, and Anest Poulos.

The Indianapolis chapter of the GWRA received generous
response. After a few days of opening the drive the committee had collected three thousand dollars and arrangements were made to open a downtown office. A dance to benefit the war relief fund was held on Sunday December 16, 1940 at Castle Hall, sponsored by the Federation of Greek Clubs, and the proceeds from that dance were donated to the Greek War Relief Association. That dance featured a Greek dance in full native costume. By December 20, 1940 the Greek War Relief Fund headquarters in Indianapolis had opened at 201 Massachusetts Avenue, and plans were made to intensify the drive and for the formation of teams to canvass the city.

The Second World War was a great turning point in Greek-American history. Greek resistance to Mussolini's invasion of their country was lauded around the United States. The Balkan campaign slowed down the Axis and proved that it was not invincible. The Greek victories heartened the sagging Allies' morale. Demonstrating what a nation of determined people could achieve, all Greeks came to viewed as heroes equal to their ancient ancestors. As Greek prestige soared, Greek-Americans capitalized on their ethnic roots even if they had washed their hands of Greece in earlier years. Suddenly, they wanted everyone to know that they were Greeks too. Media coverage helped popularize the Greek cause. World War Two unlike World War One brought the Greeks in the United States status and dignity.

The entry of the United States into World War Two was heartily supported by Greek-Americans. The primary goal was
make clear the Greek-Americans' loyalty to the United States. Their allegiance was never questioned. The fund drive for the Greek War Relief Association continued in town. After Pearl Harbor emphasis shifted to helping the American war effort. During the war years dozens of young Greek-Americans from Indianapolis served in the armed forces of the United States. Four members of Holy Trinity gave their lives for the welfare of this country being: Chris Moskou, Peter Poolitsan, Nick Poulakos, and Gregory Thomas.165

Early in January 1941 the Greek War Relief Association was endorsed by the motion picture industry due to the influence of Spyros P. Skouras, president of 20th Century-Fox and national president of the GWRA. A committee of twenty-four members was appointed to represent the group in Indiana and it pledged seven hundred and thirty-five dollars. By mid-January approximately five thousand dollars had been raised by the Indianapolis chapter. The offices of the organization were moved to 203 Massachusetts Avenue and a goal of twenty five thousand dollars was set for the Indianapolis branch.166 Throughout the rest of January 1941 three hundred forty dollars were donated to the fund by many individuals in fifty, twenty-five dollar, and descending amounts. Four hundred twenty-seven dollars were raised for the war relief during March 1941.167

Besides the solicitation campaigns associated with any fund raising effort, the young adults of the Greek community volunteered their time and talents in innovative ways to raise
money for Greece. A series of plays were presented by the Federation of Young Greek Clubs and by the Sigma Epsilon Delta Sorority throughout the war years to benefit the GWRA.

The first play entitled "Riches to Rags" was presented by the Federation on Sunday, January 19, 1941, and it was performed at the Kirshbaum Center, 2314 North Meridian Street. The admission price was thirty-five cents. The play dealt with the lives of two sisters separated by the death of their father. One sister, Koula, denies her natural family as she makes contacts with the rich friends of her guardians. In the end her guardians are financially ruined and Koula is left penniless and friendless. While begging Koula is befriended by her sister and recants of her past errors, learning that material possessions are in reality fleeting illusions. After the play Greek and American dancing topped off the evening's entertainment. The music was provided by Colonel Roberts and his Swing-A-Roos.

The second play sponsored by the Federation of Young Greek Clubs was directed by Gus Powell and was entitled "O Choros Tou Zalogou", i.e. "The Dance of Death". It was presented on May 4, 1941 at the Slovenian National Home, 2217 West Tenth Street. "The Dance of Death" was a patriotic, romantic Greek drama dealing with a true episode in the Greek War of Independence. In the end, surrounded by the Turks and their men killed defending them, the women of the besieged town decide to die rather than live as slaves. They perform a Greek dance and as each neared the precipice she leapt to her death.
Connotation to the position of the Greeks in 1941 was unmistakable as was its inherent message — better to die fighting than to live under foreign domination. After the play a dance and raffle was held with three dolls clothed as Evzones raffled off for approximately one hundred dollars each.

On Sunday, June 4, 1944 Sigma Epsilon Delta presented the play "The Girls' Revolt" for the benefit of the Greek War Relief, and it was directed by Ms. Mildred Ricos. The play was followed by Greek and American dancing. The affair was held at the Slovenian National Home. The admission price varied: children paid twenty-five cents and adults paid sixty cents. The play was a comedy dealing with a Greek widow and her four daughters in Athens. The four sisters grow restless under the restrictions placed upon them during a visit by their country aunt and cousin. Their revolt fails, and the aunt takes the girls to live with her in the country. By the end of the play the shrewish sisters adopt the ideal of domesticity, rejecting their former live style completely.168

After the retreat of the Nazis in 1944 Greece was destitute of everything imaginable. The Nazis had followed a scorched earth policy in their retreat from Greece, destroying what they did not steal. The condition of Greece upon its liberation launched the final phase of the Greek war relief program. Allied military forces provided some assistance, but it became apparent that more massive aid was needed to re-build war shattered Greece. The Greek War Relief Association coordinated its activities with the UNRRA to make better use of
the total available resources.

The Greek community of Indianapolis responded to the new challenge. Reports of the absolute destitution of Greece sparked volunteer workers in town to open a new campaign. The Indianapolis chapter was assigned the goal of raising eighty thousand dollars. The campaign headquarters were located in Room 909 of the Roosevelt Building.\(^{169}\) The local chapter drew in members from the general American community. The Right Reverend R.A. Kirchhoffer, Bishop of the Indianapolis Episcopal Diocese, was appointed chairman of the local branch of the Greek War Relief Association, and Dr. Herman B. Wells, President of Indiana University, served as state chairman for the same organization. The amount of aid needed by Greece was tremendous. With only seventy families in the city the Greeks were too few in number to contact all the Indianapolis citizens interested in helping Greece. Bishop Kirchhoffer made use of the daily press to reach potential contributors through his reports assessing the plight of the Greeks. The GWRA was part of the UNRRA under the direction of Herbert Hoover. For its part the Greek War Relief Association attempted to raise twelve million dollars in a national campaign to prevent mass starvation and to preserve Greece as a democratic stronghold in Eastern Europe.\(^{170}\) The Greek Civil War between the royalists and communists engulfed Greece from 1944 to 1949 furthering the misery of that country. That war was finally concluded by the input of massive American aid made available by the Truman Doctrine.
On the Indianapolis front Bishop Kirchhoffer's appeals were successful. The two largest contributions came from two anonymous Indianapolis industrialists. The first donation in the sum of two thousand dollars was received in late March 1947. The second such donation amounted to five thousand dollars and was received in early April 1947. Former Governor Henry F. Schricker and Bishop Kirchhoffer announced on April 8, 1947 that the local branch of the Association had sent in ten thousand dollars at the close of the fund drive for the benefit of Greece.

Another program sponsored by the GWRA was the "Give an Animal to Greece" campaign. As most Greeks in Greece lived on farms its recovery was dependent upon the rehabilitation of Greek agriculturists. The campaign was launched in Indianapolis in early Spring 1947. Governor Ralph E. Gates issued a proclamation declaring March 6, 1947 as "Give an Animal to Greece" Day in Indiana. That night at the Indiana War Memorial auditorium George P. Skouras, National Vice-President of the Greek War Relief Association, outlined the plan to send the badly needed animals to Greece. The number of animals subscribed by persons in Indianapolis remains unknown.

The war and immediate post war era witnessed the development of new clubs and the continuance of existing ones at Holy Trinity. Such organizations give evidence of the close community spirit amongst the Greeks of Indianapolis despite the break-up of the old ethnic neighborhoods during and after the Second World War.
The Indianapolis chapter of Philoptochos was organized there in late 1942. The best English translation of Philoptochos renders "Friend of the Poor". From its inception the organization has been nation wide in scope, and it was conceived by Archbishop Athenagoras. The Philoptochos has been openly referred to as the right hand of the Church in recognition of its many beneficial and charitable activities. Prior to the formation of a Philoptochos chapter in Indianapolis the women of the community had organized The Society of the Holy Trinity. Mrs. John Zazas served as its president, Mrs. Helen Angelopoulos served as vice-president, Mrs. James was treasurer, and Mrs. Manolios served as secretary. As with any fledgling organization, the original Philoptochos body in Indianapolis was small. The initial members were: Mrs. Stamatis Zaphiriou, president, Mrs. George Georgopoulos, Mrs. Jordan Jannetides, and Mrs. Sarandos Scures. The Indianapolis chapter began with no name. Upon the recruitment of the first twenty-five members Father Harry Apostolakis informed the ladies that the chapter had to adopt a name. Similar to the selection of the godfather of a parish church, Mr. Zanganas became the godfather of the Philoptochos through his solitary bid of fifty dollars. Mrs. Kirles approached Mr. Zanganas and offered to give half of his pledge for the right to name the chapter. Mr. Zanganas agreed to her request, and the name Evangalistria was adopted for the chapter in honor of Mrs. Kirles's son who was serving with the United States Armed Forces during the Second World War.

The main goal of the Philoptochos was to aid Holy Trinity
physically and financially, as had been the purpose of The Society of the Holy Trinity. To aid the American war effort the chapter did volunteer work for the Red Cross. Membership dues were set at twenty-five cents a month or three dollars annually. Over the years the Philoptochos sponsored fund raisers such as dinners and bake sales. While the parish was located on North West Street the ladies sold flag pins on Greek Independence Day. Since the main emphasis of Holy Trinity after the war became physical expansion the moneys raised by the Philoptochos were donated to the building fund of the church. The chapter donated eight thousand dollars to the church. That sum was used to purchase carpeting and pews for the new church which was completed in 1960.\(^\text{174}\)

Another innovation begun at Holy Trinity during the war years was the establishment of the church choir. The choir was started in late 1943 - early 1944 under the pastorate of Father Harry Apostolakis, and it was under the direction of Mary Kirles Betras. Prior to the formation of the choir the only musical component of the church services were provided by the chanting of Messrs. James Katsoulis, Gus Belcas, and occasionally by Mrs. George Georgopulos. Mary Kirles Betras came to Indianapolis from Detroit and with her knowledge of Orthodox hymns organized the choir. The initial choir consisted of twenty-two members. Its second director was Miss Callie Kerhoulas.

The use of pews and integrated seating at Holy Trinity provides evidence of the adaptations the Church underwent after
the war. By ancient tradition all churches were devoid of pews. The congregations, excluding the aged, stood throughout the whole Divine Liturgy which lasts several hours. The first site of Holy Trinity, 27 South Meridian Street, and that at 213 North West Street never had pews. The church at 231 North West Street had pews installed during the renovations after the two fires. The renovation work also included the decoration of the ceiling of the church with mosaics.

Another custom was the segregation of the sexes. The right side of a church, when facing the altar, was reserved for the men of the community. The women occupied the left side of the church and in older churches they occupied a balcony. Such segregation occurred at Holy Trinity from its formation until 1948. The situation changed when Father Chris Hadgigeorge allowed the parishioners to sit where they preferred to be seated. Father Chris was the first American born and trained priest to serve Holy Trinity. He arrived in town in 1948 and remained in Indianapolis as pastor for nine years.

Under Father Hadgigeorge's supervision Holy Trinity's Sunday School was established in 1948, and it was formed to fill the void created when Stamatis Zaphiriou left teaching to open his Stars and Stripes Restaurant in 1942. Sunday School Classes were held in the cottage next to the church building on West Street. The first teachers were: Miss Dena Kerhoulas, Mrs. Mary Ricos Orr, and they were assisted by Mrs. Angie Drukas Georgopulos. The children attending were divided into two classes which met at opposite ends of the cottage
every Sunday. The new school had few books or materials and no distinct funding. The teachers attended a biennial diocesan conference at Chicago to discuss teaching methodologies. The initial aim of the school was to teach the children to memorize the Lord's Prayer in Greek. Some students were able to commit to memory the Nicene Creed in Greek. Sunday School was such a new idea to the children and their parents alike that the teachers provided donuts and milk every week. When the children recessed from the church they had their refreshments. Over the decades the curriculum of the school has been intensified. The Sunday School's role today is equivalent to a catechism course, explaining the inner beauty and significance of the symbolism, traditions, and articles of faith of Orthodox Christianity.

The Greek Drama Club of Indianapolis was formed in 1945. The members were: Mildred Ricos Mroz, president, Mary Kirles Betras, vice-president, Dena Kerhoulas, secretary, and Dena Smyrnis Manos, treasurer. Other members were: Callie Kerhoulas, Athena Holevas Mallender, Christine Holevas Dine, Beatrice Scures Gianakos, Antone Holevas, Chris Scures, Mary Ricos Orr, Louise Ricos Polus, Lula Ricos Kalias, Marian Smyrnis Jannetides, Katherine Pulos Theofanis, Georgia Gianakos Buchanan, Athena Gianakos Wright, Ann Bakas Paikos, Cleo Andriakos Sumner, Angie Drukas Georgopulos, Connie Bakas, Georgia George Siamas, and Dena Zanganas Argeropulos. The aforementioned people made up the cast of the Drama Club's premiere production entitled "Soula".
"Soula" was an inspirational drama written and directed by Mildred Ricos Mroz. The story takes place somewhere in the United States in the home of Mrs. Konstanopoulous and her four daughters: Angeline, Katherine, Helen, and Soula. Mrs Konstanopoulous and her daughters are supported by her wealthy father-in-law whose son was ten years ago in an automobile accident. The youngest daughter, Soula, was paralyzed in that accident.

Soula is favored by her grandfather due to her angelic ways which are lacking in the other girls. Their only ambition is to get ahead socially and wish that their grandfather would die in order to inherit his fortune. The grandfather becomes aware of that fact and disinherits them. Soula has lived ten years in her wheelchair with the hope and faith that she would walk again. When her grandfather suffers a heart attack Soula is the only one at home with him. To help him she rises and gives him a glass of water realizing at last that she has been miraculously cured.

The purposes of the Greek Drama Club were threefold. The first goal was to promote getting the youth of the community together in perpetuating the Hellenic name, traditions, and language in the United States of America. Secondly, the Drama Club existed to unite Greek community through entertainment in the dramatic field. The third goal was to donate money for the welfare and betterment of the Greek community of Indianapolis. The first recipient of the Club's activities was Holy Trinity's choir.
Heavy drama was only part of the Drama Club's repertoire. On Sunday, November 7, 1948 the Drama Club presented the play "Obligations" which was a one act comedy in English, at the Kirshbaum Center. Mildred Ricos Mroz was the guiding light of the Drama Club being its director and main playwright. The admission price for "Obligations" was seventy-four cents which also included admission to the post-performance dance. The Drama Club's reputation spread throughout Indiana, and they received offers to travel to other Greek communities of the state. The National Herald carried an advance notice of the Club's presentation of "Obligations" in its October 31, 1948 issue. The Drama Club achieved its goals and demonstrated that the factionalism of the first generation had not infected their children seriously.

While no Greek language newspaper was published in Indianapolis members of Holy Trinity did produce a weekly church newspaper named The Hellenic Chronicle. The paper's motto was "Fustest with the Mostest", demonstrating that someone on its staff knew about the American Civil War in detail. The first issue was mailed out on October 14, 1948. The Hellenic Chronicle was edited and published by Jim Pappas and Mike Kostas. The first person to volunteer her services to the paper was Ms. Dena Kerhoulas with her weekly column "My Week". Other popular columns in The Hellenic Chronicle were the Sportscope by John Gianakos and an advice column by the mysterious Mrs. Sophocles. Besides the above columns movie reviews and weekly news of the Greek community graced its pages.
The problems associated with publishing a weekly newspaper became obvious by the fourth issue of *The Hellenic Chronicle*. The first issue was published on menu marker with a total circulation of thirty-five. For the second issue the editors were forced to purchase a mimeograph machine in order to print the necessary sixty copies. By its third issue the circulation had increased to ninety-five copies. One hundred and thirty copies were produced for the fourth issue. *The Hellenic Chronicle* also increased in size from four to eight pages over the same period of time. The subscription rate was two dollars a year. Apparently, its demise was caused by limitations of time and capital. The establishment of *The Hellenic Chronicle* was one more example of the innovations at Holy Trinity in the 1940s.178

Another development of the times was the establishment of several men's clubs. The first was named Phos, meaning light. It was a social club that evolved into an investment club for certain men in the community. The second club was athletic in nature and concentrated on perfecting the art of basketball. The Indianapolis team was called The Greek Bears, and it was composed of young adult men which toured the state playing other Greek and non-Greek teams. The Greek Bears basketball team is still a going concern in Indianapolis, recruiting members every generation from the youth of the community.

*The Laeretes Chapter Number 212 of the Daughters of Penelope* was officially inaugurated on October 9, 1949 in Indianapolis. The Daughters of Penelope are the ladies auxiliary of
of the AHEPA chapters. There was an earlier chapter of the Daughters of Penelope in Indianapolis, formed in the early 1930s, but for whatever unknown reasons that chapter did not survive for many years. The Daughters Chapter in Indianapolis was the successor club of Sigma Epsilon Delta sorority.

The social life of the Greek community of Indianapolis was the mirror image of that of Greece and changed with the acculturation of the Greeks and their children to life in the United States. The acculturation of the Greek immigrant generation to life in Indianapolis came slowly due to the Greeks' discomfort with unfamiliar surroundings and by the native Americans dislike of all foreigners. The situation in Indianapolis may have made the Greeks become more isolationist there due to the small size of that community in comparison to the general American population. By the 1950s the Greeks had developed their own social fraternities and clubs in their search for an expanded social life. The earlier forms of virulent discrimination against the Greeks in town faded by the Depression, but subtle forms of discrimination such as exclusion from middle class country clubs and discouraging the use of Greek in public were still prevalent throughout the period. The second generation had an easier time of adjusting than did their parents. Being better educated, the second generation in Indianapolis pioneered new avenues for the Greek community and helped break down the walls of prejudice at an appropriate pace. In the process of achieving upward social mobility the second generation Greeks in Indianapolis did not forsake their Greek
heritage. The social life of the community was still ethnically centered, but it had expanded beyond the feasts of the Church and Greek Independence Day. The adaptations mirrored American society without losing its distinctive Greek accent.

through 1948 the board of Holy Trinity negotiated with Ferlite Metal Company for the sale of the church and its properties to the company, but those negotiations proved to be futile. From 1948 through 1957 Holy Trinity rejected eight centrally located downtown sites and one south site; suburban location due to debates in the community about the feasibility of relocating the church. After considering all the alternatives, the General Assembly of Holy Trinity decided that the construction of a new church was the only way to settle the raging debates of moving the church.

The parish election of 1958 was a turning point in the history of Holy Trinity. The result of that election vested the executive power in the hands of members of the second generation and more recent immigrants. Under their leadership the bogged down expansion plans were pushed in to completion. Under the presidency of Mr. and Mrs. X the long awaited ground-breaking ceremonies were held on August 27, 1959 at the northeast corner of 40th and Pennsylvania Streets. The new church was completed in 1960 with dedication ceremonies and a banquet half on July 31, 1960. Fifty years had passed since the official chartering of Holy Trinity and the dedication of the new edifice which surpassed in size and beauty all of the earlier sites of the parish combined.
VI
Epilogue
After World War Two the physical expansion of Holy Trinity became the major project undertaken by the Greek community, necessitated by the growing size of the community. From 1946 through 1948 the Board of Holy Trinity negotiated with Zenite Metal Company for the sale of the church and its properties to the company, but those negotiations proved to be futile. From 1948 through 1957 Holy Trinity rejected eight centrally located downtown sites and one south side suburban location due to debates in the community about the feasibility of relocating the church. After considering all the alternatives, the General Assembly of Holy Trinity decided that the construction of a new church was the only way to settle the raging debates of moving the church.

The parish election of 1958 was a turning point in the history of Holy Trinity. The result of that election invested the executive power in the hands of members of the second generation and more recent immigrants. Under their leadership the bogged down expansion plans were pushed on to completion. Under the presidency of Mr. Gus Karozos the long awaited groundbreaking ceremonies were held on August 23, 1959 at the northeast corner of 40th and Pennsylvania Streets. The new church was completed in 1960 with dedication ceremonies and a banquet held on July 31, 1960. Fifty years had passed since the official chartering of Holy Trinity and the dedication of the new edifice which surpassed in size and beauty all of the earlier sites of the parish combined.
The most amazing aspects of the Greek community of Indianapolis was and remains the ability of its members to achieve upward social mobility, the preservation of the Greek Orthodox faith and language, and to survive as a ethnic minority in the Central Indiana area over the past eighty years. The founding of Holy Trinity by so few and for so few people gives evidence that the Greek immigrants of Indianapolis were not uprooted or alienated from their Old World culture. The strength of their attachment to their heritage could not shaken even by the disruptive, bitter royalist-Venizelist schism in Indianapolis. In fact the break out and continuance of the schism there gives evidence how close the Indianapolis Greeks felt about development in Greece and matters relating to Greek people in general. The development of Greek schools for the young and clubs for the adults and the participation in those organizations demonstrates both the concerns of the Greek immigrant parents desire to preserve the Greek heritage there and the desire of the children to know and preserve their heritage. The success the Indianapolis community achieved in maintaining itself in the larger American society of Indianapolis was due in large part to its small size accompanied by the close knit and conservative features of Greek family life there.

The history of the Greek community runs counter to the Dinnerstein-Reimers thesis that the longer groups have lived in the United States, the more they have relinquished their Old World cultures. It also runs counter to the thesis that the decline of foreign languages in churches was an indication of
growing Americanization and loss of ethnicity. Intermarriage, once feared, is now generally accepted in Indianapolis. The evidence indicates that such couples remain members of Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church. The Greeks in Indianapolis and the United States have acculturated themselves into American society, but I do not think they will ever totally assimilate into that society, given the resurgence of ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s. In all the above ways the Greek community was a microcosm of the Greek immigrant experience in the United States.
Notes

1 The words Greece and Greeks are Latin terms derived from the name of the Graioki tribe of Hellenes that settled in southern Italy in the sixth century B.C. "Greeks" refer to themselves and their land as Ellenes and Ellada respectively.


5 Martin, pp. 127-129.

6 Saloutos, p. 7.

7 Saloutos, pp. 13-18.


"Would Christianize the City's Foreigners," Indianapolis News, 1 January 1907, p. 11.


Pappas, p. 2.


Interview with Mary and Katherine Raikos, Indianapolis, Indiana, 22 February 1980.

Interview with Frank B. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 September 1978.


"Lowered into Water; Anointed with Oil," Indianapolis News, 2 February 1907, p. 28.

Kotakis, p. 190.


31. "Charter of the Greek Orthodox Church, Holy Trinity, of Indianapolis, Indiana", p. 2.


33. Interview with Frank B. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 September 1978.

34. Pappas, p. 3.

35. Interview with Frank B. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 September 1978.


40. Interview with Frank B. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 September 1978.


42. A photograph showing all three men with their Panhellenic Union badges.

43. Saloutos, p. 78.

45 Miller, pp. 144-145.

46 Interview with Frank B. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 September 1978.

47 Saloutos, p. 114.

48 Interview with Frank B. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 September 1978; Interview with Angel Carnegie, Indianapolis, Indiana, 11 January 1980.

49 Interview with Mrs. Angellos B. Pappas and Mr. William A. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 12 January 1980.

50 Saloutos, p. 143.

51 Interview with Frank B. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 September 1978.

52 An informal interview with George P. Cafouros 22 January 1980.

53 Saloutos, p. 145.

54 Saloutos, pp. 161-162.

55 Saloutos, pp. 167-168.

56 Saloutos, p. 165.


58 Canoutas and Helmis, p. 444.

59 Canoutas and Helmis, p. 444.


62 Pappas, p. 4.

63 Marion County, IN., Marion County Deed Record Book April 2 - December 27, 1919, p. 494.

64 Saloutos, pp. 188-193.

65 Saloutos, pp. 199-201.

66 Saloutos, pp. 202-203.

67 Saloutos, p. 120.

68 Saloutos, pp. 281-283.

69 Saloutos, pp. 283-284.


71 Interview with Mrs. Bertha Patrick, Indianapolis, Indiana, 22 January 1980.

72 Interview with Thomas Vallas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 17 January 1980.

73 Marion County, IN., Marion County Superior Court Docket Book (1923), p. 20951.

74 Marion County, IN., Marion County Superior Court Docket Book (1923), p. 20951.

75 Pappas, p. 5.

76 Pappas, p. 7.

77 Pappas, p. 7.


81 Marion County, IN., *Marion County Superior Court Docket Book* (1923), p. 20951.

82 White, pp. 532-534.

83 Marion County, IN., *Marion County Superior Court Order Book No. 441* (1923), p. 21.

84 Marion County, IN., *Marion County Superior Court Order Book No. 441* (1923), p. 21.

85 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Sarandos Scures, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 June 1980.

86 Marion County, IN., *Marion County Superior Court Order Book No. 436* (1924), p. 487.

87 White, pp. 534-535.

88 White, p. 535.

89 White, pp. 535-537.

90 Marion County, IN., *Marion County Superior Court Order Book No. 441* (1924), pp. 153 & 171.

91 White, p. 534.

92 White, p. 528.


94 See Polk's *Indianapolis City Directory* for the years 1931-1934.

95 Pappas, p. 5.

96 A photograph dated November 18, 1928 in the private possession of a member of Holy Trinity Hellenic Orthodox Church.
102 Information about the locations and length of occupancy of the various Greek businesses, mentioned in the chapter, can be found in the various volumes of Polk's *Indianapolis City Directory*, under the given years and addresses.


106 Interview with Dena Kerhoulas and Esther Zaphiriou Mittman, Indianapolis, Indiana, 3 June 1980.

107 Interview with Frank B. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 September 1978.


111 *Indianapolis Star*, 30 October 1907, p. 5.

112 *Indianapolis Star*, 16 November 1907, p. 6.

Logan Esarey, History of Indiana 4 vols., (Dayton, Ohio: Dayton Historical Publishing co., 1924), vol 3: History of Indianapolis and Marion County, by Mrs. Kate Rabb, p. 120.

Indianapolis Star, 29 July 1911, p. 11.


Indianapolis Star, 21 February 1915, p. 3.

Interview with Frank B. Pappas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 September 1978.


Many of the Indianapolis Greek immigrants had been in this country for over twenty years before applying for U.S. citizenship.


Indianapolis Star, 3 November 1940, pt. 1 p. 16.

Interview with Mrs. Georgia Gianakos Buchanan, Indianapolis, Indiana, 16 January 1980; Interview with Mary and Katherine Raikos, Indianapolis, Indiana, 22 February 1980.
Interview with Mrs. Helen Angelopoulos, Indianapolis, Indiana, 17 January 1980.

Interview with George J. Zazas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 13 March 1980.

Interview with Nick Smyrnis, Indianapolis, Indiana, 9 January 1980; Interview with George J. Zazas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 13 March 1980.


Interview with Mrs. Georgia Gianakos Buchanan, Indianapolis, Indiana, 16 January 1980.

Interview with Mrs. Georgia Gianakos Buchanan, Indianapolis, Indiana, 16 January 1980.

Interview with Mrs. Georgia Gianakos Buchanan, Indianapolis, Indiana, 16 January 1980.

Interview with George J. Zazas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 13 March 1980.

Interview with Thomas Vallas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 17 January 1980.

Interview with Nick Smyrnis, Indianapolis, Indiana, 9 January 1980.

Indianapolis Star, 31 March 1936, p. 12.

Indianapolis Star, 12 December 1937, p. 3.


Indianapolis Star, 11 February 1936.


Indianapolis Star, 25 March 1935.

145 Indianapolis Star, 30 March 1936, p. 7.

146 Indianapolis Star, 26 August 1936, p. 4.

147 Indianapolis Star, 5 April 1937, p. 3.

148 Indianapolis Star, 7 December 1937, p. 9.

149 Interview with Dena Kerhoulas and Esther Zaphiriou Mittman, Indianapolis, Indiana, 3 June 1980.

150 Indianapolis Star, 15 April 1940, p. 5.


152 Interview with Anthony Cherpas, Indianapolis, Indiana, 23 January 1980; Pappas, p. 12.

153 Indianapolis Star, 6 May 1940, p. 18.


156 "Contract Between Hellenic Orthodox Church and the Crown Hill Cemetery" (unpublished, Indianapolis, Indiana, 2 September 1947).

157 Interview with Dena Kerhoulas and Esther Zaphiriou Mittman, Indianapolis, Indiana, 3 June 1980.

158 Saloutos, p. 346.

159 Saloutos, p. 349.

160 Indianapolis Star, 3 December 1940, p. 7.
161 Indianapolis Star, 11 December 1940, p. 11.
163 Indianapolis Star, 20 December 1940, p. 3.
164 Saloutos, p. 344.
165 Pappas, 14.
166 Indianapolis Star, 12 January 1941, p. 13.
169 Indianapolis Star, 8 March 1947.
170 Indianapolis Star, 2 March 1947.
171 Indianapolis Star, 8 April 1947, p. 18.
172 Indianapolis Star, 8 April 1947, p. 18.
173 Indianapolis Star, 6 March 1947, p. 15.
174 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Sarandos Scures, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 June 1980.
175 Interview with Dena Kerhoulas and Esther Zaphiriou Mittman, Indianapolis, Indiana, 3 June 1980.
176 Greek Drama Club, Soula (n.p., 1946), pp. 1-5; The play was presented on Sunday, October 13, 1946 at the Kirshbaum Center, 2314 North Meridian St., Indianapolis.
Holy Trinity is sadly lacking in written records, especially for the period of its initial years. After an extensive search it became apparent that such material no longer exists. To my knowledge, none of the Greek immigrants in Indianapolis kept journals or diaries to record the events that transpired in their daily lives. Though it would be interesting to report on the finances of the Greek owned businesses in Indianapolis, my access to such available sources was pleasantly denied for obvious reasons and the census records have a seventy five year restriction on their use. All of the church records and club records prior to 1960 were lost or destroyed by fire in that year during the move to the parish's present site. The original charter of the parish is located in the Archives of the Indiana State Library. The contract between Holy Trinity and The Crown Hill Cemetery is filed at the latter's office in Indianapolis. Photographs and play programs referred to are in private collections of members of Holy Trinity parish.

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