

University of North Carolina at Asheville

AHEPA vs. the KKK
Greek-Americans on the Path to Whiteness

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The Klan in the Western States has a great mission of Americanism to perform. The rapid growth of the Japanese population and the great influx of foreign laborers, mostly Greeks, is threatening our American institutions, and Klans in Washington, Oregon and Idaho are actively at work to combat these foreign and un-American influences.

– Fred L. Gifford, Klan Grand Dragon of the Realm of Oregon, Atlanta, 1923¹

The Ku Klux Klan's anti-Hellenic campaign in the Pacific Northwest was no distant threat to the local Greek community of Atlanta that struggled beneath a pall of intimidation and privation in the wake of a resurgent Klan. In 1922, as a direct response to anti-Greek measures orchestrated by Klans throughout much of the Southeast, Greek-American community leaders founded the Mother Lodge of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association in Atlanta, home to the Imperial Palace of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.² From its inception, AHEPA embraced a program of non-violence, educational outreach, and total Americanization in response to Klan xenophobia. As a strategic measure, the founders of AHEPA deemed it "necessary to organize under the same principles as those whom we intended to convert."³ In particular, AHEPA's promotion of a "pure and undefiled Americanism among the Greeks" ultimately prevailed among Greek immigrant communities throughout the United States and thereby set Greek-Americans on the path to 'whiteness' within the racial hierarchy of broader American society.⁴ Examining this little-known episode of the American past not only enhances the history of racialized social stratification in the United States but also broadens the context for contemporary debates regarding immigration and ethnicity. This thesis reexamines the neglected history of the Klan's anti-Hellenic initiatives of the 1920s and reconstructs the emergence of

¹ "Klans in Western States Are Growing," *The Imperial Night-Hawk* (May 9, 1923): 2.

² Vaso Thomas, "The Social Construction of Hellenism: AHEPA's Struggle Out of Nativism." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 12, 2005: 1.

³ Harry Angelopoulos, letter to Georgia Chotas, January 1965, quoted in Lazar Odzak, "*Demetrios Is Now Jimmy*": *Greek Immigrants in the Southern United States, 1895-1965* (Durham: Monograph Publishers, 2006), 96.

⁴ "The Charter of the Order of Ahepa," reprinted in George J. Leber, *The History of the Order of AHEPA (The American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) 1922-1972, Including the Greeks in the New World, and Immigration to the United States* (Washington: The Order of AHEPA, 1972), 150. Note that primary and secondary sources both vary with regard to capitalization of the acronym. Direct quotes herein reflect the cited text.

AHEPA's mission as a response to the Klan's anti-Greek nativist propaganda.

In *Working Toward Whiteness*, David Roediger states that for “the immigrant who sought to mitigate his or her nonwhiteness, it could not have always been clear whether such a process was a personal or a group one, whether it entailed overcoming biology or changing habits, whether it was practicable or quixotic.”⁵ Historians of ‘whiteness’ have similarly grappled with how to impose an orderly narrative of ethnic identity formation and community assimilation onto the oftentimes ambiguous and inconsistent trajectory of American racialization. *The History of White People*, by Nell Irvin Painter, presents a sweeping intellectual history of racial concepts as they emerged at the nexus of physical aesthetics and class divisions, and then later coalesced into the more familiar rubric of ethnic character and inborn heredity. The historical vicissitudes of Greek ‘whiteness’ in particular are underscored by Painter’s broad historical exposition that opens with Herodotus and closes in the wake of Richard Nixon’s ‘Southern Strategy’ of 1968. Nixon’s running mate Spiro Agnew, born Spiro Anagnostopoulos, represented a new American “depiction of ethnic whites as temperamentally honest and hardworking ... pitted ... against an alien *race* of black degenerate families judged lacking those self-same virtues.”⁶ As Matthew Jacobson further emphasized in *Whiteness of a Different Color*, “the idea ‘Caucasian’ did accomplish something that the more casual notion of whiteness could not: it brought the full authority of modern science to bear on white identity.”⁷ Yet gaining access to white privilege did not merely involve an academic or legalistic evaluation of blood lines and heritage, but rather a malleable, visceral perception of social fitness that required a process of differentiation between ‘white ethnics’ and other excluded groups of color.

⁵ David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White, The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 53.

⁶ Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010), 379-80.

⁷ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 94.

The scholarship that specifically examines the Greek-American experience with ethnic discrimination and the historical positioning of Greeks within the racial hierarchy of the United States remains limited and fragmentary. Most texts either chronicle the internal history of Greek immigrant communities, engaging interethnic relations only as a tangential topic, or they detail specific incidents of anti-Greek violence, such as “nightly raids” and “near lynching” of Greek laborers in Utah during the 1920s.⁸ In *Contours of White Ethnicity*, Yiorgos Anagnostou points out that “what could count as a past is a contested, problematic site within an ethnic collective... a white ethnic group is never a uniform, homogeneous entity.”⁹ Anagnostou seeks to destabilize the portrayal of ‘white ethnics’ as a general category, wherein Americans of differing European backgrounds followed a similar trajectory toward normative assimilation. He argues that “the complexity of identity making, a process glossed over by symbolic ethnicity... is articulated at the intersection of individual agency *and* powerful cultural determinations.”¹⁰ Anagnostou’s “Forget the Past, Remember the Ancestors! Modernity, ‘Whiteness,’ American Hellenism, and the Politics of Memory in Early Greek America” argues that AHEPA’s embrace of Americanism was formulated “to naturalize the connection between politico-cultural Americanism and racial Hellenism, to construct its assimilation in public as American *and* Hellenic.”¹¹ This distinctive path to ‘whiteness’ for Greek America demonstrates the central premise from *Contours of White Ethnicity* that different ethnic groups grappled with racial identity in unique ways.

In “The Social Construction of Hellenism: AHEPA’s Struggle Out of Nativism,” Vaso Thomas argues that “of all the possibilities, the AHEPA founders had, to forge a homogeneous

⁸ “Επίθεσις Αμερικανών εναντίον Ἑλλήνων εἰς τήν Γιούταν” [Attack by Americans against Greeks in Utah], *Atlantis* (July 9, 1922):4. Translated by author. See Helen Zeese Papanikolas, “Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1970): 97-203.

⁹ Yiorgos Anagnostou, *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 165.

¹¹ Yiorgos Anagnostou, “Forget the Past, Remember the Ancestors! Modernity, ‘Whiteness,’ American Hellenism, and the Politics of Memory in Early Greek America,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 22, no. 1 (2004): 46.

identity, ‘classicism’ or ‘Hellenism,’ was resurrected as a viable basis for Greek identity and assimilation. Frozen in time, the conventional image of the ancient Greek” provided the trope by which Greek immigrants pursued their claim to ‘whiteness’ within American society.¹² While a fusion of Hellenism and Americanism came to define Greek-American identity formation in later decades, Thomas and Anagnostou arrive at a similar paradox: “AHEPA struggled to assimilate into an American context by embracing a Protestant morality, by defining the Greek in America as classically ‘Hellenic,’ by recreating ‘Hellenism’ as ‘Americanism’ and by claiming ‘sameness’ in a rhetoric of ‘brotherhood’ and ‘universality.’”¹³ Most of the references cited by Anagnostou and Thomas are retrospective commentaries decades removed from the founding of AHEPA. There is minimal documentary evidence that the “pure and undefiled Americanism” proclaimed in AHEPA’s charter envisioned a transmutation of Hellenism or an amalgamated Americanism. A major contribution of this thesis will be to examine the degree to which the earliest phase of AHEPA’s history validates or contradicts this framework of assimilation.

The broader historiography of the Greek-American experience rarely confronts the issue of Greek integration within the racial hierarchy of American society. To the extent that general texts examine AHEPA’s response to anti-Greek nativism, they disagree with the characterization of the above cited articles. *The Greeks in the United States*, by Theodore Saloutos, remains the most exhaustive and authoritative treatment of Greek immigration, detailing the trajectory of the Greek-American community from its 1850s emergence in New Orleans through its political and religious schisms of the twentieth century. Far from the hybridization described by Anagnostou and Thomas, Saloutos asserts that AHEPA “represented Americanism in a decade of conformity, when many Greek-Americans, reacting sharply against the politics of the Old World, were

¹² Thomas, 2.

¹³ Ibid., 13.

desirous of shaking off all traces of foreignism by joining the greater American community.”¹⁴ Critics charged that AHEPA was an agent of de-Hellenization, which caused great consternation and acrimony at its early conventions. “Those who predicted its doom and have sought by every means to strike it a devastating blow from the very inception (and unfortunately among them were several influential Greeks who were unable to see the true light and who were misguided by unscrupulous persons and used by them as weapons to attain their selfish and fiendish purposes) have recognized, much to their utter regret, that they are completely routed.”¹⁵ Alice Scourby’s brief treatment in *The Greek Americans* notes those who “viewed AHEPA as disloyal to all that was Greek,” and Charles Moskos, in *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, cites the revealing “1924 roster of the Ahepa convention [that] shows ... Anglicized [names] such as Miller, Nixon, Walker, Adams, Campbell, and Kirby.”¹⁶ Ultimately, none of these general histories address the issue of Greek ‘whiteness’ in any direct manner since these historians evidently do not consider the topic to be a discrete concern separate from the overall history of Greek-Americans.

From the perspective of the Ku Klux Klan, such questions of racial and ethnic identity were far from peripheral. A pair of texts published two decades ago sought to rectify drawbacks of earlier Klan historiography by formulating analytical frameworks within which to characterize the Klan phenomenon. They differ greatly in methodology and theoretical emphasis, evidencing the challenge of situating the convoluted history of Klan movements within a cohesive, definitive frame of reference. In *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America*, Wyn Craig Wade portrays the Klan as an extreme manifestation of an enduring xenophobic dimension to American society. He thus titles the chapter about the interwar Klan revival after the Klansman battle cry: “Here

¹⁴ Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 250.

¹⁵ Nicholas A. Loumos, “Ahepanism,” in *4th Annual Convocation Magazine*, ed. Vasilios I. Chebithes (August 1926), excerpted in Leber, 191-192.

¹⁶ Alice Scourby, *The Greek Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 42. Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 2nd ed. (London: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 40-41.

Yesterday, Here Today, Here Forever.”¹⁷ Wade situates the Klan within a long heritage of visceral racism and tribalism primarily originating in and largely confined to the Southeast. *The Fiery Cross* depicts a disparate succession of Klan movements as spontaneous outbreaks of violent vigilantism and xenophobia on the part of marginal whites obsessed with racial identity. Nancy MacLean’s *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* instead adopts a Marxist ideological perspective wherein the Klan represented “petit-bourgeois white men’s fear of losing class position ... losing control not only over their own labor, but also over African Americans ... and the women and children in their own households.”¹⁸ While *The Fiery Cross* fails to adequately chronicle the institutional aspects of the Klan phenomenon, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry* errs in the opposite direction, representing the Klan as a monolithic fraternal order motivated by economic concerns, with its racial components merely derivative.

The most recent scholarship that examines the Klan’s revival during the interwar period foregrounds the role of militant Protestantism and the Social Gospel, which permeated Klan literature in the 1920s and was essential to its more broad-based community functions. Kelly Baker’s *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK’s Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* demonstrates how religious fundamentalism was an integral aspect of the Klan’s revival from its inception. “For [Imperial Wizard] Simmons, that altar on Stone Mountain was the ‘foundation’ of the Invisible Empire, which was committed to ‘the preservation of the white, Protestant race in America...’ Protestantism served as the foundation of the movement, and the protection of its religious faith was a key component of the Klan’s mission.”¹⁹ Baker roots the Klan phenomenon within mainstream American culture, where traditional religion provided the medium by which

¹⁷ Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (London: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 140.

¹⁸ Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 73-74.

¹⁹ Kelly J. Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK’s Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 37.

Klan ideologues recruited millions of Americans with chapters in all forty-eight states. The first issue of *The Kourier Magazine* further reveals how militant Protestantism was intimately connected with the Klan's white supremacist ideology: "The Klan is a *Protest* of Americans against the un-American elements being injected into our national body to its undoing. Therefore, Klansmen are American Protest-ants."²⁰ In *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s*, Thomas Pegram further examines how militant Protestantism became conflated with nationalist sentiment which then permitted the Klan to claim the mantle of 'genuine' Americanism. The "Klan's elevation of native-born white Protestant culture above all others took vivid form in the Klan's public spectacle," and through its harnessing of religious populism, "the Klan represented the community as a whole."²¹ The key contribution of this thesis will be to access little-studied sources from the intersection of AHEPA and the Ku Klux Klan in early 1920s Atlanta so as to illuminate these competing claims regarding the attributes of their respective histories.

Election Day 1924 left the Ku Klux Klan at the peak of its power, vaulting Klan-endorsed candidates into eight governor's mansions and seven senate seats from Georgia to Kansas to Colorado to Oregon. At polling sites across the nation, Klansmen passed out cards that declared:

When cotton grows on the fig tree
 And alfalfa hangs on the rose
 When the aliens run the United States
 And the Jews grow a straight nose
 When the Pope is praised by everyone
 In the land of Uncle Sam
 And a Greek is elected President
 THEN – the Ku Klux won't be worth a damn.²²

While the legacy of Klan discrimination against African-Americans, Jews, and Catholics remains

²⁰ "Aiming at the Bull's Eye," *The Kourier Magazine* (December 1924): 30.

²¹ Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 32.

²² 1924 election placard, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Mississippi State University Archives, in Wade, 200.

vibrant in the historical memory of America, even most Greek-Americans express disbelief at discovering that Greeks were comparably targeted by the Knight Riders of nativist terrorism.²³ Yet the heritage of Greek-Americans is littered with stark episodes of abuse and victimization. In 1909, a lynch mob of some 3000 citizens rampaged through “Greek Town” in Omaha, Nebraska – prompting the entire Greek community of over 1000 to flee the city en masse.²⁴ Greek men were flogged in Florida and Oklahoma for dating ‘white’ women, stabbed in Utah for ‘stealing’ American jobs, and abducted by Klansmen to witness “lynching parties” in the South, where they were beaten and sent off with a warning to get out of town.²⁵ In 1918, thousands of Toronto citizens went “hunting Greeks” as they destroyed every downtown Greek business, and by 1922 the Greek-language press routinely featured reports on Klan threats and anti-Greek violence.²⁶ In a special feature to the *Ethnikos Keryx*, influential Greek-American historian Seraphim Canoutas described how: “Particularly in the South, Greeks are ordered by the Ku Klux Klan to abandon various cities. A number have been brutalized, while others have their businesses boycotted.”²⁷ With their national reach and a broad readership running into the tens of thousands, the litany of ominous and disturbing reports in the Greek-language press amplified the escalating sense of a community in crisis that eventually led to the founding of AHEPA in Atlanta.

As the above incidents demonstrate, anti-Greek sentiments preceded the reemergence of the Klan in 1915 and they were not confined to the Southern states. Nor were they consistent in different locales. When the consul general of Greece filed a protest with the State Department in 1907 concerning attacks on Greek stores in Virginia, the mayor of Roanoke replied, “I have been

²³ James S. Scofield, “Forgotten History: The Klan vs. Americans of Hellenic Heritage in an Era of Hate,” in *Cong. Rec.*, 105th Cong., 1st sess., 1997, 143, pt. 154: S11892.

²⁴ John G. Bitzes, “The Anti-Greek Riot of 1909 – South Omaha,” *Nebraska History* 51 (1970): 199-224.

²⁵ Scofield, S11893. Leber, 100. “Επίσης είχε βασανισθή και ό σύζυγος, διότι έζη μέ λευκήν γυναίκα!” [Husband also tortured for living with white woman!], *Ethnikos Keryx* (August 4, 1923): 4. Translated by author.

²⁶ *Violent August: The 1918 Anti-Greek Riots in Toronto*, Burgeoning Communications, 2009.

²⁷ Seraphim Canoutas, “Η Έλληνική πολιτικομανία” [Greek political mania], *Ethnikos Keryx* (August 23, 1923): 4. Translated by author.

exceedingly anxious to prevent friction, because this city is made up largely of working men and members of labor organizations, and they are not especially friendly to the foreigners ... it is with difficulty that we can prevent the smashing of their places of business ... I am somewhat inclined to believe that they are too presumptuous, and if they continue to multiply here as they have during the past year, and do not change their method of collecting bills and settling disputes you will find dead Greeks in Roanoke before another year rolls around.”²⁸ By contrast, the situation of the Greeks in Birmingham, Savannah, and Atlanta was described rather differently in a 1913 travelogue. “The praiseworthy condition of the Greeks ... contains little unusual to the American mind, and little that is peculiarly Greek except the business enterprise... [They] enthusiastically enjoy the national and local celebrations, when they can parade with their American brothers.”²⁹ The major determining factor in how Greek-Americans were treated before the Klan’s revival was whether they had formed a stable community with families and children. The postwar shift in sentiment, with the ascendant Klan at its vanguard, involved a systematic, indiscriminate targeting of Greeks as a whole, guided by a white supremacist ideology that classified them as an ‘alien’ racial group. By the early 1920s the Greek-language press bristled with reports of Klan threats issued to businesses across the South from St. Louis to Pensacola to Baltimore, which clearly intensified the urgency felt by Greek communities to take defensive action.³⁰

In the racial hierarchy of 1920s Atlanta, Greeks occupied an intermediate space between the heavily African-American Southside wards and the white Northside neighborhoods. From 1910 onward, the majority of Atlanta’s Greeks resided in the industrial quarters southwest of

²⁸ Joel H. Cutchins, letter to Virginia Governor Claude Swanson, January 13, 1908, reprinted in Saloutos, 63.

²⁹ Thomas Burgess, *Greeks in America* (Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1913), 171-174.

³⁰ The St. Louis letter is typical: “You are hereby warned, set aside your excuses and leave the country, there is no place here for aliens of an inferior class. If you don’t leave, we have many means and plenty of lead and steel. It won’t come to that unless you force us. Take this notice seriously and leave while there’s still time. Pass this along to your fellow Greeks. Ku Klux Klan.” From “Απειλητική επιστολή προς ομογενή καταστηματάρχη” [Threatening letter sent to fellow shopkeeper], *Ethnikos Keryx* (May 21, 1922): 7. Translated by author.

Edgewood Avenue, the main dividing line of segregated Atlanta.³¹ The zoning ordinances in effect between 1922 and 1924 classified these commercial blocks as neither white nor colored, with colored residential zones to either side, reinforcing for the Greeks that lived there what Roediger termed a “middleman minority” status (Map 1).³² The area featured a mix of immigrant groups, including working class whites, most of the city’s “ghetto of the Sephardic Jews,” and what *Fortune* magazine termed “the richest Negro street in the world.”³³ In the 1920s, Greeks were especially concentrated on Pryor Street and Central Avenue, where “bootlegging, gambling and prostitution flourished” in Atlanta’s red-light district – an association that often featured in anti-Greek rhetoric by the Klan.³⁴ Greeks in Atlanta were not explicitly classified as “coloreds” and segregated accordingly, as they were in many Western cities. In most reported cases they were less formally Jim Crowed, as in Richmond, where the *Atlantis* noted how Greek men were arrested and fined for sitting near white women in theaters.³⁵ However, the residential patterns of the Atlanta Greek community and the employment of African-Americans in Greek stores and restaurants confirm an informal ‘othering’ of Greeks within Atlanta society.³⁶ In fact, those Greeks “who persisted in the city until 1932 indicated a further shift southward” into heavily black areas, with significant migration to the Northside beginning only at that time.³⁷ It is noteworthy that the founders of AHEPA were not among the more established Greek families that feature in older accounts from the Atlanta, but were upwardly mobile businessmen who had

³¹ Ann W. Ellis, “The Greek Community in Atlanta, 1920-1923,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (Winter 1974): 401.

³² Roediger, 124.

³³ Clifford M. Kuhn, Harlon E. Joye, and E. Bernard West, *Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City, 1914-1948* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 35-39. Reference to Auburn Avenue.

³⁴ Kuhn, Joye, and West, 172-173. See also: “Vice Rings Operated By Foreigners,” *The Imperial Night-Hawk* (March 26, 1924): 1.

³⁵ “Ηνώχλει μίαν γυναίκα” [He bothered a woman], *Atlantis* (May 25, 1924): 5. Translated by author. Roediger, 45.

³⁶ “Ο μαύρος ‘έκτιρίνισεν’ ότε κατηγορήθη επί κλοπή” [The black ‘turned yellow’ when accused of theft], *Atlantis* (February 20, 1923): 4. “Επί τού φόνου τού Παναγιώτου Πούλου” [On the murder of Panagiotou Poulou], *Atlantis* (March 4, 1923): 4. Translated by author.

³⁷ Ronald H. Bayor, “Ethnic Residential Patterns in Atlanta, 1880-1940,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (Winter 1979): 440.

recently opened their storefronts and who all lived and worked in this area (Map 2).³⁸

While the Ku Klux Klan is best-known for its oppression of African-Americans the issue rarely featured in its publications of the early 1920s. “Bitter, humorless, and fearful of all things foreign, the Klan seized on an astonishing array of issues as it extended its reach across much of the United States.”³⁹ The Klan portrayed itself as the keeper of law and order, the defender of “pure womanhood,” and the guardian at the gates that shielded America from turning “into a mongrel people, into a mass of groups, blocs, cliques, factions.”⁴⁰ To be sure, the Klan hardly moderated its stance on the “Negro problem”; *The Kourier Magazine* went so far as to debate the relative merits of re-enslavement, extermination, or amalgamation.⁴¹ Yet even that issue devoted far more print to combatting the “champions of alienism” and the evils of hyphenation.⁴² The resurgent Klan of the interwar period had from its inception fixated on the perceived menace from the “scum of Europe washed to our land ... infested with spies and hyphenated beings ... who threw vermin upon the Stars and Stripes.”⁴³ While most of the Klan’s ire was reserved for the far larger population of Irish, Polish, and Italian Catholics, Greeks drew no less contempt or condemnation when they featured in Klan rhetoric. Indeed, Klan publications often referred to “Catholics, Roman and Greek,” or simply swept them all into a general category of “hordes ... from the shores of the Mediterranean” that had overrun America.⁴⁴

When specified, Greeks were depicted as prone to criminality, particularly as gamblers,

³⁸ Seraphim Canoutas, *Ἑλληνο-Αμερικανικός Ὁδηγός, Greek-American Guide and Business Directory* (New York: Helmis Press, 1911), 425-426. *Atlanta City Directory* (Atlanta: Atlanta City Directory Co., 1922), 193-1122.

³⁹ David J. Goldberg, *Discontented America: The United States in the 1920s* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 118-127.

⁴⁰ Hiram Evans, “The Klan of Tomorrow,” in *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvokation: Held in Kansas City, Missouri, Sept. 23, 24, 25 and 26, 1924* (Atlanta: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1924), 148.

⁴¹ F.L.L., “The Negro – His Relation To America,” *The Kourier Magazine* (January 1926): 17-19.

⁴² H.W. Evans, “Americans Guard Your Gates,” *The Kourier Magazine* (January 1926): 6-12.

⁴³ Carl F. Hutcheson, “Surplus Population of Europe Sent to America to Overthrow Government,” *The Searchlight* (November 26, 1921): 3.

⁴⁴ “Dr. Evans, Imperial Wizard, Defines Klan Principles and Outlines Klan Activities,” *The Imperial Night-Hawk* (January 23, 1924): 2. A California Minister, “Is the Klan a Blessing or a Menace?” *The Kourier Magazine* (June 1925): 11.

bootleggers, drug peddlers, and dissolute patrons of prostitutes, who were “unassimilated, unfit, unAmericanized [*sic*] and unsafe aliens” that contributed three times their share to “Our Alien Crime Plague.”⁴⁵ Naturally, the recommended cure was deportation “of certain types and races which will not in a hundred years of residence here be anything but a menace. They should be kept out – and put out.”⁴⁶ No less consequential was the perception of Greek immigrants as inextricably bound to treasonous foreign allegiances. In April 1925, the Klan *Kourier* ventured to address a question posed in the *Atlantic Monthly*: “When is a Citizen *Not* a Citizen?” Pointing toward Greeks as the foremost exemplar, the Klan’s answer was that “a man ... subject to call from a foreign power [whose] allegiance to the native land holds precedence” exercises invalid citizenship.⁴⁷ Closely related, both the criminal impulses and the bondage to foreign authority of Greek immigrants were attributed to their intractable illiteracy and their irredeemable mental deficiency. In the Klan’s view, this overriding factor preempted even patriotic service of the sort championed by AHEPA. A diatribe from *The Kourier Magazine* dismissed the notion that Greek veterans had proven their fitness as American citizens: “It has been shown by the war records that ... forty percent of those from Greece who served in the armies of our government in the late World War, had a mentality less than that of a normal American boy of eleven years.”⁴⁸

The Klan ironically traced the origins of Kluxism to Classical Greece, deriving their name from the Cyclades archipelago, “phonetically ... transformed into the words ‘Ku-Klux’ ... a circle of friends.”⁴⁹ The distinction drawn by the Klan between ‘heroic ancient Greeks’ and ‘dissolute modern Greeks’ nonetheless provided both the rationale for Klan nativism and the

⁴⁵ H.W. Evans, “Our Alien Crime Plague and its Cure,” *The Kourier Magazine* (March 1926): 1-4. See also, “Wizard’s Address At Dallas Deals With Immigration,” *The Searchlight* (November 3, 1923): 3.

⁴⁶ “Immigrants Pouring In,” *The Searchlight* (March 25, 1922): 4.

⁴⁷ “When is a Citizen *Not* a Citizen?” *The Kourier Magazine* (April 1925): 10.

⁴⁸ C.W.R., “A Frank Discussion of Our Civilization,” *The Kourier Magazine* (September 1925): 24.

⁴⁹ “The Name Ku Klux Defined,” *The Kourier Magazine* (February 1925): 7.

dystopian paradigm that they feared was America's future. The Klan certainly did not invent the disassociation of modern Greeks from their Classical forebears nor was it first to articulate the implications. The Klan was simply more willing to act on the ideology of scientific racism that was expounded in the pages of the *New York Times* and the *Saturday Evening Post*.⁵⁰ As framed by the Klan, Classical Greek culture "receded as a result of absorption of the blood of colored races" so that it fell under the rule of the Roman Empire, which in turn was overrun by the "Mongoliad horde [that] completed the destruction" of Greco-Roman civilization.⁵¹ It directly followed that the contemporary influx of Greeks and Italians in the 1920s forecast "the wholesale ruin of the white race in America and the destruction of the republic of our forefathers" due to the "mongrelization of America by the cross-breeding hordes from Europe."⁵² Just as "the tidal wave of aliens ... destroyed Egypt with her splendor, Rome with her power, Athens with her culture, and Sparta with her patriotism" so would Greek immigrant men, altogether "unsanitary, unwholesome, uninspirational – the natural habitation and breeding place of the moron, the nomad and the criminal," seek to find wives and mothers "from among superior classes" thereby destroying the purity and stature of white American civilization.⁵³

On May 6, 1922, the opening guns of the Seventh Annual Klonvokation of the Invisible Empire thundered across Atlanta, with "a monster parade and pilgrimage to Stone Mountain... witnessed by thousands of citizens... led by the squad of city police, followed by the Stars and Stripes and the Fiery Cross."⁵⁴ Thousands gathered to view similar spectacles across the state of Georgia, from Marietta to Savannah, while Klans across the United States resolved to make their

⁵⁰ William Ripley, "Future Americans Will Be Swarthy," *New York Times* (November 29, 1908): 7. Kenneth L. Roberts, "Plain Remarks on Immigration for Plain Americans," *Saturday Evening Post* (February 12, 1921): 21-44.

⁵¹ "Quotations from 'White America,'" *The Kourier Magazine* (August 1927): 31. C.W.R., 24.

⁵² "The Blood of White America Must Be Kept Pure And Uncontaminated," *The Imperial Night-Hawk* (August 15, 1923): 6.

⁵³ "Tidal Wave of Aliens Destroyed Rome and Egypt," *The Searchlight* (September 8, 1923): 3. "Wizard's Address At Dallas Deals With Immigration," *The Searchlight* (November 3, 1923): 3.

⁵⁴ "Klonvention Was The Most Successful In History Of The Klan," *The Searchlight* (May 13, 1922): 1.

presence known in public appearances.⁵⁵ In his opening address, Imperial Klaliff Edward Young Clarke proclaimed that “only 100% Americans, such as compose the membership of the Ku Klux Klan, should and must be the guiding hand that shapes our destiny as a nation.”⁵⁶ Clarke defined the Klan’s central mission in opposition to “an insidious attempt to make it appear that the real American was an admixture of various races and classes and creeds, gathered from all parts of the World and thrown together into one great melting pot called America.”⁵⁷ In particular, Clarke vilified the “mongrel race” of Italians and Greeks whose ancestors had mixed their pure blood with that of “inferior races” resulting in the dissolution of their civilization.⁵⁸ This central tenet of “keeping secure from pollution from inferior blood the precious blood of the Caucasian race” was not limited to speeches or news articles.⁵⁹ It was formally ratified at the First Imperial Kloncilium held in May 1923 at Asheville, North Carolina, and disseminated throughout the Invisible Empire by the *Klansman’s Manual* and *The Practice of Klanishness*.⁶⁰

Vasilios Chebithes, AHEPA’s third Supreme President from 1924-1927, portrayed this setting from which the Order emerged: “Caught in the paroxysmal convulsions of this insane wave of counterfeit brand of Americanism, Hellenism in America was threatened with ruin.”⁶¹ It seems no coincidence that when George Poulos and John Angelopoulos, two travelling salesmen operating out of Atlanta, chanced to meet that summer in Chattanooga, Tennessee, they resolved to found a national, fraternal organization “centered around the then burning question as to what the American citizens of Hellenic descent should do to counteract and frustrate the wave of

⁵⁵ “Klonvention Was The Most Successful In History Of The Klan,” *The Searchlight* (May 13, 1922): 2.

⁵⁶ “Message of Clarke Stirs Klonvokation,” *The Searchlight* (May 13, 1922): 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Hiram Wesley Evans, *The Practice of Klanishness* (Atlanta: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1924), 5.

⁶⁰ Grand Dragon of South Carolina, “The Regulation of Immigration,” in *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*, ed. Gerald N. Grob (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 69-74. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Klansman’s Manual* (Atlanta: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1924), 17-18.

⁶¹ Vasilios I. Chebithes, *AHEPA and the Progress of Hellenism in America* (New York: Hermes Chapter, Order of Ahepa, 1935), 24.

unfavorable sentiment against them and their business, and to turn it into a wave of goodwill.”⁶² According to Spiro Stamos, a fellow AHEPA founder, George Poulos had for several years been promoting “an American Greek organization of great magnitude ... from which the people should learn the good qualities, attributes and characteristics of the Greeks.”⁶³ The idea of a fraternal order gained little traction in large part because the Greeks of Atlanta were deeply divided by the acrimonious schism between monarchists and republicans that set supporters of King Constantine against Venizelist partisans in Greek communities across the nation.⁶⁴ Despite this state of internecine conflict, the Klan’s intensified targeting of Greek-owned establishments throughout the Southeast finally prompted the Atlanta Greek community to take defensive measures. “Gradually, the rumors, reports and information of the Klan’s ‘Campaign of Extermination’ flew faster and thicker, and the plans of the Klan to exterminate the ‘niggers, Catholics, Jews and foreigners as un-American and, therefore, dangerous and undesirable,’ were described and discussed with increasing interest and vehemence.”⁶⁵

The first meeting of what would become AHEPA was called to order on July 26, 1922 at the Greek Orthodox Church in Atlanta. Another founding member, James Vlass, explained that “we felt it necessary to show [the American people] who we were, what we thought and how much we cared about the good of our town, state and country. We felt that we should find a way to show them that we were just like them and that our problems were not different from theirs... We wanted to convince our American neighbors that we were not invaders who had come to plunder and destroy.”⁶⁶ To be sure, while the participants were uniformly alarmed “that the

⁶² Chebithes, *AHEPA and the Progress of Hellenism*, 26.

⁶³ Spiro J. Stamos, “Ahepa, The Brainchild of George A. Polos,” *Ethnikos Keryx* (October 1950), quoted in Peter N. Mantzoros, *AHEPA and I Across the Years* (Glenview, IL: Pnyx Publishing, 1966), 18.

⁶⁴ “Παπάδες ἐχθρευόμενοι καὶ τοὺς νεκρούς” [Priests extend hostilities even to the dead], *Atlantis* (January 12, 1923): 4. Translated by author.

⁶⁵ Stamos, 18.

⁶⁶ James Vlass, quoted in Mantzoros, 16.

campaign of extermination will strike the Greeks of Atlanta” they were far from unanimous that unbridled Americanism should be their chief objective.⁶⁷ Of sixty invitations to the meeting that resulted in AHEPA’s founding, twenty-five were accepted and seventeen attendees agreed to issue the statement that proclaimed the Order’s guiding principles:

The purpose of said Association is to advance and promote pure and undefiled Americanism among the Greeks of the United States, its Territories and Colonial possessions; to educate the Greeks in the matter of democracy, and [government] of the United [States] and to instill the deepest loyalty to the United States, and for the general promotion of fraternity, sociability and the practice of benevolent aid among this nationality.⁶⁸

Greek-Americans had organized into societies, fellowships, and associations since the earliest coalescence of Greek immigrant communities in the United States. By 1907, there were over one hundred such groups, with thirty in New York City alone.⁶⁹ Of these, the most prominent was the Pan-Hellenic Union, whose mission was to “preserve the spirit of the finest Greek traditions and Greek ideals for the utmost elevation of a people descended from the pioneers of progress and of all noble achievements.”⁷⁰ The express purpose of such associations was to maintain the Greek language and to promote the Orthodox faith among migrant Greeks who would presumably return to their fatherland. What distinguished AHEPA from past attempts at Greek-American community organizing was the premise that the United States was now the Greek-American homeland. The abandonment of Old World schisms along with its quest to “counterbalance the power of the Klan and ... achieve through proper use of human intelligence what the Klan was trying to accomplish through ... brute force” launched AHEPA’s rapid national ascent.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Stamos, 19.

⁶⁸ George A. Poulos et al., “First Meeting” (minutes issued by the elected officers at the first meeting of the Order of AHEPA, Atlanta, GA, July 26, 1922). Brackets denote correction of typographic errors in original document.

⁶⁹ Saloutos, 75.

⁷⁰ “Μορφωτική δράσις: Πνευματική κίνησις” [Educational actions: Spiritual movements], *Ethnikos Keryx* (June 14, 1923): 4. Translated by author.

⁷¹ Vasilios I. Chebithes, “The Twenty-Eight Year March of the Historic Organization,” in *Ethnikos Keryx* (October 1950), quoted in Mantzoros, 9-10.

The eight founders of AHEPA were systematic in promoting their vision of Greek-Americanism, adopting a strategy designed to “deflect the Klan’s raw physical power and political strength” by demonstrating that “Greeks were good Americans and good for America, and therefore desirable business associates and beneficial citizens.”⁷² At its second meeting on the following day, AHEPA adopted an emblem featuring the Statue of Liberty and the American flag. Four days later, they voted unanimously to open membership to “American born” persons of any ancestry.⁷³ The Order was particularly eager to forge ties with non-Greeks who could provide social legitimacy, conferring honorary memberships and scoring a major publicity coup when Georgia Attorney General George Napier and Atlanta Mayor Walter Sims addressed their celebration of Greek Independence Day on April 11, 1923.⁷⁴ As later framed by *The Ahepa* magazine, the group’s membership was drawn “from a variety of racial stocks including descendants of Mayflower genealogy, but the majority are of Greek birth or American born of Greek descent.”⁷⁵ It is perhaps no surprise then that the first article covering AHEPA’s founding appeared three days afterward in *The Searchlight*, then the official organ of the Juniors who were closely aligned with the Klan, and a resolution from the Juniors “commending the association for its establishment and for its principles” was read at AHEPA’s fifth meeting.⁷⁶

Several historians have therefore expressed skepticism as to whether AHEPA genuinely opposed the Klan or whether it channeled Klan rhetoric as a form of appeasement. Lazar Odzak notes that George Poulos had an acquaintance with Imperial Klaliff Clarke, one of the Klan’s

⁷² Saloutos, 94. Note that the earliest records specify six founders of AHEPA. George Demeter, *AHEPA Manual: Official Guide of the Order of AHEPA* (Boston: Athens Printing, 1926), 27-8. These are the six applicants named on the handwritten charter petition submitted to the Fulton County Court. Later sources indicate eight founders, adding Spiro Stamos and George Campbell. See Chebithes, *AHEPA and the Progress of Hellenism*, 28; and Leber, 153.

⁷³ Leber, 154-5. The modern emblem symbols of the Wreath, Swords, Eagle, and Cross were adopted upon the 1924 transition to Washington, DC. Demeter, 53.

⁷⁴ “New Organization Celebrates Greek Independence Day,” *Atlanta Constitution* (April 12, 1923): 19.

⁷⁵ Dean Alfange, “Ahepa and Character,” *The Ahepa* 3, no. 5 (September 1929): 6. Note that since 1927 the official AHEPA publication has been variously titled *The Ahepa*, *The Ahepa Magazine*, and *The AHEPAN*.

⁷⁶ “Greeks To Teach Real Americanism,” *The Searchlight* (July 29, 1922): 5. Leber, 155.

most xenophobic orators.⁷⁷ More significantly, AHEPA's charter was drawn up by Carl Hutcheson, a Klan member "who had launched an open crusade to fire Catholic public school teachers," and *Searchlight* editor J. O. Wood was an honorary speaker at two November 1922 AHEPA meetings.⁷⁸ While the founders of AHEPA had no desire to antagonize the Klan, the great preponderance of evidence contradicts the notion that there was some kind of 'special relationship' between the Order and the Klan. To the contrary, Chebithes wrote that: "It is an established fact that George A. Polos was employed by the Imperial Palace... In this capacity he was in a position to have advance knowledge of the plots and plans of the Klan, the causes out of which they arose and the objects of their madness. This information was constantly used to the best advantage of the unsuspecting victims."⁷⁹ Hutcheson was a member of the Atlanta School Board and a superior judge candidate when AHEPA was founded; Wood held a seat on the City Council and was elected to the Georgia legislature in 1922. Considering the Klan's pervasive reach and influence throughout all strata of Atlanta society in the early 1920s, it would seem far more implausible to find no intersections between AHEPA and the Klan, and there is minimal evidence that this equivocal relationship extended beyond AHEPA's routine pursuit of social and political legitimacy.⁸⁰ Conversely, the *Searchlight* often attempted to deflect rising criticism of the Klan by portraying it as a benefactor of blacks, Jews, and Catholics, and the commendation of AHEPA mirrored such thinly-veiled exercises in Klan public relations.⁸¹

If the resolution from the Juniors implied a genuine shift in sentiment on the part of the

⁷⁷ Odzak, 96.

⁷⁸ Edward Proxamus Akin, IV, *The Ku Klux Klan in Georgia: Social change and conflict, 1915-1930*, PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1995), 329. Leber, 158.

⁷⁹ Chebithes, "The Twenty-Eight Year March of the Historic Organization," quoted in Mantzoros, 9.

⁸⁰ Clement Charlton Moseley, "Invisible Empire: A History of the Ku Klux Klan in Twentieth Century Georgia, 1915-1965," (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 1968), 30-75. Akin notes that J.O. Wood waited tables at a Greek restaurant while trying to establish his law practice, citing interviews with Wood's son and nephew, 239.

⁸¹ "Negro Institution Given Aid by Klansmen," *The Searchlight* (May 12, 1923): 3. "Americanism to be Stressed by Jews of Nation," *The Searchlight* (May 19, 1923): 1. "Fla. Newspaper Commends Assistance Given Catholic Mother by Klan Members," *The Searchlight* (September 6, 1924): 1.

Klan it certainly did not survive *The Searchlight*'s transfer to the Imperial Palace. In a reprint of an address given by Grand Wizard Hiram Evans in Dallas, Greeks and Italians were classified alongside “the negro” and “the Jew” as “Elements We Cannot Assimilate” due to their alleged illiteracy, criminal disposition, and foreign allegiances.⁸² Beyond Atlanta, the Klan boycott of Greek establishments continued unabated. “Many Greek-owned confectioneries and restaurants failed financially or were sold at sacrificial prices to non-Greeks because of boycotts instigated by the Klan. Greek establishments doing as much as \$500 to \$1,000 a day business, especially in the South and Midwest, dropped to as little as \$25 a day. The only recourse was to sell or close. The Klan often bolstered its boycotts by openly threatening or attacking customers entering and leaving.”⁸³ Circumstantial evidence ranges from a report to the *Atlantis* about a Greek who abandoned his restaurant in Camilla, GA, to speculation in the *Ethnikos Keryx* about whether a Savannah restaurateur was the victim of arson.⁸⁴ Further afield, incidents ranged from a Miami restaurant owner who was abducted and beaten to another in Shreveport who was issued a legal injunction to “clean up or shut down” to yet another in Fredericksburg, VA, where “a bomb filled with enough nitroglycerin to blow up half a city block was found in a Greek restaurant ... [having] recently received a series of threatening letters signed ‘Ku Klux Klan.’”⁸⁵ Incidents such as these fueled AHEPA's accelerating expansion, with Lodge No. 2 founded in Charlotte, NC, on November 14, 1922, and a total of 32 chapters operating nationwide by the convening of the First Supreme Convention in Atlanta on October 15, 1923.⁸⁶

⁸² “Wizard’s Address At Dallas Deals With Immigration,” *The Searchlight* (November 3, 1923): 3.

⁸³ Scofield, S11893.

⁸⁴ “Έλλην επτώχευσε και έφυγε κρυφίως” [Bankrupt Greek absconds], *Atlantis* (July 18, 1923): 4. “Δέν επρόφθασε να έξέλθη από τό έστιατόριόν” [Did not escape restaurant], *Ethnikos Keryx* (May 24, 1923): 4. Translated by author.

⁸⁵ “Μετεφέρθη δι’ αυτοκινήτου έξω τής πόλεως και έκακοποιήθη” [Taken by car out of town and beaten], *Atlantis* (April 20, 1924): 5. “Νά καθαρίζη τό έστιατόριον ή νά τό κλείση’ ή διαταγή του δικαστού” [‘Clean up restaurant or shut down,’ judge’s orders], *Atlantis* (May 18, 1924): 5. Translated by author. “Deadly Bomb Found After Klan Threats,” *New York World* (July 5, 1923), in ACLU Records, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, NJ.

⁸⁶ Leber, 160-2.

Two weeks after AHEPA's founding, *Ethnikos Keryx* featured a glowing announcement to the nationwide Greek community headlined "A wonderful resolution by Atlanta's Greeks," yet that initial goodwill did not last.⁸⁷ On December 17, 1923, Greeks who rejected AHEPA's assimilationism founded the rival Greek American Progressive Association in East Pittsburgh.⁸⁸ GAPA's membership was restricted to ethnic Greeks and its objectives were "the preservation and dissemination of Greek ideals and especially of the immortal Greek language and of the life-giving Orthodox faith."⁸⁹ Both the influential *Ethnikos Keryx* and the Greek Orthodox Church swiftly embraced GAPA's mission, with the primary source of dissension focused on AHEPA's refusal to designate Greek as its official language or alter its non-sectarian religious standpoint. "The contrast between the two organizations was clear even in their social affairs. Gapa affairs consisted entirely of Greek folk dances, whereas at Ahepa dances there was a predominance of 'American' waltzes and fox trots."⁹⁰ However, GAPA was ultimately engaged in a rearguard action increasingly out of step with the social and economic interests of the Greek-American community. Unlike AHEPA, GAPA failed to spread beyond the urban Greek enclaves, where Greek institutions could thrive in relative self-sufficiency, and proved unable to bridge the divide between immigrant Greeks and second generation Greek-Americans. "AHEPA accepted the principle of the 'melting pot' and advocated Americanization and assimilation as means of survival. GAPA, on the other hand, viewed the American society as a 'tossed salad.'"⁹¹ At its peak in the 1930s and 1940s, GAPA had more than seventy chapters that helped found over 120

⁸⁷ "Μία ωραία απόφασις τών Ἑλλήνων τῆς Ἀτλάντας" [A wonderful resolution by Atlanta's Greeks], *Ethnikos Keryx* (August 6, 1922): 7. Translated by author.

⁸⁸ "Ἰδρυσις Ἑλληνο-Ἀμερικανικοῦ Προοδευτικοῦ Συλλόγου" [Founding of the Greek-American Progressive Association], *Atlantis* (April 1, 1924): 4. Translated by author.

⁸⁹ *Vema tes GAPA* (December 19, 1939), quoted in Constantine G. Yavis, "Propaganda in the Greek-American Community," Foreign Agents Registration Section, War Division, Department of Justice, April 21, 1944, reprinted in *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 14, no. 1-2 (April 1987): 119.

⁹⁰ Moskos, 42.

⁹¹ Eleftherios N. Botsas, "The American Hellenes," in *America's Ethnic Politics*, ed. Joseph S. Roucek and Bernard Eisenberg (London: Greenwood Press, 1982), 33.

Greek Orthodox churches and community centers, operated eighty-five Greek parochial schools, and issued the *Vema tes GAPA (GAPA Tribune)* newspaper. Yet GAPA was effectively defunct by the early 1980s, whereas AHEPA established Honolulu Chapter 540 in 2012.⁹²

As AHEPA permeated Greek-American life throughout the nation, it gradually began to “de-emphasize the superpatriot activities of its earliest years” and to rein in the more extreme aspects from its original vision of Americanism.⁹³ The first inquiry regarding use of the Greek language was recorded at AHEPA’s nineteenth meeting on November 19, 1921, and the clamor reached a crescendo at the Seventh Supreme Convention in 1929. A motion to designate Greek as AHEPA’s official language resulted in 125 pages of verbatim minutes with two past supreme presidents on one side and two on the other.⁹⁴ The motion was defeated though a concession was approved to permit use of the Greek language at AHEPA functions. In 1926, Supreme President Chebithes had issued a report to explain the rationale behind AHEPA’s insistence “on the sole use of the English language in its proceedings and functions... Practically all members of the Order of Ahepa during its early years were businessmen [whose] greatest asset would prove to be fluency in English... The Order of Ahepa provided for them a practical school, by forcing them to use the language they needed most in their businesses.”⁹⁵ After the acrimonious 1929 debate, in which Chebithes championed the English-only policy, Supreme President George Phillis asserted that: “Our avowed policy has been to teach the Greek language to those who need it and the English language to those who need it.”⁹⁶ AHEPA’s commitment to promoting ‘authentic Americanism’ among Greek-Americans did not waver, but rather the shift in emphasis

⁹² “AHEPA Establishes Chapters in England, Bulgaria,” *The AHEPAN* 85, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 9. Note that prior to 1940 the title of AHEPA’s official publication had been variously *The Ahepa* and *The Ahepa Magazine*.

⁹³ Saloutos, 252-6.

⁹⁴ Minutes of the Seventh Supreme Convention, August 26-31, 1929, Order of AHEPA Archives, AHEPA National Headquarters, Washington, DC.

⁹⁵ Vasilios I. Chebithes, 1926 report, quoted in Leber, 209.

⁹⁶ George E. Phillis, “Ahepa and the Greek Language,” (1929), quoted in Leber, 241.

reinforced a revisionist historical memory that selected out elements of Greek identity deemed incompatible with its core mission. “AHEPA turned the argument of ‘nativist modernism’ on its head. If the American ideals of republican citizenship were traced to ancient Greece and if culture was racially determined, the Ahepans, as direct racial descendants of the ancient Greeks, did not merely represent natural Americanness, they embodied ‘ur-Americanness.’ It was only a step away from this position to argue, as a pro-Americanist immigrant did in 1925, for ‘the Hellenic Origins of the Anglo-Saxons.’”⁹⁷ In effect, AHEPA co-opted both the Americanism espoused in its most extreme form by Ku Klux Klan rhetoric as well as the Hellenism promoted by Greek traditionalists so as to forge an inclusive and novel Hellenic-American identity.

On September 5, 1927, the lead feature column of *The Atlanta Constitution* celebrated the imminent five year anniversary of AHEPA’s chartering:

Atlanta has in her book of fame many articles of distinction. One of the best of these is the residence and record of a goodly contingent of citizens born in or derived from the classic land of Greece... Most of the Greeks who come to this country ... are eager for full Americanization. They bring with them the inherent passion of their race for liberty, for democracy and for the reign of law... Not only have we many fine business men among the Greeks of Atlanta, but some very cultured men whose qualifications as masters in arts, sciences, and literature are far above the average in any race.⁹⁸

When the delegates at the First Supreme Convention voted to move AHEPA’s headquarters to Philadelphia, a more suitable location for its centrality to the large Greek communities of the Northern cities and at a distance from Klan influence, they expressed guarded optimism about its future prospects. “We have suffered untold worries – but the realization that we are on the verge of a great national success more than repays us.”⁹⁹ During the period of AHEPA’s founding, the “inbetweenness” of Greek-Americans seems readily evident in near-contemporaneous accounts

⁹⁷ Anagnostou, “Forget the Past, Remember the Ancestors,” 46.

⁹⁸ Sam W. Small, “Looking and Listening: Ahepa, the Great American-Hellenic Association, Was Born Here in Atlanta,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (September 5, 1927): 4.

⁹⁹ Peter J. Stamos, “Secretary’s Report – First Supreme Convention,” in Leber, 170.

from three communities in Texas. Whereas Greeks in El Paso reported with enthusiasm on how “many Mexicans honored our community festival,” Greeks in Fort Worth protested against an ordinance prohibiting their entry in city parks.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, Greeks in Houston developed a terminology that set them apart from whites, blacks, and Mexicans (*aspri, mavri, ispanisti*).¹⁰¹ Nor did it necessarily appear self-evident that ‘whiteness’ would be the path that Greeks would follow within America’s racial hierarchy. When W.E.B. Du Bois spoke to “Mediterranean immigrants” at Hull House in Chicago, Jane Addams recorded that the “Greeks are filled with amazed rage when their very name is flung at them as an opprobrious epithet” and they were quite interested in “the advancement of colored people.”¹⁰² Even after the Second World War there is the rare example of black-identified rhythm and blues musician Johnny Otis, who was born John Veliotes, the son of Greek immigrants.¹⁰³ In the 1920s, Greeks were excluded from “white men’s towns” and “white men’s jobs” in Arizona, Idaho, and Colorado, yet by 1940 had reached the point of ‘othering’ Mexicans out of Greek-owned “White Only” establishments.¹⁰⁴

Placed in perspective, Johnny Otis was no doubt an eccentric detour from the historical trajectory of Greek-American ethnic identity formation. The aspirations of the middle class that emerged from Greek immigrant communities during the interwar period “presupposed the ‘negation of barbarous cultural traits,’ that is, elements that referred to Balkan Greece, and adopted ancient Greek heritage as the sole cultural background.”¹⁰⁵ AHEPA’s adeptness at navigating the malleability of ethnic identity and its skill at reconfiguring historical memory set

¹⁰⁰ “Η δύναμις τῆς Κοινότητός μάς” [The strength of our Community], *Ethnikos Keryx* (November 30, 1923): 5. “Οἱ Ἕλληνες διαμαρτύρονται διά τὰς δηλώσεις ἐναντίον τῶν” [Greeks protest announcements against them], *Ethnikos Keryx* (December 17, 1924): 4. Translated by author.

¹⁰¹ Roediger, 96.

¹⁰² Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 255-256.

¹⁰³ Roediger, 124.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 45-96.

¹⁰⁵ Yannis G. S. Papadopoulos, “The Role of Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Class in Shaping Greek American Identity, 1890-1927,” in *Identity and Participation in Culturally Diverse Societies: A Multidisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Assaad Azzi et al. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 28.

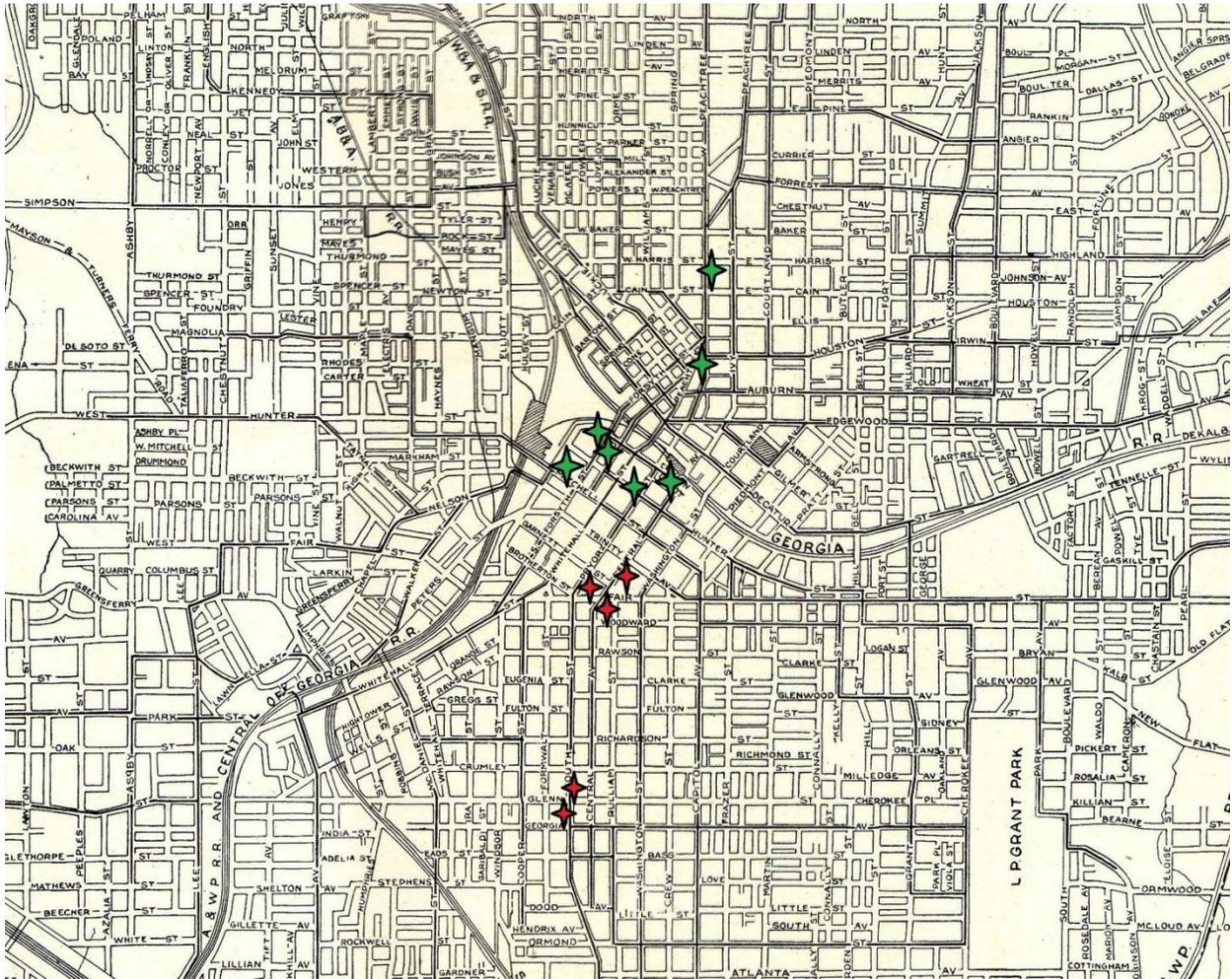
Greek-Americans on a path to ‘whiteness’ so successful that few recall they were ever thought otherwise. “The widespread and often violent discrimination against immigrants from Greece is an almost forgotten page of American history... Very few persons today, Hellenic or not, are even vaguely aware of the massive continental strength of the Klan of the 1920s and its intensive persecution of foreign-born Greeks, including those who had chosen to become American citizens.”¹⁰⁶ The key milestones along the Greek-American path to ‘whiteness’ were comprised of ultra-Americanism, with the Second World War as a major turning point. AHEPA raised \$250 million as the only civic organization designated an official Issuing Agent for U.S. War Bonds, the culmination of the Order’s meticulous courting of political officials, with Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman among its dues-paying members.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps nothing better symbolizes the triumph of this Greek-American passage than the *Life* magazine cover of March 26, 1965, that announced a “Historic Turning Point in the Negro’s Cause” when Greek Orthodox Archbishop Iakovos became the first “white” religious leader to join with Martin Luther King, Jr. during the March from Selma, Alabama.¹⁰⁸ AHEPA has now come full circle, proclaiming as its primary mission: “to create an awareness of the principles of Hellenism to society. These principles include a commitment to humanity, freedom, and democracy. The preservation and promotion of these ideals is where AHEPA has, and always will be, deeply committed.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Scofield, S11892.

¹⁰⁷ “Commemorating the 85th Anniversary of the Founding of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association,” in *Cong. Rec.*, 110th Cong., 1st sess., 2007, 153, pt. 5: S6644.

¹⁰⁸ Richard B. Stolley, “The Nation Surges to Join the Negro on His March,” *Life* (March 26, 1965): 30-37.

¹⁰⁹ American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, “AHEPA’s Important Mission,” AHEPA National Headquarters, <http://www.ahepa.org/dotnetnuke/About/Mission.aspx> (accessed November 1, 2012).



Map 2. Founders of AHEPA, adapted by author from William Patten and James E. Homans, *The New Encyclopedic Atlas and Gazetteer of the World* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1911).

Red markers indicate residences of the founders of AHEPA, as listed in the 1922 Atlanta City Directory. Note that several of the eight AHEPA founders listed the same address. In two cases they were related to one another while the third case appears to have involved a lodger.

Green markers indicate workplaces of the founders of AHEPA, as listed in the 1922 Atlanta City Directory. Note that two of the AHEPA founders were co-owners of their establishment.

Senior Thesis Primary Source List

Addams, Jane. *Twenty Years at Hull House*. New York: Macmillan, 1912.

This memoir from the Chicago settlement reformer includes multiple passages that reveal perceptions of and about immigrants in the early twentieth century. The quoted section illustrates the instability of racial identity among Greek immigrants in particular.

American Civil Liberties Union Records. Princeton University Archives. Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, NJ.

The ACLU maintained annual files on Ku Klux Klan activities throughout the United States during the early 1920s. These records include newspaper articles, correspondence, and legal documents related to Ku Klux Klan activities in Georgia and elsewhere.

American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association. "AHEPA's Important Mission." AHEPA National Headquarters. <http://www.ahepa.org/dotnetnuke/About/Mission.aspx> (accessed November 1, 2012).

The official statement of AHEPA's present-day mission, principles, and activities, which may be compared and contrasted with AHEPA's original 1922 mission statement. Whereas the Order's 1922 charter focused on Americanism, its modern mission focuses on Hellenism.

Atlanta City Directory. Atlanta: Atlanta City Directory Co., 1922.

Includes residence and business listings for the eight founders of AHEPA. Used herein to situate their spatial positioning within the social and racial geography of 1920s Atlanta.

Atlanta Constitution, 1922-1927. Atlanta, GA. Atlanta Journal-Constitution Historic Archives 1868-1945, Proquest Archiver. http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/ajc_historic/search.html (accessed November 1, 2012).

One of Atlanta's three leading mainstream newspapers during the period of study that features multiple items with reference either to the Ku Klux Klan or to AHEPA.

Ἀτλάντις [Atlantis], 1922-1924. New York, NY. Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies. Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collections, Philadelphia, PA.

One of the two leading Greek-language daily newspapers in the United States during the 1920s. *Atlantis* reported on national events relevant to the Greek-American community from a conservative editorial position favored by the royalist faction.

Burgess, Thomas. *Greeks in America*. Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1913.

This early twentieth century history and travelogue reveals how Greek immigrants and Greek-American communities across the United States were regarded in the decade preceding the reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan. The quoted section describes the general perception with regard to Greeks that settled in the South, specifically in Atlanta, Birmingham, and Savannah.

Canoutas, Seraphim. *Ἑλληνο-Αμερικανικός Ὁδηγός, Greek-American Guide and Business Directory*. New York: Helms Press, 1911.

Provides listings and descriptions of Greek-American commercial institutions throughout the United States during the early twentieth century. These are categorized by city and state such that a portrait may be reconstructed of the Greek-American community at any given locale.

Chebithes, Vasilios I. *Ahepa and the Progress of Hellenism in America*. New York: Hermes Chapter, Order of AHEPA, 1935.

Vasilios Chebithes served as AHEPA's third supreme president from 1924-1927 and again from 1935-1940. This report issued at the beginning of his second term chronicles the emergence and development of AHEPA during the first decade after its founding.

Demeter, George. *AHEPA Manual: Official Guide of the Order of AHEPA, Containing early history and miscellaneous fundamentals of the order*. Boston: Athens Printing, 1926.

George Demeter served as AHEPA's second supreme president from 1923-1924. This official volume established and standardized AHEPA's organization, principles, and procedures, adopted by the Fourth Annual Supreme Convention in Philadelphia. It includes an overview of its founding as well as an account of the decision to move the headquarters from Atlanta.

Ἐθνικός Κήρυξ [National Herald], 1922-1924. New York, NY. Center for Research Libraries, MF-6148 Reel 22-38, microfilm.

One of the two leading Greek-language daily newspapers in the United States during the 1920s. *Ethnikos Keryx* reported on national events relevant to the Greek-American community from a progressive editorial position favored by the liberalist faction.

Evans, Hiram Wesley. *The Practice of Klanishness*. Atlanta: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1924.

This pamphlet of instructions issued by the Imperial Wizard outlined the principles and objectives of the Ku Klux Klan for Klansmen nationwide. It included statements of the Klan's militant Protestantism, its anti-immigrant nativism, and its white supremacist ideology.

Grob, Gerald N., ed. *Papers Read at the Meeting of Grand Dragons, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, At their First Annual Meeting held at Asheville, North Carolina, July 1923: Together with other articles of interest to Klansmen*. New York: Arno Press, 1977.

The 1923 Asheville convention of the Ku Klux Klan, contemporary to the period of study in Atlanta, articulated the Klan's social and political objectives during the peak of its nationwide influence. It featured thematic speeches from many of the attendant Klan officials, including a speech on the regulation of immigration by the Grand Dragon of South Carolina.

Junior Order of United American Mechanics and Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. *The Searchlight*, 1921-1924. Atlanta, GA. Georgia State University Libraries, News Microform HS-2330, microfilm. Kent State University Libraries, Micro-35, microfilm. University of Georgia Libraries, Microforms AN-13, microfilm.

The official organ of the Juniors functioned as a Klan publication in all but name from October 1921 until May 1923, when it was designated the official organ of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and of the Kamelia. Klansman J. O. Wood edited the weekly newspaper throughout the period, and it routinely featured commentary expressing anti-immigrant Klan policies.

Kenan Research Center Archives. Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, GA.

Founded in 1926 by the Atlanta Historical Society, the museum houses a number of collections and exhibits that chronicle Atlanta's history during the period of study. These include the 1922 "Zone Map" adapted herein to illustrate the position of Greeks within Atlanta's racial hierarchy as well as the relevant statutes in the *Charter and Ordinances of the City of Atlanta*.

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. *The Imperial Night-Hawk*, 1923-1924. Atlanta, GA. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Davis Library Microfilm Serial 1-362, microfilm.

This weekly publication was established by Imperial Wizard Hiram Evans during the period of his ouster by Klan Emperor William Simmons. Unlike *The Searchlight* it catered more exclusively to Klan subscribers with little regard to public relations. After the reinstatement of Evans it was issued from the Imperial Palace and was replaced by the *Kourier* in 1924.

———. *Klansman's Manual*. Atlanta: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1924.

This official guide was issued by the Imperial Palace to Klansmen nationwide so as to standardize the administration and procedures of the Ku Klux Klan. It included sections on the "Objects and Purposes" of the Klan as well as detailed membership criteria which convey the Klan's viewpoint on the racial, economic, and religious dimensions of Americanism.

———. *The Courier Magazine, 1924-1927*. Atlanta, GA. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Davis Library Microfilm Serial 1-65, microfilm.

This monthly publication replaced the *Night-Hawk* as of December 1924 and served a similar purpose of addressing a more insular Klan readership. The articles routinely disseminated the Klan's anti-immigrant principles and expounded on Klan activities into the early 1930s.

———. *Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvokation: Held in Kansas City, Missouri, Sept. 23, 24, 25 and 26, 1924*. Atlanta: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1924.

The Ku Klux Klan convention of 1924 in Kansas City represented the pinnacle of the Klan's national power and influence before its move to Washington, DC. The proceedings included reports on all aspects of Klan activity and charted out its future objectives.

Leber, George J. *The History of the Order of AHEPA (The American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) 1922-1972, Including the Greeks in the New World, and Immigration to the United States*. Washington: The Order of AHEPA, 1972.

This derivative compilation presents AHEPA's history via a chronological arrangement of primary records, including the Order's core documents, transcripts of speeches, abridged minutes from national conventions, and reports or commentaries issued by AHEPA officials.

Mantzoros, Peter N. *AHEPA and I Across the Years*. Glenview, IL: Pnyx Publishing, 1966.

This derivative compilation assembles primary source excerpts with minimal editorial commentary in order to explore select themes from AHEPA's history. Of particular interest are written accounts from AHEPA founders regarding the motives and details of its founding.

Order of AHEPA Archives. American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association. AHEPA National Headquarters, Washington, DC.

These records include correspondence, official documents, and annual convention reports preserved by the Order of AHEPA. Most notably, AHEPA's quarterly publication since 1927, titled *The Ahepa* or *The Ahepa Magazine* until 1940, and thereafter titled *The AHEPAN*.

Poulos, George A. "First Meeting." Minutes issued by the elected officers at the first meeting of the Order of AHEPA, Atlanta, GA, July 26, 1922.

The abridged summary of AHEPA's first meeting that proclaimed the establishment, principles, and objectives of the association. The mission statement of "pure and undefiled Americanism" would be incorporated into AHEPA's charter and constitution.

Stolley, Richard B. "The Nation Surges to Join the Negro on His March." *Life* 58, no. 12 (March 26, 1965): 30-37.

The cover features Greek Orthodox Archbishop Iakovos beside Martin Luther King, Jr. after the March from Selma in 1965. The article symbolizes the achievement of AHEPA's core mission of Greek-American assimilation into the broader 'white' society of the United States.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia. <http://search.ancestry.com/search/group/usfedcen> (accessed November 1, 2012).

The 1920 census forms provide biographic details for the founders of AHEPA, including their residences and occupations as well as their places of birth. The census data also provides a demographic overview of Atlanta's Greek-American community in the early 1920s.

Senior Thesis Secondary Source List

Akin, Edward Proxamus, IV. 1994. *The Ku Klux Klan in Georgia: Social Change and Conflict, 1915-1930*. PhD dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles. Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1995. (Publication No. 9502931).

This dissertation examines the social circumstances that fueled the Klan's revival during the early 1920s and presents a narrative of its political influence within Georgia. It discusses the general perception of Atlanta's Greek-American community and its relationship with the Klan.

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

This text seeks to destabilize the portrayal of 'white ethnics' as a general category, wherein Americans of differing European backgrounds followed a similar trajectory toward normative assimilation. Rather than a uniform path toward gaining access to 'white privilege' different ethnicities confronted specific identity issues distinct to their particular group.

———. "Forget the Past, Remember the Ancestors! Modernity, 'Whiteness,' American Hellenism, and the Politics of Memory in Early Greek America." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 22, no. 1 (2004): 25-71.

This article describes AHEPA's role in Greek-American assimilation as a reworking of ethnic memory. It argues that Greek-American assimilation entailed identification with ancient Greek cultural archetypes and the association of Hellenism with American cultural norms.

Baker, Kelly J. *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011.

This text examines Klan history with a particular focus on its origins in mainstream American Protestant culture. The militant Protestantism promoted by the Klan was as much a factor in its anti-Greek activities as was its white supremacist racial ideology.

Bayor, Ronald H. "Ethnic Residential Patterns in Atlanta, 1880-1940." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (Winter 1979): 435-446.

This article presents a detailed examination of Greek-American intra-urban residential patterns in Atlanta from 1910 through 1940. This includes the positioning of Greeks within Atlanta's racial hierarchy and how that compared with other immigrant ethnic groups.

Bitzes, John G. "The Anti-Greek Riot of 1909 – South Omaha." *Nebraska History* 51 (1970): 199-224.

This article details the causes, conduct, and consequences of the most significant incident of anti-Greek mob violence in the history of the United States.

Botsas, Eleftherios N. "The American Hellenes." In *America's Ethnic Politics*, edited by Joseph S. Roucek and Bernard Eisenberg, 29-45. London: Greenwood Press, 1982.

This article focuses on the political consciousness of the Greek-American community as it developed during sequential phases of immigration and assimilation. Of particular interest is the contrast between AHEPA's assimilationism and GAPA's traditionalism.

Ellis, Ann W. "The Greek Community in Atlanta, 1900-1923." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (Winter 1974): 400-408.

A history of the Greek-American community in Atlanta in the early twentieth century that includes the social and spatial positioning of Greeks within Atlanta's racial hierarchy. It also provides details about the internal social arrangement of Atlanta's Greek community.

Goldberg, David J. *Discontented America: The United States in the 1920s*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

This text situates the Ku Klux Klan within the broader context of social and political currents within the United States in the 1920s. The decline of progressivism and labor activism are examined alongside the rise of nativism, with a chapter dedicated to the Klan revival.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

This source examines the fluidity of ‘whiteness’ within American culture and history, including sections that expressly discuss the Greek-American experience and the portrayal of Greek immigrants within the ‘scientific racism’ of the early twentieth century.

Kuhn, Clifford M., Harlon E. Joye, and E. Bernard West. *Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City, 1914-1948*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005.

This collection of oral histories details Atlanta society during the early 1920s, which establishes the backdrop for the emergence of both the Ku Klux Klan and of AHEPA.

MacLean, Nancy. *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

This text provides a class-based history of the Klan revival during the 1920s. It explores the composition of the Klan’s membership with a focus on its social and economic dimensions, thereby deemphasizing the role of its white supremacist ideology.

Moseley, Clement Charlton. “Invisible Empire: The History of the Ku Klux Klan in Twentieth-Century Georgia.” PhD diss., University of Georgia, 1968.

This dissertation examines the Klan’s emergence, development, and influence in Georgia during the twentieth century, providing both background and context for the period of study.

Moskos, Charles C. *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*. 2nd ed. London: Transaction Publishers, 1989.

This text focuses on the development of Greek-American institutions such as AHEPA. It emphasizes the trajectory of Greek immigrants from a diaspora of primarily-single, transient men into an established Greek-American community that was integrated within broader society.

Odzak, Lazar. “*Demetrios Is Now Jimmy*”: *Greek Immigrants in the Southern United States, 1895-1965*. Durham: Monograph Publishers, 2006.

This text provides a regional history of Greek immigrant communities in the Southern United States, including a chapter on AHEPA’s central role in Greek-American assimilation. Of particular interest is the examination of AHEPA’s relationship with the Klan during its formative period in Atlanta, which is characterized as more collaborative than antagonistic.

Painter, Nell Irvin. *The History of White People*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010.

This text provides an intellectual history of ‘whiteness’ from the Greco-Roman period through the present. It details how racial concepts emerged at the nexus of physical aesthetics and class divisions, and later coalesced into a rubric of ethnic character and inborn heredity.

Papadopoulos, Yannis G. S. “The Role of Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Class in Shaping Greek American Identity, 1890-1927.” In *Identity and Participation in Culturally Diverse Societies: A Multidisciplinary Perspective*, edited by Assaad Azzi, Xenia Chrysoschoou, Bert Klandermans, and Bernd Simon, 9-31. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

This article describes the consolidation of a Greek-American middle-class white identity during the postwar period. The anti-Hellenism of the Klan and the Americanism of AHEPA are presented as a central event in this process of Greek-American assimilation.

Papanikolas, Helen Zeese. “Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1970): 97-203.

This article details the experience of anti-Greek nativism by an isolated, highly-targeted, and particularly vulnerable Greek immigrant community during the 1920s.

Pegram, Thomas R. *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011.

This text reevaluates the Klan’s social appeal and its ultimate limitations, and how these resulted in its swift revival and rapid decline during the 1920s. It emphasizes the role of militant Protestantism and of nationalist sentiment within the Klan’s ideological framework.

Roediger, David R. *Working Toward Whiteness: How America’s Immigrants Became White, The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*. New York: Basic Books, 2005.

This text provides the main theoretical framework of ‘whiteness’ studies incorporated by this thesis. It includes the core concept of ‘inbetweenness’ and describes the racial ‘othering’ of Greek immigrants during the period of AHEPA’s emergence.

Saloutos, Theodore. *The Greeks in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.

This authoritative text details Greek-American history from its earliest recorded origins and remains the most extensive history of Greeks in the United States. The continuous tension between promoting assimilation and preserving ethnic identity features as a major theme.

Scofield, James S. "Ahepa's 75th anniversary: Forgotten History: The Klan vs. Americans of Hellenic Heritage in an Era of Hate." In U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record*. 105th Cong., 1st sess., 1997. Vol. 143, pt. 154: S11892-S11893.

This commentary by a former supreme president of the Order of AHEPA describes the origins of AHEPA in opposition to anti-Greek nativism on the part of the Ku Klux Klan.

Scourby, Alice. *The Greek Americans*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984.

This text focuses on how Greek immigrants constructed a hybrid Greek-American ethnic identity in the course of their assimilation within the broader society of the United States.

Thomas, Vaso. "The Social Construction of Hellenism: AHEPA's Struggle Out of Nativism." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 12, 2005.

This unpublished paper examines AHEPA's role in organizing the Greek-American community as a sociopolitical reaction to anti-Greek nativism. It further details how AHEPA prevailed over rival Greek-American institutions that promoted Greek ethnic identity.

U.S. Congress. "Commemorating the 85th Anniversary of the Founding of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association." *Congressional Record*, 110th Cong., 1st sess., 2007. Vol. 153, pt. 5: S6644.

This congressional resolution describes the evolution of AHEPA's mission and details its patriotic and philanthropic activities over the course of the twentieth century.

Wade, Wyn Craig. *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America*. London: Simon and Schuster, 1987.

This text examines the historical factors that led to the Ku Klux Klan's revival during the interwar period as well as its political tactics and propaganda techniques. It portrays the Klan as an extreme manifestation of an enduring xenophobic dimension to American society.

Yavis, Constantine G. "Propaganda in the Greek-American Community." Foreign Agents Registration Section, War Division, Department of Justice, April 21, 1944. Reprint in *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 14, no. 1-2 (April 1987): 105-129.

This report on Greek-American institutions during the Second World War was prepared as part of a series that investigated the loyalty to the United States of various ethnic groups. It includes extensive discussion of the rival AHEPA and GAPA organizations in the context of the competing visions that they promoted for the Greek-American community.