

The Forgotten Female Voices of the Greek Diaspora in the United States

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The female presence in the budding Greek community early in the twentieth century is either totally absent from most accessible studies or merely connected with the traditional role assigned to Greek women in Greece proper. In one of the earliest records, *The Greeks in America* (1922), J. P. Xenides mentions Greek immigrant women only to underline their domesticity and self-effacement for their family. Xenides wrote, “Greek women are good in domestic science, are fond of cooking, sewing, knitting and embroidery. After finishing the necessary household work, they usually make calls or do some handiwork.”² More than forty years later, Theodore Saloutos’s *The Greeks in the United States*, considered the cornerstone of the Greek American Studies, offered the same account of Greek American women as Xenides had.³ These are just two out of the numerous examples of works on the Greek diaspora in the U.S. lacking useful information about the lives and deeds of women, and, most importantly, their participation in local cultural production. As Xenides’s quote makes clear, the female niche in the Greek-American community was circumscribed by two parameters: their working or middle class immigrant status in America, with the usual deprivation of an education, as well as the plethora of restrictions enforced upon their gender by a patriarchal culture. That female image was also the one prevalent in the collective imagination of Greeks is wonderfully depicted in Pantelis Voulgaris’ film *Brides* (2004) in which desperate and destitute mail order brides in search of a husband and a better future embark on a trip to America in the turbulent times of the Balkan wars and the Asia Minor expedition.

Among the recent works to shed more light on the Greek migration in America is George Kourvetaris’s *Studies on Greek-Americans* (1997). He stresses the characteristics of migration

sociology for this ethnic group in the time frame up to 1924. Usually coming from arid rural areas, frequently lacking basic literacy and social skills, migrants were mostly sturdy young men, willing to chase their own American dream. What Kourvetaris added to the existing bibliography on Greek migration is the important comment on the circle of *illuminati* that accompanied the migrating groups. Kouvertaris notes, “Included in this group was a small number of Greek school teachers, priests, journalists, and other professionals and semi-professionals who became the apostles of the ideals and values of Greek society and culture.”⁴ As the few sources testify, a small number of women were among this group, published writers and columnists in the popular diaspora newspapers, the *Ethnikos Kyrix* (National Herald) and *Atlantis*: Eufrosine-Korinna Kanoutas,⁵ Theano Papazoglou-Margaris⁶, Maria Vardoulakis,⁷ and Maria Sarantopoulou-Economidou.⁸ Their work is certainly known, at least by name, though very little research has been done so far. Only Demetra Vaka-Brown had articles written about her work⁹ and has had a recent study published by an American publishing house.¹⁰ Themistoklis Rodis and Manuel Vasilakis with their project on the Greeks of Cleveland and their photographic evidence enrich the limited known female cultural activity, supporting and expanding it. According to the two authors, literate women with a possible urban and highly educated background were transplanted in the broader Ohio area early in the twentieth century.¹¹ Slowly but steadily, the notable female presence in this early period is discerned and foregrounded. What still needs to be done is for scholars to dig deeper beyond the easily available material; to reach out to the margins and footnotes of bibliography; to check the dusty shelves where the forgotten names of the other pioneer Greek women authors and journalists along with their writing ventures are preserved from oblivion.

Research in these uncharted waters has to start from the rare works and bibliographies and continue with the books, newspapers and periodicals of those times. The rich resources of the Tsakopoulos Hellenic Collection with the out-of-print works on the Greek-American experience, as well as the manuscript library that belonged to Dr. Basil Vlavianos, owner and publisher of the New York *National Herald* (1940-1947) reveal the broader literary image of first generation women in America, as well as providing us with vital details on the female status, reception and contribution in the diverse ethnic communities of those early times.

These sources indicate that East Coast Greek women were restless, unconventional and active in the first intelligentsia circles that were created upon arrival on America. Women were energetic in the communal life and even dared to participate in the first amateur performances.¹² A typical example of intellectual activity is the Boston educational society *Elikon* that was founded by Aristides Foutridis in 1911. It intended to inform Americans on neohellenic culture and, in specific, demotic culture. Konstantinos Tsirpanlis and Demetrios Nikas note one female name among its founding members, Calliope Antipa, who is one of the earliest identified women scholars.¹³ Unfortunately, little is known about this defiant woman. Moreover, Nikos Rozakos foregrounds the significant as well as forgotten role of the scholar Anna Triantafyllidou who gave lectures and presentations as well as published articles on the neohellenic culture. Rozakos also affirms that Triantafyllidou with her contributions in Demetrios Kallimachos's *Ethniki Anagennissis* (National Renaissance, 1920) and notably with her study "Η Γυναίκα ως Μουσουργός (Woman as Music Composer) (*Αναγέννηση, Renaissance*. 35) further promoted the cause of demoticism among the New England *literati*. More clues on women's artistic preoccupations can be obtained in one of the most valuable and rare poetry anthologies of the Tsakopoulos Collection: *Ελληνικάί Μούσαι: Πρωτότυπος Συλλογή Ποιημάτων των Ελλήνων της Αμερικής (1917) Τόμος Α*, (Greek Muses: Original Poetry Collection of the Greeks of America, Vol.1). The fact that this is the first volume of the anthology (as Τόμος Α states) insinuates that a second volume may be found, one that could be more useful as far as women are concerned. In the existing volume, among the eighty or so male poets of the collection, there are only four females: Miss E.S.V and Mrs. P.N.V. Obviously, the latter appeared in the anthology with their initials only. This was possibly done due to their self-consciousness. It could also be the result of the social restrictions of the local ethnic community, the expected female behavior that shaped women's everyday lives and aspirations. Nonetheless, considering women's position in Greece in the same period as well as the cultural background that immigrants carried in America along their few belongings, the audacity and dynamism of these few pioneer women are indeed noteworthy.

Gradually, those solitary female literary figures, passionate about self-expression and the arts in both cultures they inhabited, saw their numbers and powers multiplied. As Paul Koken, Theodore N. Constant, and Seraphim G. Kanoutas attest, due to the growing numbers of female migrants (35 women for every 100 men in the 1920s), in 1929 the Pancretan Association

founded Daughters of Penelope and in 1936 Maids of Athens. Their main goal, besides the obvious one of female socializing, was to preserve Greek traditions in the United States. Similar associations and societies are also mentioned in brief by Maria Sarantopoulou-Economidou. She was the intrepid Greek journalist who travelled from Athens and was the first to report on the Greek-American experience in 1916 in her famous work *Οι Έλληνες της Αμερικής όπως τους είδα* (The Greeks of America as I Saw them). In her rare photographs, Sarantopoulou-Economidou portrays the difficulties that immigrant workers faced in mines and construction works of the West while practical Greek women learned English in New York.¹⁴ The reporter also captures women's diverse pastimes in local sororities and clubs.¹⁵ Early references to women's literary interests and pen are also included in *Άγνωστες Σελίδες της Ιστορίας του Ελληνισμού της Αμερικής (1983)* (Unknown Pages of the History of Hellenism in America) by Tsirpanlis and Savvidis and *Νεοελληνικό Λαϊκό Θέατρο στην Αμερική (1903-1950)* by Rozakos. The playwright Aspasia Chatzidimitriou is included in both these works. Apparently, Chatzidimitriou wrote a multitude of works about immigrants in the early twentieth century. She was the one who initiated children's theatre in the Greek Diaspora of the U.S. with the "sacred purpose" of transmitting ethnic values and traditions to American-born generations. Her numerous plays such as "Το Τιμημένο Σάβανο" (Holy Shroud), "Μέσα στους Πόνους της Σκλαβιάς" (In the Pains of Slavery), "Το Τάμα της Κυρά Παναγιάς" (The Promise to Holy Mother), "Έλληνόπουλα της Αμερικής στην Αθήνα" (Greek children of America in Athens,) as well as more texts that have not been traced as yet.¹⁶ What the titles of the latter emphasize, however, is their distinct educational character for Greek-American children. Also noted for her remarkable pedagogical work is Elektra Zalouchou-Mourtou, the dynamic principal of the Greek-American school of New York in the early twentieth century. Toiling hard with schoolchildren, Zalouchou-Mourtou struggled to convey Greek identity to younger generations. Following Rozakos, Zalouchou-Mourtou wrote small dramatic plays like "Η Δυστυχία του Ανδρόγυνου" (The Misery of the Couple).¹⁷

While the first years of the growing female presence appear to be inspiring given the adverse conditions, strict female roles and ethnic stereotyping, the later decades of 1930 and 1940 were even more fruitful and exciting for women's literary production. With cultural apostles like Anna Arpajoglou and her book *Ελληνικά για Ξένους* (Greek for Foreigners), Greek women attempted to make their language and overall background known to and understood by

Americans.¹⁸ Burdened with a similar, though more specific mission, Tsirpanlis also mentions Ipatia Deli and Tatiana Stavrou. Those two contributed in *Λεύκωμα Κωνσταντινουπολιτών* (Scrapbook of the Istanbul Greeks) a work for the safeguarding of the hybrid culture of the Istanbul Greeks.¹⁹ Sad to say, both works are nowhere to be found so far. Besides Tsirpanlis' numerous studies, most useful for the research on early American women are some rare bibliographies like *A Bibliographic Guide to Materials on Greeks in the United States 1890-1968* compiled by Michael Cutsumbis. In it, unknown early short stories are recorded like those written by Foteini Zirpiades, such as "Portrait of Papa" (*Common Ground*, Autumn 1943) και "Sophia Becomes an American" (*Common Ground*, Winter 1943).

Konstantinos Papafotiou and his unique volume *Ανθολογία Ελληνοαμερικανών Ποιητών* (Anthology of the Greek-American Poets) that also gathers poems written by Greek-American women to which he attached their bios which inadvertently assists the contemporary scholar interested in immigrant women poets. Through Papafotiou, the female pen can be seen under a new light, productive and multifaceted. Revealing the female considerations and inspirations, women's preoccupations and themes seem distinct and separate from the respective male ones, all shaped in words and forms that awards their writing distinctions and prizes. Papafotiou's *Anthology* manages to save a plethora of female names who utilize a different prism to art. The most prominent among them are certainly those of Lela Goumeni, Eleni Kardamaki-Doriza, Venetia Kapetanaki, Katina Panora, Eleni Konstantopoulou-Robaba, Stella Tsiakiri, and Chrystalleni Loukaidi, Greek Cypriot. These women poets, inspired and unstoppable, contributed in the artistic yield and reveal female thought. They published articles and poems (Goumeni and Panora), received awards for their poetry (Kardamaki-Doriza, *Ελληνίς* 1958), printed poetic collections (Kapetanaki *Pro Patria*, Tsiakiri *Στη Χαρά της Ζωής* (The Joy of Life), and even wrote school books for immigrant children (Konstantopoulou-Robaba).

The diaspora literary periodicals of the years 1940-1960 assisted significantly in the presentation of Greek women's intellectual pursuits and successes in both countries. Whether professional journalists, critics and writers, or even mere readers and contributors, diaspora Greek women recorded in the periodicals their inspiration, problems and fluctuating emotions. Numerous female names, both Greek and English can be found in periodicals of the 1940s and 1950s such as *Athene*, *Argonautes*, *the Charioteer*, *Vema tes Gapa* and the most difficult to trace

Ellenitha and *Ellinismos tes Amerikis*. Among them, the most prominent in diaspora literature were *Athene*, owned and published by the journalist Demetris Michalaros for twenty-five years (early 1940s until late 1960s with the publisher's death) and *Argonautes*, owned and published by Elias Ziogas in the late fifties and early sixties.

Browsing through the journals one cannot help but notice the number of texts translated from Greek to English and vice versa, be it reviews or artistic pieces. Authors include prolific as well as enlightened female translators. These women include Venetia Kapetanakis, a competent translator of major American writers,²⁰ and the Greek-Jew Rae Dalven (the well-known translator of Joseph Eliya, a Greek-Jew poet from Ioannina²¹ and first translator of the complete poems Cavafy in English,²² who became "cultural ambassadors" between the two countries. They toiled with love and care to transmit contemporary Greek civilization in English and vice versa. As far as the translations from Greek are concerned, the work of female translators shared the latest developments of the twentieth century literary scene of the home country in genres like poetry, fiction and the theatre. In this manner, they allowed foreign readers to appreciate and love Greece, combatting prior prejudice and stereotyping against Greeks and their identity in the 1940s, times of tremendous political intolerance and upheaval for Greece.

The majority of women in creative writing, understanding the restrictions of space placed on them by editors, wrote poetry, a genre very popular among women readers and acceptable to editors who wanted to restrict the space for women writers. The range of topics was extensive: love for one's homeland and its history ("Children of Greece" Carrie C. Dulakis, and "Earth and Woman" by Eva Stamos), admiration for nature's beauty ("Temperamental" by Despina Savas), erotic love ("But not for Long" by Georgia Baldjii), and the pains of living between two countries and cultures ("Returning" by Elizabeth Panesis). The majority of these women were most probably readers to begin with who had their works appear only in few issues. This is the case of Eva Stamos, Helen Cotsonis, and Athena Menekakis, about whom information is very scarce for the time being. Thanks to the bios and comments on creators that *Athene* sometimes provided, we can more easily identify some women published in those pages and discover additional information on their lives and work. As Vlavianos's correspondence with female creators testifies, a number of them started by sending samples to the press. They vehemently persisted in their struggle to improve themselves and convince professionals as to the quality of

their work. Facing immigrant prejudice and overcoming the pain of failure and rejection, these fierce women broke the double boundaries that constricted them as both women and immigrants. They ultimately succeeded in being welcomed by the publishing houses of their times. Such is the case of Charikelia Dulakis, born in Chania, Crete, Greece. Using the pen name of Carrie C. Doulakis, authored two works. One of them was *Freedom Plays the Flute* (1982) which discussed the demotic songs of Greece. Another interesting author is Constantina Chatzimike, who signed her works as Constance Elinore Hatson, or Constance Donovan and published at least one book, *Who Know not Leaf* (1947), and possibly a second one under her husband's surname, Donovan. Given their patience and perseverance, these resilient women of the 1940s and 1950s were pioneers. Not only did they manage to express female generations trapped in "voicelessness," but through their overall effort and lives, they set the foundations for feminist women of the 1960s and 1970s. Women poets such as Christina Tzavala, mother of the famous actor Telly Savalas, revealed the feelings of immigrant women in her poetry such as her collection *Αντίλαλοι*, (Echoes, 1945). Prolific authors like Athena Dallas-Damis some years later labored to save, transmit and honor Greek culture with novels such as *Island of the Winds* (1976).

Among visionary teachers, authors and publishers Ifigeneia Copadis stands out. Elias Ziogas terms her, "The sole true scholar of her times."²³ Copadis had a brilliant career in literature, starting in the 1920s. Under the penname Iphi Tanagra, in 1924 she published *Για το Ψωμί* (For the Bread), a novel on the migration experience, two decades before the well-known work of Maria Vardoulakis. *Gold in the Streets* (1945). Some years earlier, in 1921, she published in Paris the novel *Το Κορίτσι της Ταβέρνας: Έρωτος, Μέθη, Αφύπνισις* (The Tavern Girl: Love, Inebriation, Awakening). A third work *Η Μάγισσα* (The Witch) would be published in the U.S. in 1929 and her final known work, *The Stamp of Fate*, written in English, would appear much later, in 1962. Fortunately for researchers, Copadis's works are preserved in a few East Coast libraries and rare collections, waiting to come to light, be studied and appreciated.

Furthermore, Copadis's passionate involvement in social affairs is seen by her constant presence in the Greek-American Progressive Association (GAPA).²⁴ She diligently worked through this association to maintain the use of Greek language in immigrant homes. She saw her mission as teaching immigrants not to neglect ethnic customs and morals in the U.S, invariably

assigning women a special niche and role. What stands out among her accomplishments is the women's periodical *Ellinis*, in circulation from October 1949 to December 1955, when it was sold. Written in Greek under Copadis's management, the periodical covered a wide range of topics. It responded to diaspora women's needs, since both staff and readers were in their vast majority Greek-American women. As evident from the letters sent to *Ellinis*, Copadis's periodical from its base in New York reached diverse and remote Greek communities in North America. It managed to entertain, inform and even educate thousands of its female readers. What is more, *Ellinis* had a most interesting legacy. After being sold, it was first rename *Ellin-Ellinida* 1956 and a few months to *Ellinismos tes Amerike*. Under that time it continued to publish until May-June 1961. Milly Gregou-Mourginakis was the second dynamic woman that took over the periodical. She gradually transformed it from a purely women's magazine to a political one, edited to be read by both genders. Its careful examination and the processing of its contents will surely reveal more about its contributors and the politics involved. It will most certainly unravel the role of the periodical in the formation of female Greek-American identity.

If women's cooperation in periodicals is a fascinating new field, their role in newspapers is partly known but also always insufficiently studied. The two most influential Greek diaspora newspapers of New York, *Atlantis* and *the National Herald*, had columns written by Papazoglou-Margaris and Vaka-Brown. However, women's employment in the newspapers has not been researched in depth. There were obviously more names and regular columnists like Toula Salpas, a journalist for *Atlantis*, Constance Elinore Hatson, a freelancer for the *National Herald*, and Eleni Sakes, a fashion editor for Washington's *Evening Star*. Of major importance for the clarification of women's position in the press is Vlavianos's correspondence which is still to be completely processed. Apparently, Vlavianos had quite a few female employees such as the correspondent Lucille Vassar and the columnist Maria Vrionides²⁵ who wrote a column for years in the *National Herald* under the penname *H Κοσμική* (The Socialite) but also in *Ellinida* under the penname *Σίβυλλα* (Sibyl). Moreover, the editor of the English edition of the *National Herald*, Anna Arpajoglou, and the correspondent in Turkey, Katina Lascarides, both worked closely with Vlavianos and recorded some of the most heartbreaking news of their times during World War II and the bloody Greek Civil War. The female presence in the newsroom, the war fields, the parliaments, the lobbies and the streets struggling to keep the readers of the diaspora papers always up-to-date with exclusive coverage opens new inroads for the portrayal of the immigrant

female intellectual. Following Vlavianos's correspondence many of his female employees acted as links between the enigmatic publisher and the most powerful political figures of the American, Greek and Turkish governments of the period 1940-1947.

As far as local newspapers are concerned, there is always the sole, so far case of Cleveland's *Hellenic Herald* in Ohio, where the almost exclusively female staff was a unique phenomenon. As Rodis and Vasilakes discovered, during the hard times of the Second World War and its early aftermath the *Herald* had a female editor, Helen Vorvolakis (1941-1952). The bilingual newspaper, which initially had a young readership under the title *Greek-American Youth Herald*, concentrated on local news and was printed in the basement of the Evangelismos Greek-Orthodox church in Cleveland.²⁶ Sanna Michaels Alex, a key figure in the local Greek community, wrote in this paper in the forties in a column titled "The Philosopher's Corner."²⁷ As Rodis and Vasilakes hypothesize that she was the first Greek woman to move in the area with her parents in the early twentieth century.²⁸ The work of other inspiring women who also wrote for the paper include women such as Emily Condos (Miklis), Georgia Moutseos (Young), Charlotte Georgas (La Joe), and Mary Pegas.²⁹ The onset of the next decade and reconstruction after the war brought men back from the front and triggered several sociopolitical changes that also influenced the Greek-American newspaper: it changed its name, its journalists and overall politics.

The research on pioneer Greek-American authors and journalists seems at times too complicated, given that the gender and origin of the authors, often presented with their initials, must be verified and cross-checked. Therefore, the enthusiasm for the discovery of female names is tempered and must be skeptical: are they Greek women signing with their Greek last name or non-Greeks married to Greek men who have adopted their husband's last name? Such is the case of the Petrides couple and their periodical *Women in Music* in 1935.³⁰ The unearthing of the periodical discussing female musical activity seems quite important. Unfortunately, it is later revealed that Mrs. Frederique Petrides, the editor who assisted by her Greek husband published the periodical, was a Belgian-American. A similar case is that of the problematic ethnic identity of Carita Doggett Corse. She was a descendant of the well-known doctor Andrew Turnbull, the man who founded the ill-fated colony of New Smyrna in Florida in 1767. The prolific author Doggett Corse was very active in Florida's cultural circles and involved in the campaign for

women's rights. She defined herself as Greek, being the seventh descendant of Turnbull's wife Maria, who came from Asia Minor and for whose birthplace the colony was named. Research is further complicated by the switch to the husbands' surnames instead of the use of birth surnames and the use of pennames. For example, (who is "Κοσμική" of the *Herald*, or "Κρήσσα" (Cretan Woman) of *Niki*). The law of those times forced female creators like Chatzimike to sign off as Constance Hatson, Constance Donovan, but also as Constance Stavropoulos, depending on her marital status and her current husband. The identification proves to be quite an intricate issue, sometimes arriving at a dead-end with luck needed to find some clues (texts, documents or epistles) that will assist in disentangling the issue.

There is still suspense related to the discovery of published works. Printed in very few copies by small publishing and printing houses usually Greek, the texts can be found most of the times in the rare collections of very few university libraries of the East Coast in the U.S., or even in closed private collections where access is not feasible. These are texts like Copadis's *Το Κορίτσι της Ταβέρνας* (1921) and also *The Stamp of Fate* (1962). In some cases similar works may be found accidentally in online bookshops, works like Dulakis's *Freedom Plays the Flute*. Most of the times, however, these books, apart from some brief references in collections, studies or the press, seem nowhere to be found. Instead, they continue the ignorance surrounding their content and their authors. This overall state of forgetfulness as far as female Greek-American authors are concerned is indubitably linked to ignorance and even indifference to its own collective history that to a large extent still haunts the Greek-American community that has focused problem with syntax? With much material in danger of destruction and loss in attics, basements and old drawers, there is still some hope—that essays like this one, could trigger recovery of old books, letters and journals, lost newspapers that could be processed in the future.

In conclusion, this project in a neglected area of Greek and American literatures brings to light the forgotten feats and names of female authors and journalists active as early as 1910. The host of information as well as the paramount role of these women in writing are impressive, given their marginal status in a world of men. Moreover, the quality of the discoveries alters the prevailing perception about Greek immigrant women's state in the first half of the previous century. It alters their image as illiterate and rough peasant women that turned to fatalism and sterile religious practice in order to survive in the inhospitable American setting. Still attached to

the distant home country they left, and tormented by the pains of *nostos*, women authors, journalists, short story writers, poets and folklorists, and even epistolary writers and diary keepers, are now acknowledged to have expressed themselves passionately and courageously. Often working in secret, they added to the literary affairs of their ethnic group. They raised their voice fiercely next to the male one and set an example while opening new inroads for future generations. In her colossal work on Italian-Americana, Helen Barolini unearthed forgotten Italian –American female authors and stressed the vital role of a female cultural tradition in the following words, “The veneration, the awe, the wish for strength of the ancestor is an enduring *topos*, ineluctable and omnipresent.”³¹ Following this trend of thought for contemporary female Americans of Greek origin, the recovery and esteem of the work of pioneer Greek women in the United States through intensive and systematic research seems more imperative than ever.

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² J.P. Xenides. *The Greeks in America*. New York: Henry H. Doran Company, 1922. p. 86.

³ Theodoros Saloutos. *The Greeks in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964, pp. 85-87.

⁴ George A. Kourvartis. *Studies on Greek-American*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 45.

⁵ Eufrosyne-Corinna Kanoutas came from Istanbul. After completing her musical studies in Vienna, she married the journalist Serafeim Kanoutas in 1912 and they moved to Boston where she wrote novels and was active in cultural circles.

⁶ Dan Georgakas notes on Papazoglou-Margaris: "Theano Papazoglou-Margari, who worked closely with Nicas in the late 1930s to keep the Communist workers' club in Chicago afloat, became a beloved weekly columnist for *Ethnikos Kyrix*. Papazoglou-Margari, who wrote in Greek and often featured Greek women in her writing, also has the distinction of being the first Greek woman to contribute to a Communist newspaper, the pioneering *Phoni tou Ergatou (sic)*." Georgakas, Dan. "Greek-American Radicalism: The Twentieth Century," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora V. 20 (1)*. 1994: p. 19.

⁷ So far Maria Vardoulakis has been known as the first Greek-American female writer for the first diaspora novel published under the title *Gold in The Streets* (1945).

⁸ A substantial account of the life of Economidou has been written by Constantine Hatzidimitriou, "Maria Economidy: A Pioneering Reformer," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, V. 37 (Double issue 1&2) 2013, pp. 29-94*.

⁹ Ηλίας Ζιώγας, *Το Κόκκειον Άσμα των Ελληνοαμερικανικών Γραμμάτων*. Swan Song of Greek-American Letters. Αθήνα: 1978

¹⁰ Arapoglou, Eleftheria. *A Bridge Over the Balkans: Demetra Vaka- Brown and the Tradition of "Women's Orients"*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011.

¹¹ Themistoklis Rodis and Manuel P. Vasilakis, *Greek-Americans of Cleveland: Immigration and Assimilation since 1870*. Cleveland, Ohio: Hellenic Preservation Society of Northeastern Ohio, 2008, p. 34.

¹² See Nikos Rozakos's *Νεοελληνικό Θέατρο*.

¹³ Κωνσταντίνος Τσίρπανλης and Δημήτριος Νίκας. *Άγνωστες Σελίδες της Ιστορίας του Ελληνισμού της Αμερικής* (Unknown Pages of the History of Hellenism in America, Volume 2). Νέα Υόρκη: Τόμος Β, 1985, p. 85.

¹⁴ Μαρία Σαραντοπούλου-Οικονομίδου. *Οι Έλληνες της Αμερικής όπως τους είδα* (The Greeks of America as I Saw them). Νέα Υόρκη: Δίβρυ, 1916. p. 183.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁶ Νίκος Ροζάκος, *Νεοελληνικό Λαϊκό Θέατρο στην Αμερική (1903-1950)* (Neohellenic Popular Theatre in America). San Francisco: Falcon Associates, 1985, p. 91.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Κωνσταντίνος Τσίρπανλης and Σαββίδης Μ. *Άγνωστες Σελίδες της Ιστορίας του Ελληνισμού της Αμερικής* (Unknown Pages of the History of Hellenism in America, Volume 2, *my translation*) (1983). Τόμος Α. Νέα Υόρκη: 1983, p. 46.

¹⁹ Κωνσταντίνος Τσίρπανλης and Δημήτριος Νίκας, *Άγνωστες Σελίδες*, p.82.

²⁰ Τσίρπανλης and Σαββίδης, *Άγνωστες Σελίδες*, p. 26.

²¹ *Athene*, Spring 1948, p. 26.

²² Rae Dalven, Rae. *The Complete Poems of Cavafy*. NY: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1961.

²³ Ηλίας Ζιώγας, *Το Κόκνειον*, p.

²⁴ Charles Moskos states that GAPA (Greek-American Progressive Association) was founded in 1923, only a year after as an antipode to AHEPA. GAPA members were culturally conservative and used only Greek as the language of communication among them and openly supported the active role of Greek Orthodox Church in community affairs. They were for an assimilation that preserves Greek traditions and the Greek language. Moskos, Charles C. *Greek-Americans: Struggle and Success*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1980, p. 42.

²⁵ One of the activities of the journalists of the National Herald was also the cultural circle “To Philiko” under the direction of Maria Vrionides and later Kaiti Vlavianou, Vlavianous’s wife. The circle organized diverse cultural events and happenings where a lot of women were involved.

²⁶ Themistoklis Rodis and Manuel P. Vasilakis. *Greek-Americans of Cleveland: Immigration and Assimilation since 1870*. Cleveland, Ohio: Hellenic Preservation Society of Northeastern Ohio, 2008, p. 278.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 36.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 35.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 278.

³⁰ *Argonautes*, Winter 1959, pp. 275, 277.

³¹ Helen Barolini. “Preface to the Revised Edition,” *The Dreambook: An Anthology of Italian American Women Writers*. Ed. Helen Barolini. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1985, p. xiv.