

Immigrant Entrepreneurs and the Formation of Chicago's "Greektown," 1890-1921

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For Greeks in Chicago the establishment of a community came with much more difficulty than for other ethnic groups. With far fewer numbers, the Greeks looked for different ways to foster community development. Jane Addams' Hull House, founded in 1889, offered Greeks an opportunity to orient themselves to their new surroundings. Located on Halsted Street just south of Polk Street, Hull House eventually found itself in the middle of Chicago's ethnic neighborhoods. Early documents from the social settlement paint a portrait of smaller ethnic groups struggling to foster new communities. In a study commissioned by Hull House, Grace Abbott wrote that, "[a]pproving of Hull House, [the Greeks] succeeded in convincing the Bulgarians, for a time at least, that it was intended for the Greeks alone."¹

No other ethnic group used the Hull House facilities as much as the Greeks did. Greek immigrant actors put on two classical Greek dramas at the Hull House theater, both of which received widespread attention and support from the city.² Greeks also used Hull House for recreation and leisure activities.³ Most importantly, Greek meetings and discussions concerning the advancement of the Chicago community took place there, including "animated discussions" between the Greeks and other ethnic groups.⁴ The *Hull House Bulletin* described the impetus behind a 1906 meeting entitled The Progress of the Greeks in America and Their Relations with the American People:

In the last five years, since Greeks have been coming in large numbers to Chicago, they found that Americans made no distinction between them and other more ignorant immigrants from Southern Europe. As the modern Greek is devoted to his own country and race, the Greek immigrant bitterly resents the criticism of his manners and habits in America by Americans who, he believes, disregard his historical background and tradition.⁵

If the Greeks' relationship with Hull House offered the best account of their everyday struggle to form a viable community, the opening of small businesses paved the way for the formation of the Greek community. Greeks developed a formidable community not by sheer numbers or ethnically homogenous street corners, but through the spatial and social opportunities that came with small businesses. Like Hull House, Greek stores and parlors offered a physical space for social and community interactions. Thus, it is possible to chart the physical and social formation of Chicago's Greektown through the entrepreneurial activity of its first immigrants. Generated by a long tradition of economic thought and ideology, the Greek small business became the physical manifestation of a new and emerging population.

The arrival pattern of Greeks to Chicago resembled the broader trend of Greek immigration to the United States. During the 1840s, the first Greeks to settle in the city sailed north from Fort Dearborn via the Chicago and Mississippi rivers. These western pioneers and rugged merchantmen remained highly transient by nature. The arrival of more permanent Greek laborers did not occur until after the Great Chicago Fire of 1871. Many of these men worked in construction jobs helping to rebuild the city. One of these laborers, Christ Chakonos, earned the sobriquet "Columbus of Sparta" for his efforts in recruiting men from his native Sparta to come and work in Chicago.⁶ Sparta supplied many of the first Greek laborers to the city during this early period.

But the number of Greeks in Chicago remained minute for the next twenty years, well into the 1890s. Historians Melvin Hecker and Heinke Fenton estimated that as few as 100 Greeks lived in Chicago in 1891, while census data indicates a higher number of 245 in 1890.⁷ The number remained in the hundreds almost until the turn of the century, when census figures indicate a population of 1,493 Greeks in 1900.⁸

The rate of Greek immigration to Chicago peaked during the period of 1900-1920, an increase that contributed to discrepancies in reported numbers. Many Greek newspapers and contemporary observers exaggerated figures, perhaps because some made the incorrect assumption that a wife and children stood behind every Greek workingman. The Yale anthropologist Henry Pratt Fairchild wrote that 7,500 Greeks lived in Chicago in 1904 and 15,000 in 1909.⁹ The census, however, lists only 6,584 Greek foreign-born immigrants in Chicago for 1910 and 11,546 in 1920.¹⁰ In 1913, Thomas Burgess, responding to Fairchild, wrote that Fairchild's book "lacks accuracy."¹¹ Ironically, Burgess himself went on to give the most inaccurate figure from a reputable contemporary source, reporting 20,000 Chicago Greeks in 1913.¹² This number is certainly too high, although Greek newspapers reported even higher figures. Discrepancies also stemmed from whether or not one counted second-generation Greeks as well. Even the inclusion of second-generation Greeks would not account for the reported figures, as second-generation numbers were comparatively low at this time. For the period 1910-1920, a conservative estimate of Chicago's total Greek population—including the second generation—would still only be 12,000-15,000.¹³ Table One outlines the approximate Greek immigrant population in Chicago for 1880-1920.

Table One
Approximate Number of Greek Immigrants
living in Chicago, 1880-1920

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Total Number of Greek Immigrants	< 100	245	1,493	6,584	11,546

Contemporary scholars have relied on inaccurate data as much as their predecessors did. In *Greek Americans*, Charles Moskos used Burgess' 20,000 figure and called it "conservative." He also wrote that Chicago's Greek population "augmented to at least fifty thousand by the early 1920s."¹⁴ This is certainly not the case, nor did Chicago ever become, as residents claimed, the "third largest Greek city in the world behind Athens and Thessalonica."¹⁵ The Chicago Greeks' claim to fame was neither their number nor an impressive growth rate. Instead, it was their ability to build a noticeable and centrally located business district in just twenty years.

The majority of Greek immigrants in Chicago had little or no experience with running a small business. Most had been poor agrarian workers or wage laborers in Greece. Their economic troubles and lack of employment, rather than political turmoil and war, were usually the leading impetus for their emigration. Beginning in 1895, a collapse of the currant market in the Peloponnesus forced many peasants to leave for the United States.¹⁶ Many of these peasants ended up settling in Chicago. In addition to economic factors in Greece, labor agents sent by American employers continued to scour Central and Eastern Europe, recruiting an increasing number of Greek workers throughout the 1890s and into the early twentieth century until the American government effectively closed the country's borders in 1924.

In Greece, small businesses rarely thrived except in urban areas, such as Athens. Yet during the late nineteenth century more than 80% of the Greek population lived in communities of less than 5,000 people. By 1928, that percentage had fallen to 67%.¹⁷ Grace Abbott wrote in 1909 that, "[m]ost of the Greeks who come to the United States are from the Peloponnesus."¹⁸ According to her research, only five of 424 Greeks near Hull House had emigrated from Athens. J. P. Xenides, secretary of the New York Greek Relief Committee, wrote that, "the emigrants from Greece were from the peasant class, mostly illiterate, and poor. Many were of the class that had failed at home and wanted to try their fortunes in new lands. They were mostly young men, single, or if married, who had left their families in the homeland."¹⁹

Among the emigrants, Greek men vastly outnumbered Greek women, especially before 1920. Compared to most ethnic groups, the ratio of Greek men to Greek women remained far higher throughout this period than in later years. In 1909, Abbott's study found 956 men in the 1,202 Greek residents interviewed in Chicago.²⁰ Such a ratio (80%) persisted even after Greek women and families began to join the men. The ratio of Greek males to females in Chicago remained a very high 2.8 in 1930 and even 1.6 as late as 1960.²¹

These first Greek males came to Chicago virtually indigent. In 1900, the average Greek immigrant arrived with \$28 in his possession.²² That average fluctuated between \$15 and \$30 throughout the period. In 1908, an "ordinary woolen suit" would have cost nearly 30 American dollars in Greece.²³ Only in later periods would some Greeks with larger earnings begin making the trip to the United States. In 1900, however, only 14 professional Greeks reportedly came to America, while nearly 2,500 unskilled workers arrived during the same year. Of these laborers, more than 1,000 had been farm or agricultural workers in Greece.²⁴ Thus, the typ-

ical Greek immigrant arrived in Chicago as a poor, young, and single male. Yet within one generation many Greeks in Chicago had become merchants.

The Chicago the Greeks encountered had a population equal to that of their entire homeland.²⁵ Both Chicago's large population and urban setting confronted Greek men with an entirely new way of living. Why then did these men abandon wage work faster than most ethnic groups, enabling them to become the leading entrepreneurs of the city?

A certain focus on entrepreneurial economics had long existed within traditional Greek society, even in village life. In fact, some aspects of an entrepreneurial desire might have originated directly from village life in Greece and the emphasis on market exchange that had existed there for many centuries. William H. McNeill writes in his study of Greek economic traditions, "[t]he first point that emerges from available accounts of village life is the centrality of exchange and the critical importance of the skills of the marketplace in the lives of Greek peasants."²⁶ For villagers, important planting or harvest periods paled in comparison to the days when farmers brought their goods to the market for exchange. Village men earned honor and respect by their ability to thrive at the marketplace. According to McNeill, "[e]verything else was subordinate to the terms of exchange agreed upon; and the welfare of the family, as well as its prestige and repute in village opinion, depended on how skillfully the head of the household made its deals."²⁷ Thus, while most Greek immigrants were not from urban areas, they should be differentiated from the rural farmers of Russia, Poland, and other East European locales because of their general experience in interacting within a market apparatus.

Perhaps aided by this entrepreneurial spirit, the first Greeks in Chicago made small business ownership and economic self-sufficiency their number one goal. These small businesses would rapidly become the most important Greek

institutions in Chicago. In addition, the businesses formed the building blocks of Chicago's Greektown. Just as village life in Greece had revolved around the workings of the marketplace, Chicago's Greektown defined itself by the small businesses that thrived within it.

Unlike other ethnic communities, the Chicago Greeks lived interspersed among other Southern European groups. More entrenched immigrant groups built their communities with large numbers of people living within close proximity of one another. The Italian and African American communities of Chicago offered prototypical examples of this phenomenon, in which large numbers of immigrants carved out areas of ethnic homogeneity. In the years following the Great Fire, residential districts in Chicago began to be governed by the emergence of factories and industrial centers branching off from the city center. Like other immigrant groups, the Greeks found themselves pushed into areas of the city which were already occupied by older, entrenched, and poor ethnic groups. Historian Sam Warner notes,

In the half-century after 1870 these neighborhoods ceased to be a jumble of rich and poor, immigrant and native, black and white, as they were in the former era of the big city. Instead the neighborhoods of the industrial metropolis came to be arranged in a systematic pattern of socioeconomic segregation. The rings of residential settlement varied from inner poverty to outer affluence....²⁸

An examination of Chicago's Greek population broken down by ward illuminates this phenomenon. The Greek population of Chicago in 1910 was divided into prominent wards. Although certain areas contained more Greeks than others, including the nineteenth ward on the West Side and the twenty-first ward on the North Side, no single ward contained more than 17% of the total Greek population in the city.

Figures from the 1920 census reveal the same pattern of

dispersal. The 1920 Greek population in Chicago can also be broken down by ward. Again, while certain wards contained concentrations of Greeks, no area came close to holding the kind of population concentrations seen with other ethnic groups. For example, while the Greek population in the nineteenth ward increased from 1,069 to 1,852 during the ten-year period 1910-1920, the ward's percentage of Greeks in relation to the total Greek-immigrant population actually fell from 17% to 16%. During the same period, the Greek population in the twenty-first ward on the North Side rose from 575 to 1,084, increasing its percentage of the Greek population from 8% to 9%. Thus, while Chicago's West Side came to house one of America's most famous Greek neighborhoods, no area of the city ever held an overwhelming concentration of Greek immigrants.²⁹ Instead of population, one must turn to Greek business in order to chart the rise of Greektown.

Wage Labor and the "Banana War"

In terms of economic pursuit, the Greek arrivals in Chicago initially looked no different than other ethnic groups. Impoverished and without families, Greek men at first followed the normal immigrant path by working unskilled wage and labor jobs. The Greeks, however, saw these initial jobs as temporary stepping-stones towards economic independence. So rare was it that a Greek arrived with sufficient skills and capital that these wage jobs became pivotal to the story of Greektown's rise. In Chicago, railroad labor became one of the most popular wage jobs for arriving Greeks. Tedious and backbreaking, railroad work suited the single Greek males because it required them to remain highly mobile. In fact, most of the time railroad crews labored on lines throughout the Midwest during the working season and saw Chicago for only part of the year. Some groups of Greek railroad labor-

ers permanently left Chicago and generated much smaller Greek communities throughout the towns of the Midwest. In Lincoln, Nebraska, for instance, a small Greek colony began as a result of railroad workers settling down.³⁰

For the most part, however, the Greek railroad workers found little satisfaction on the rail lines. In addition to low wages, the workers often suffered abuse and mismanagement. In one publicized case, a railroad company brought approximately one hundred Greek men from Chicago to a site near Omaha, Nebraska, only to abandon the men after two days of work. According to newspaper accounts, "For a whole day and night [the workers] had nothing to eat, and they were forced to sleep in the open fields... they became so desperate that they began destroying and tearing apart the railroad line."³¹ Police arranged transportation for the men back to Chicago and subsequently arrested the labor agent in charge. The Greek author Seraphim George Canoutas often traveled from his home at the University of Athens to visit his countrymen in America. In 1911, Canoutas lamented the condition and fate of the railroad gangs in *Greek-American Guide*:

A Greek traveling by rail over these immense western states cannot but feel grief and sorrow and be plunged into sorrowful thoughts, when he sees at nearly every mile of railway little groups of his own people with pick and shovel in their hands.³²

In addition to the rigors of railroad work, the Greeks labored within other industries. A 1897 *Chicago Tribune* journalist found that, "[m]any of the Greeks are expert varnish makers and are employed in local factories."³³ Whether in skilled or unskilled work, Chicago factories gave arriving Greeks a starting wage and an opportunity to stay in the city. Burgess wrote that, "...we must not omit mention of the Greek employees in some of the great slaughter houses of

Chicago...."³⁴ Besides factory and railroad work, Greeks also found jobs through the United States Department of Labor. For example, the U.S. Employment Service used Greek newspapers to advertise seasonal job openings in the coal mining industries of Kentucky, Ohio, and West Virginia.³⁵ Job security in the unskilled sector, of course, always remained low.

In all of these industries, Greek men played the standard immigrant role. Unskilled and desperately in need of money, they took up menial wage positions regardless of the severity or intensity of the work. As a railroad tracklayer, carpenter, or slaughterhouse worker, the Greek immigrant looked no different to an outside observer from an Italian, German, or Irish immigrant who had been in America for several generations. Beginning in the 1890s, this perception diminished as the Greeks of Chicago began to exhibit peculiar economic traits that would take many of them off the normal immigrant path to the road of small business ownership and economic self-sufficiency.

Contemporary observers began to note these differences between Greek laborers and other ethnic groups. An 1897 article in the *Chicago Tribune* reported on the Greeks' apparent disdain for wage labor by reporting that, "...the true Greek will not work at hard manual labor like digging sewers, carrying sod, or building railways. He is either an artisan or merchant, generally the latter."³⁶ Obviously, the article made incorrect assumptions as Greek Chicagoans clearly did not refuse hard labor or wage earnings. Instead of refusing to perform wage labor, the Greeks preferred to minimize their time spent within the wage economy even if it meant taking on greater economic risks. In the railroad industry, for instance, Abbott's Hull House study found that most Greeks chose to "ship out" for only a few seasons on average, as opposed to other ethnic immigrants who spent many years working on the railways:

Like other foreigners most of the Greeks must first serve an apprenticeship in the gangs that do the railroad and general construction work for the country. But their apprenticeship is shorter than with most nationalities. In that time [one or two seasons] he has learned some English and has accumulated enough money to venture on a small commercial enterprise for himself.³⁷

Thus, while large numbers of Greeks remained in the working class throughout the century, for the Greeks in Chicago this normal immigrant experience gave way to a large-scale push towards economic independence. Thomas Burgess wrote, "It is the ambition of most Greeks, whatever menial employment they have been obliged to start with, to set up for themselves in independent business."³⁸ Andrew Kopan has written specifically about Chicago's Greek community and the exhortation to save money, invest, and become economically self-sufficient.³⁹

Another aspect of the Greek merchant tradition, the nuclear family, provided another important impetus behind the Greek desire to own small businesses. When a Greek man earned economic independence and respect in the marketplace, he solidified his status by becoming the head of a non-working household. Some immigrant groups in Chicago either allowed women to take certain jobs outside the home or supported their women in any workplace. For the Greeks, however, both of these propositions were out of the question. For a Greek male, an inability to support his wife financially meant humiliation.⁴⁰ Abbott wrote of the Greek women that, "[u]nlike the Italian women [the Greek women] do not work outside their own homes or at sweatshop work."⁴¹ Of the 246 Greek women Abbott visited for her Hull House investigation, she found that only five were wage-earners.

A notable exception to women working outside the home was that husbands and wives often worked together in a small business venture. A woman could work in the family store,

and in many instances Greek men encouraged their wives to do so. Sometimes even children worked shifts, putting the whole family behind the counter. Historian Donna Gabaccia explains how women in these family businesses were apt to exercise power and influence by managing the cash register or business accounts.⁴² In this way, the small business became almost an extension of the household. A Greek woman felt no different working at her husband's store than working at home. Studies of more recent Greek entrepreneurs clearly reveal that this ideology is still alive. Greek women often remain a powerful component in Greek small businesses while refusing to work elsewhere.⁴³

For the Greek men in Chicago, the peddler industry best exemplified the Greek transformation from wage labor to economic independence. Abandoning their jobs—and what little economic stability they had—many Greeks began buying and selling their own goods from portable pushcarts. The most prominent of these Greek merchants were the fruitcart laborers. As early as 1895, the *Chicago Tribune* reported the rise of the Greek fruit peddlers:

...the Greeks have almost run the Italians out of the fruit business in Chicago not only on a small retail way, but as wholesalers as well.... As a result, there is a bitter feud between these two races, as deeply seated as the enmity that engendered the Graeco-Roman wars.⁴⁴

The Greek emergence in the fruitcart industry occurred so swiftly and completely that a later article dubbed the Italian-Greek conflict the "banana war" and declared that the Greeks were overwhelming victors in "that memorable contest."⁴⁵ The success of the Greek peddlers also led to a backlash from grocers and other small businessmen who sold fruit. Ironically, within a generation, many Greek pushcart peddlers would come to own their own fruit stores, groceries, or restaurants. By 1909, one Greek newspaper reported that

500 of "over 2,000" Greek fruit peddlers owned their own stores. According to the article, the rest had "stands, trucks or wagons to sell their fruit."⁴⁶ Despite the article's exaggerated numbers, the Greeks clearly used their pushcarts as temporary endeavors until they could afford permanent shops.

The Greeks earned fame for their ability to move from menial work or peddling to owning businesses. A contemporary observer, Edward Steiner, wrote, "[f]ull of this pride and confidence in themselves, [the Greek entrepreneurs] do it remarkably well, displacing negroes and Italians.... No labor is too hard for them, although they prefer to stand behind the counter."⁴⁷ Peter Roberts observed the Greek rise in the shoeshine parlor industry and exclaimed, "...in these ancient peoples there is what may be called a parasitic streak, which enables them to live by catering to the minor wants of Americans."⁴⁸ Abbott wrote definitive and outspoken passages charting the Greek success in business and foreseeing the future rise of the Greek merchant in Chicago. In 1909 she wrote, "That they will become great business and professional men in the United States there can be little doubt."⁴⁹ Many of these contemporary observers—especially Henry Fairchild and Thomas Burgess—formed their insights from a mixed perspective of religious evangelism and progressive-era urban reform, and tried to make their observations and projects appealing to a wide American audience. Despite their various motives in writing about Greeks, the studies from Abbot, Fairchild, Burgess, Xenides, Steiner, and others are invaluable sources on early Greek life in Chicago.

The Greek Businesses of Chicago: From Restaurants to Bookstores

As the peddlers began to inch their lunch wagons near factory entrances and doorways, storeowners began to complain of unfair competition and demanded that the city streets be

cleared. A committee of Chicago grocers, forced to sell their foodstuffs at higher costs to pay rent, joined the fight and declared a "war to the finish" on Greek vegetable and fruit peddlers in 1904.⁵⁰ The battle between the Grocers' Association and the new Fruit-Dealers' Association persisted for years, including periods when the City Council forbade the selling of any food on city streets.⁵¹ Ironically, the Greeks' fiercest competitors helped push them out of the city streets and into small business, where they would come to dominate the restaurant industry over the next twenty years.

The first Greek-owned restaurants appeared even before the peddlers felt increased pressure to leave the streets. These first establishments catered to local Greek laborers, serving inexpensive meals to the Greek factory workers or railroad men returning from work. They were glorified indoor lunch wagons. With so few Greek women in the United States and overcrowded housing conditions, the single Greek men rarely cooked at home. As eating out became common, a young Greek male willing to invest his wages and try his hand at cooking could soon find his small establishment crowded with hungry friends.

The rise of the Greek restaurant in Chicago was a story of survival and entrepreneurial ingenuity, not natural proclivity. Thus Fairchild, noting in 1911 that the Greeks "...appear to be a nation of natural born cooks," could not have been further from the truth.⁵² According to Theodore Saloutos, the most prominent historian of Greek America, "There is no evidence that the Greek had a better ability to prepare food than any other foreign-born American."⁵³

If these early restaurant owners did possess an innate talent for preparing meals, it was an ability to cook all types of food. Many Greek restaurants were catering to American tastes as early as 1910. According to Fairchild, those Greek restaurants designed for the general public were "...usually clean and well kept up," while those catering to the native

Greeks were "...not always particularly inviting to a stranger."⁵⁴ Fairchild did not elaborate, but food and cleanliness were not the only differences. A restaurant that catered to the tastes of Greek Chicagoans featured a cozier, more relaxed atmosphere where fellow countrymen spoke the Greek language and discussed politics back home. These comfortable Greek restaurants were the ones that contributed most to the propagation of Greek culture in Chicago.

Those Greek restaurants that catered to the general public were often located in central areas like Chicago's Loop or business district. These served a broader range of customers, both ethnically and linguistically, and clients who were more transient in nature. Consequently, they boasted a larger number of customers yet fewer "regulars." The trend from 1900-1920 was a steady increase in the number of these "American" restaurants. They began to outnumber native Greek restaurants sometime around 1920.

Ascertaining the exact number of Greek restaurants in Chicago at a given time is difficult. Outside sources tended to give rather low estimates, while contemporary Greek newspapers reported inflated numbers. Fairchild wrote that Chicago had about 76 Greek restaurants in 1904, rising to 252 by 1908.⁵⁵ A year later, however, one Greek newspaper claimed that, "...[t]he largest number of restaurants in Chicago are owned and run by Greeks."⁵⁶ Another article from 1910 put the number of Greek-owned restaurants at "over 900."⁵⁷ In 1913, Burgess estimated the number at between 600 and 800.⁵⁸ Discrepancies aside, the number skyrocketed throughout the teens and into the twenties. By the mid-1920s, the Greeks dominated Chicago's restaurant industry and owned establishments throughout the city. Despite this diffusion, Greek restaurants continued to play a pivotal role in the development of Chicago's Greektown.

Similarly to the restaurant, the Greek *καφενείο* (kaffeneion [coffeehouse]) deserves mention. Clearly a Hellenic in-

stitution, the coffeehouse has been traced by some historians back to Greek immigrants in seventeenth-century England.⁵⁹ Smaller and more intimate than a restaurant, the Greek coffeehouse provided the best location for community and social activities for Greek males. Although it is sometimes difficult to tell the difference, Chicago had fewer coffeehouses than restaurants. Fairchild counted 22 in 1908, far less than the hundreds of Greek restaurants.⁶⁰ Contemporary observers offered vivid descriptions of the *kaffeneion*. Burgess described it as a place where:

the men drink black coffee, play cards, speculate on the outcome of the Greek lottery, and in the evening sing to the accompaniment of the Greek bag-pipes or – evidence of their Americanization – listen to the phonograph.⁶¹

Clearly, the coffeehouse belonged only to the Greeks. While other businesses catered to the public and branched throughout the entire city, the *kaffeneion* remained entrenched in Greek communities. More than any other small business, the presence of Greek coffeehouses marked the location of a Greektown. According to Saloutos:

The coffeehouse was a community social center to which the men retired after working hours and on Saturdays and Sundays. Here they...played cards, or engaged in political discussion. Here congregated gesticulating Greeks of all kinds: railroad workers, factory hands, shopkeepers, professional men, the unemployed, labor agitators, amateur philosophers, community gossips, cardsharks, and amused spectators.⁶²

In 1911, Fairchild wrote that, "At all hours of the day these resorts are full of men, idling away their time drinking coffee, smoking, playing cards and talking."⁶³ Needing only coffee, tables, and playing cards, coffeehouses were the simplest Greek businesses to open and maintain yet their impact on the Greek community was immeasurable. An immigrant

in need of work went to the coffeehouse to search of leads and addresses. Those who had just arrived from Greece and were trying to orient themselves to the city looked first for the nearest *kaffeneion*. The coffeehouse was where the immigrants met for both serious business and revelry.⁶⁴

While the Greeks increased their grip on Chicago's restaurant business into the 1920s, another Greek enterprise experienced much quicker growth. The confectionery or ice cream parlor became the most dominant Greek industry in Chicago within a decade of its emergence. In 1904, the Greek *Star* reported that, "...practically every busy corner in Chicago is occupied by a Greek candy store."⁶⁵ A 1906 meeting to form a Confectioners Association reportedly brought together some 925 Greek confectioners.⁶⁶ By 1918, Greek newspapers lauded the city's "6,000 candy stores."⁶⁷

Even the more conservative estimators paid tribute to the Greek "candy men" in Chicago. Burgess wrote in 1913 that the city housed only 400 Greek confectionery establishments, yet he called it "...almost a monopoly of the trade there" and labeled Chicago "...the shining beacon of this industry."⁶⁸ Fairchild gave estimates of 237 Greek confectioneries in 1904 and 275 in 1908 but still declared "...the business of the city along these lines is almost entirely in their hands."⁶⁹ Perhaps some of the confusion came from defining what a confectionery actually entailed. In addition to selling ice cream and candy, the stores usually provided full meals, soda drinks, flowers, fruit, or tobacco. Their wide range of services often blurred the lines between ice cream parlor, restaurant, and multi-purpose grocery. Early parlors sported exquisite marble soda fountains, expensive fixtures, and multi-colored plates.⁷⁰ Some accounts note the "beautiful glass showcases" displaying candy, chocolate, or delicatessen products.⁷¹ In addition to the unique and tasty treats, most contemporary observers also noticed the superb cleanliness of the Greek confectioneries.

A spirited debate surrounds the claim that the Greek confectioners developed the first American ice-cream sundae. While no substantial evidence exists, one can trace this and other claims back nearly sixty years. In 1941, a *Commonwealth Magazine* article ambitiously claimed that the Greeks had invented and developed the use of the ice-cream cone, fruit syrups, and the ice-cream sundae.⁷² Some believe the word sundae derives from Sunday, signifying the day of the week on which store owners would sell the treat.⁷³ Throughout the 1910s, drug store owners tried to pass laws forcing the confectioneries to close on Sundays. The reports reveal no motive behind the assault other than "...in order that [the grocers] might have a monopoly on the Sunday trade."⁷⁴ Perhaps these profitable Sundays had to do with a popular new Greek concoction. With or without the ice-cream sundae, however, the Greek confectioneries enjoyed immense popularity throughout the period.

Like restaurant and food preparation, the Greeks' native or cultural ability had little to do with their initial interest in ice-cream parlors. Saloutos disagrees, writing "...the Greeks always have been known as a people with a sweet tooth.... [O]ne may have had experience in making candy and pastries in Greece."⁷⁵ It seems unlikely, however, that in 1906 hundreds of Greek males in Chicago would have had much experience making chocolate or ice cream in Greece. Many owners actually sold Turkish name-brand products or sweets with Turkish origins. As one contemporary put it, "Turks, but not Greeks, are very fond of sweets."⁷⁶

While the market remained strong into the 1920s, many of the first Greek confectioneries failed. In order to purchase expensive equipment and elaborate soda fountains, owners suffered high overhead costs, mortgages, and supplier mark-ups as high as 500 percent. In addition, owners believed in maintaining the beauty and integrity of the parlor by keeping up to date with the latest features and gadgets.⁷⁷ They did

this by attending popular conventions organized by suppliers who exhibited the latest soda fountain models and designs.⁷⁸

Many entrepreneurs who joined the confectionery business after 1910 learned from the previous generation's mistakes. New owners began lowering their initial investments and general overhead costs to stay in business and compete with the growing number of stores. Consequently, the oldest Greek confectioneries were often the most spectacular in terms of beauty, decorum, and cleanliness. Despite this change, the Greek confectionery always gave Chicago's Greektown both a unique look and another center for social interaction.

Another popular Greek business was the shoeshine parlor. In Chicago, the bootblack industry before 1890 consisted of little more than street peddlers or small corner stands. Italian immigrants and African Americans controlled this early shoe-shining trade, keeping close to hotel entrances or busy sidewalks yet maintaining a high degree of mobility and flexibility. From 1895-1910, however, the Greeks in Chicago commandeered the industry and completely changed its appearance. The Greeks made shoe-shining a more stable small-business enterprise by moving the trade off the streets into small parlors. Many entrepreneurs further dignified the business by setting up elaborate establishments in Chicago's high-rent areas.⁷⁹ Often the shops featured the names of an adjacent hotel or the building in which the parlor was located.⁸⁰ Burgess described these parlors as "...fixed up with the best furnishings" and selling for nearly \$20,000 in 1913.⁸¹

Elevated chairs with shimmering brass foot-stands highlighted the parlors, but as the business progressed, many shops began featuring other services and accoutrements. Some included special hat cleaners, dry cleaning for clothing, or shoe repair services. Often the shops sold tobacco, or connected with a barber or pool hall next door.⁸² Like the

Greek confectioneries, most contemporary observers noticed the cleanliness and general uniformity of the shoeshine parlors. Fairchild explained why he thought the Greeks had taken over the industry, "The shops are cleaner and better kept up. The boys are much quieter and more respectful, and do not jabber to each other in a foreign language, which is very annoying to an American patron."⁸³

Unfortunately, Fairchild failed to recognize that the Greek boys working in the bootblack industry did not "jabber" because they were forced into silence by an oppressive and abusive labor regime. The Greek boys working in the shoeshine parlors were young. The average age was seventeen but some Greek bootblacks were only twelve-years-old. Throughout the period, Greek owners faced accusations of inheriting from the Italians a form of illegal child labor called the *padrone* system.⁸⁴ Essentially, the *padrone* process functioned like the nineteenth-century system of indentured servitude. Newspapers in America and Greece increasingly denounced parlor owners and accused them of falsifying records, maltreating their workers, and deceiving the young boys into giving up their freedom to find better housing and working conditions. In 1911, the United States Immigration Commission issued a critical report on the industry, *The Greek Padrone System in America*. By the end of the decade, many shoeshine parlors were forced to close and numerous Greek owners were arrested. The brutal *padrone* system continued to scar Greek communities throughout America. The Greek *padrones* were the antithesis to the pillars of Greek American community that many immigrants expected their entrepreneurs to be.

Nevertheless, Greek shoeshine parlors continued to enjoy success in Chicago into the 1920s. As opposed to confectioneries, a businessman required little capital to open a bootblack parlor and he could obtain most fixtures, chairs, and equipment on credit.⁸⁵ Fairchild reported that in 1904

there were only three Greek shoeshine parlors in the city, but he estimated nearly fifty by 1911.⁸⁶ In addition, the Greek control over the industry expanded to include the wholesale manufacture and distribution of shoe polish and related paraphernalia.⁸⁷

Unlike the restaurant or confectionery industries, sufficient evidence indicates many of the Greek bootblacks having previous experience in Greece. Bootblacks in Greece, however, remained on the streets as shoeshine parlors were extremely rare.⁸⁸ According to Fairchild, "The bootblack is a prominent and familiar figure in Greece, not only in the larger cities, but in the smaller ones as well."⁸⁹ Many of the young workers in Chicago came as bootblacks from the Tripoli district in the province of Arcadia. Since the first group of Greek owners came from here, they continued to press the area for new workers to emigrate.⁹⁰

Whatever the industry, a Greek businessman faced the problem of naming his store. At first, many owners put their family names on their small businesses, yet often these were twenty or thirty characters in length. Seeing how some Greek names were long and difficult for Americans to pronounce, Greek entrepreneurs developed alternative nomenclature for their businesses. Many shoeshine parlors took the name of the building, street, or section of the city in which they were located. Other business owners compromised between Greek and American tastes by adopting easy, popular Greek names and making window displays in both Greek and English. By 1910, the most popular Greek business names fell along these lines, such as the Atlas Grocery, Café Apollyon, or the Parthenon Barber Shop.

The Greeks in Chicago owned a variety of small businesses. For example, in 1911 a three-block area along Halsted Street housed the following Greek businesses: meat market, coffeehouse, employment agency, steamship and railroad ticket agent, harness maker, tailor, bakery, barber shop, shoemaker,

drug store, confectionery, pool hall, cognac shop, restaurant, and grocery.⁹¹ Greeks also owned specialty establishments such as travel shops and bookstores.⁹²

Greek Business and the Geographic Rise of Greektown

The residential dispersion of Greek immigrants in Chicago led to the formation of several different areas of Greek concentration. During the period 1892-1909, three of these areas generated the framework of a community served by a Greek Orthodox church. These areas were located throughout the city. After 1910, however, a striking number of Greek businesses became concentrated in a small area on the West Side, along Halsted Street. Stretching approximately five square blocks, the area paled in comparison to the sprawling blocks of Italian and German businesses. Nonetheless, this concentrated business enclave, which was known as the Delta due to the river delta shape of the intersections of Blue Island Avenue with Halsted and Polk Streets, became the center of Greek Chicago. By virtue of the intense concentration of businesses within a small area, the Delta surpassed the other Greek areas in creating a new urban space where the Greek community could cluster and thrive.

As early as the 1880s, Greek immigrants began to cluster in certain areas of Chicago. Usually the establishment of a Greek Orthodox church accelerated the development of a community. The first of these churches appeared in 1892 and later moved to 60 East Kinzie Street, just north of the Loop.⁹³ Before that church opened, however, a few hundred Greeks had set up residence in this area of the city's twenty-first ward. It was here that the first Greek shops and small businesses appeared down the block from the church in the early 1890s, specifically at the corner of Clark and Kinzie streets. By 1910, the twenty-first ward contained 575 Greeks. That number almost doubled to 1,084 in 1920, constituting nearly

10% of the city's Greek population.⁹⁴

Within five years, disagreements stemming from long-standing rivalries in Greece arose in the North Side community and led to the founding of another Greek Orthodox church near Halsted Street on the near West Side.⁹⁵ Much of the animosity originated in Greece, since emigrants from Arcadia established the West Side church while Spartan emigrants formed the bulk of the North Side community. One North Side group, the Lycurgus Society, even sought to place a tax on "certain Halsted Street Greeks" from the West Side.⁹⁶ The Greek population continued to rise in the nineteenth ward, the city's immediate West Side district. In 1910, the area included 1,069 Greek immigrants. By 1920, the ward housed 1,852 native Greeks, approximately 16% of the city's total Greek population.

Beginning in 1904, Greek shops and stores appeared further south, specifically around Cottage Grove Avenue in the Woodlawn district. By 1909, a dissident group from the Halsted area formed a church at Sixty-first Street and Michigan Avenues for this smaller South Side Greek community.⁹⁷ In this instance, Greek shops and businesses preceded the development of a cohesive church community, indicating the rising importance of Greek small business in the city. In the seventh ward, on the South Side, the Greek population reached approximately 500 by 1920, or 5% of the total number of Greek immigrants. This pattern of dispersed church enclaves endured throughout the twentieth century. By 1930, at least 11 church communities existed in Chicago. By the end of the century, the dispersion of twenty-one Greek Orthodox parishes was even more drastic.⁹⁸

Early observers noted this pattern of dispersal. An 1897 *Chicago Tribune* article stated that, "[t]here are probably fewer native Greeks in Chicago than there are natives of any of the other Mediterranean countries."⁹⁹ It went on, however, to list three broad areas of Greek settlement: "Fifth Avenue

and Sherman Street between Van Buren and Twelfth Street" on the West Side, "Kingsbury, Kinzie, and Illinois Streets" on the North Side, and "a few scattered in the vicinity of Tilden Avenue, Taylor Street, and Center Avenue on the West Side."¹⁰⁰ Barely 1,000 Greeks lived in Chicago in 1897, yet they were already dispersed throughout the city.¹⁰¹

Even with the early and ongoing dispersal of Greek immigrants, by 1920 most observers considered the Delta as the city's "Greektown." Small businesses account for how such a small area on the city's West Side, roughly five square blocks, came to be considered among America's most prominent Greektowns. Rivaling the church and other social factors, the Greek small businesses were responsible for turning this small area into Chicago's Greektown by catering to the needs of the community with a centralized business district and opening an urban zone in which the community could operate.

Earlier, the North Side had seemed to offer the best location for Greek immigrants to create a substantial business district. A few hundred Greeks lived in the area with room for future expansion without competition from other ethnic groups. In addition, the North Side Greeks enjoyed more economic prosperity than most immigrant groups. An 1895 Chicago Tribune article exclaimed that, "[t]he better class of Greeks is to be found on South Water Street, while the poorer class is sandwiched in the settlements of Italians, Syrians, and Slovians [sic] in the West Side."¹⁰² Hull House documents substantiate that the Greeks on the West Side were not merely "sandwiched," but virtually dispersed throughout the Italian neighborhood.¹⁰³ Despite the odds against this "poorer class" of Greeks, they thrived

Early Greek business directories demonstrate the geographic rise of the Delta and offer a comparison between the concentration of Greek businesses there and businesses in other areas of the city. For example, in 1909 Seraphim

George Canoutas published *Hodegos Tou Metanstou en Amerike*,¹⁰⁴ one of his guides for Greek immigrants. Like other works by Canoutas, this book included a directory of Greek businesses in Chicago.¹⁰⁵ Based upon the Canoutas directory, Table Two shows the geographic location and ratio of different Greek businesses in Chicago. "Near North Side" and "South Side" have been split to distinguish the small businesses within the Clark-Kinzie area just north of the Loop from those further north. In addition, the "South Side" refers to all Greek businesses within the Woodlawn district and along Cottage Grove Avenue. The "West Side" includes the Greek businesses in the west that were not located in the Delta. "Halsted-Delta" refers to a small, roughly nine-block area of Halsted Street extending north from the Delta to Madison Street.

The data from the 1909 directory presents several findings about the role of Greek small business in the geographic rise of Greektown. First, not all of the Greek businesses appeared in the Delta area, or even an overwhelming percentage. For example, 56 Greek restaurants were located downtown and 36 in the near north side area. Only 16% of Greek restaurants, 9% of Greek confectioners, and 14% of Greek shoe-shine parlors were located in the Delta, but this represented a rather large concentration for such a small area.

Other types of Greek businesses concentrated in the Delta included a striking number of coffeehouses, grocers, barbers, and bakeries. More than half of the city's Greek coffeehouses and bakeries were found in the Delta. In addition, 45% of Greek grocers and 50% of Greek barbers were located in that nine-block area. Greektown arose, then, not as a service center of a large ethnic neighborhood, but rather in the process of concentrating Greek businesses in a zone of ethnic enterprise.

The high percentage of coffeehouses, grocers, barbers, and bakeries illustrates a second important theme in the develop-

Table Two
Location of Greek Small Businesses By Percentage, 1909

Total # of businesses	206	196	34	24	24	7	20
# Downtown (percentage)	56 (27)	48 (24)	10 (30)	5 (28)	6 (25)	2 (28)	4 (20)
Near North Side	36 (18)	12 (6)	3 (8)	2 (8)	5 (20)	0 (0)	4 (20)
North Side	17 (8)	26 (13)	4 (11)	1 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
West Side	25 (12)	38 (19)	4 (11)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)	0 (0)
South Side	39 (19)	54 (27)	8 (23)	5 (20)	1 (4)	0 (0)	1 (2)
Halsted-Delta	33 (16)	18 (9)	5 (14)	11 (45)	12 (50)	4 (57)	11 (55)

ment of the Delta. These businesses catered only to Greek immigrants themselves. Just as coffeehouse had once epitomized Greek social life and served an overwhelmingly Greek clientele, the same could be said of Greek grocers, bakeries, and barbers in a slightly later period.. In contrast, Greek restaurants, confectioners, and bootblacks often served specifically non-Greek patrons. According to the Canoutas directory, a large density of Greek restaurants and confectioners existed not only in the Delta but throughout the Chicago area. Likewise, 30% of Greek shoeshine parlors in 1909 appeared downtown, where they served well-dressed businessmen and office workers. Restaurants and confectioners also catered to non-Greek clientele but even in the Delta, they contributed enormously to the development of the community.

During the 1910s, the Delta evolved into one of the best-known Greek communities in the United States. *Greek Directory of Chicago and Vicinity*, a 1921 business directory, contains listings similar to Canoutas' 1909 directory. By charting the locations of Greek small businesses from this 1921 directory, one can compare the results to the data from 1909 and determine the changes that occurred between 1909-1921. Table Three contains the data from the 1921 *Greek Directory* placed in the same format as Table Two, and lists the total number of businesses by type and their location by percentage around the Chicago area.

The 1921 directory lists more businesses than Canoutas compiled in 1909, but Canoutas may not have intended his directory to be comprehensive in scope.¹⁰⁶ In any case, neither the Canoutas text nor the *Greek Directory* were comprehensive, and they do not indicate the total number of Greek businesses in Chicago. Nevertheless, the sample of businesses in the directories proves useful in determining trends in the geographic location of Greek establishments.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the number of Greek businesses rose steadily from 1909 to 1921, and the differences between the two di-

Table Three
Location of Greek Small Businesses in Chicago, 1921

Total # of businesses	512	635	98	122	45	11	20
# Downtown (percentage)	59 (12)	53 (8)	29 (29)	5 (4)	4 (8)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Near North Side	47 (9)	31 (4)	4 (4)	7 (5)	7 (15)	3 (27)	1 (5)
West Side	99 (19)	121 (19)	13 (13)	22 (18)	2 (4)	1 (9)	0 (0)
South Side	160 (31)	222 (34)	33 (33)	50 (40)	14 (31)	4 (36)	0 (0)
Halsted-Delta	42 (8)	17 (3)	2 (2)	15 (12)	12 (31)	3 (27)	19 (95)

rectories illustrate that dramatic rise.

A comparison of the 1909 and 1921 data yields several revealing differences. The *Greek Directory* usually lists a greater number of Greek businesses both throughout the Chicago area and within the Delta. For example, it finds 42 Greek restaurants within that nine-block area, an increase from the 33 that Canoutas listed in 1909. Likewise, the *Greek Directory* counts four additional grocers in the Delta. In other cases, however, the *Greek Directory* actually lists fewer businesses in the Delta than Canoutas did in 1909. According to the 1921 directory, the number of confectioners in the Delta decreased by one, while the number of shoeshine parlors decreased from five to two.

Geographically locating the small businesses in the 1921 directory answers the question of how Greektown continued to grow while the number of businesses remained constant. Businesses with largely Greek clienteles had clustered even more tightly by 1921 than in 1909. Simultaneously, Greek enterprises with more diverse customers scattered over the city. Thus, even as Greek entrepreneurs made their mark throughout the entire city, they packed more and more of their own ethnically-centered enterprises into the Delta, which grew more centralized than it had been in 1909.¹⁰⁸ The Delta area contained only 8% of Chicago's Greek restaurants, 3% of confectioners, and 2% of shoeshine parlors in 1921, but the percentages take on a different meaning in the context of such a small and dense area. While Greek businesses flourished and dispersed throughout the city, Greek patrons preferred to travel to a small area stuffed with Greek businesses almost to the point of bursting.

The Spatial Use of Greek Businesses in the Delta

Reinforcing the statistical evidence, contemporary observ-

ers described the Delta as a centralized ethnic-Greek business district. For example, Henry Fairchild wrote in 1911 that, "[t]he district...around Blue Island Avenue and Polk and South Halsted Streets, is today more typically Greek than some sections of Athens."¹⁰⁹ Fairchild referred to the most important fixtures of Greektown, the primarily Greek-catered businesses, when he described the area:

Practically all the stores bear signs in both Greek and English, coffee-houses flourish on every corner, in the dark little grocery stores one sees black olives, dried ink-fish, tomato paste, and all the queer, nameless roots and condiments which are so familiar in Greece. On every hand one hears the Greek language, and the boys in the streets and on the vacant lots play, with equal zest, Greek games and baseball. It is a self-sufficing colony, and provision is made to supply all the wants of the Greek immigrant in as near as possible the Greek way. Restaurants, coffeehouses, barber-shops, grocery stores and saloons are all patterned after the Greek type.¹¹⁰

On his walk through the Delta, which he calls the "New Greece," Professor Edward Steiner specified why Greeks chose to visit the 9% of confectioners in Greektown, as opposed to the numerous shops that were closer to their homes:

The confectionery stores which are outside of New Greece, are open all the time, at least so long as a customer may be expected, and although these customers are nearly all American, the Greeks have few friends among them. They all return to New Greece as often as possible and there their virtues unfold, and "their soul delights itself in fatness."¹¹¹

The Greek small businesses in the Delta offered immigrants their own space to meet and converse, essentially what they had desired and sought through Hull House. The coffeeshop provided the best location for such gatherings, as opposed to restaurants or confectioners. Not surprisingly, Greek busi-

nessmen established most coffeeshops within the heart of the Delta and not within the Clark-Kinzie area or the South Side Woodlawn district. The *Saloniki* explained the spatial significance of the coffeehouse in 1914:

The Greek café is analogous to an American club. The cafes are important to the very existence of the average Greek man. They are places where he can debate and converse on each and every possible subject.... If you ask any man where he went when he first arrived in Chicago, nine cases out of ten he will name a Greek café, and he will bestow a blessing upon the patriotic proprietor.... If there are Greek communities on Halsted Street, it is because of the existence of the cafes. In the evening, all the workingmen stroll over to the café to talk, and they do not even have to spend a penny of their hard-earned money. If the cafes are closed, *these communities will disperse and be lost within other groups.* (Italics added)¹¹²

The Greek immigrants needed a location where they could function as a community and the Delta best served this need. Tenement housing and cramped conditions made residences an uncomfortable setting for gatherings. Likewise, government or reformer's houses such as Hull House failed to offer the full comfort and dignity of a private meeting. Greek small businesses, centralized in the Delta, gave the immigrants exactly what they needed by providing the physical zone for a thriving ethnic community.

Greek businesses also formed an institutional fulcrum for the development of the community's culture. The very process of starting and maintaining small businesses led many Greeks to unite in the face of hostility from other ethnic groups. They also formed several business associations, attempting to unify larger industries like the restaurants and confectioneries. Not all Greek businessmen, however, worked together in a spirit of cooperation. Traditional dissension from Greece made many of the business associations

fail. In other cases, storeowners criticized each other over improper business practices and etiquette. In the most publicized case, Greek restaurateurs and confectioners joined the community at large in addressing the *padrone* child labor scandal that engulfed the Greek shoeshine parlors.

Whether it be polite cooperation or public debate and dissension, the Greek small business remained at the center of public dialogue. Contemporary Greek newspapers were filled with stories and editorials pertaining to business. It is clear from the newspaper accounts that the Greeks knew how important these establishments were to the formation and integrity of Chicago's Greek society. Greek businesses stood at the center of a new community, one struggling to define itself and maintain its image. While businesses opened a physical space for the Greeks to thrive, they also provided the social and cultural support needed to sustain an emerging population.

"When two Greeks meet, they open a restaurant"

From the beginning of the business process, the Greeks exhibited signs of cooperation and community support. Geographic ties from the homeland often contributed to cooperation in opening small businesses. Another strong cooperative force was the family, with brothers or cousins often pooling their wages in order to start a business. In other cases, several men from a certain rural town would make the trip to Chicago, save enough capital, and then cooperatively open one or two establishments.

These geographic and familial ties would continue to exist years later, making it very difficult for business associations to unite under a common Greek flag. Often two entrepreneurs would share their building space to cut costs. The result was odd combinations of businesses, with barbers attached to pool halls or groceries connected to restaurants. This co-

operation amongst some Greeks led the *Chicago Herald and Examiner* to exclaim in 1927 that, "when two Greeks meet they open a restaurant."¹¹³

Despite these examples of coordination from Greece and planned cooperation, a majority of small businesses were opened and operated independently. In fact, Greek newspapers constantly criticized the independence of Greek storeowners. They called for increased cooperation in order to maintain price levels and drive out foreign competition. A 1918 editorial stated that:

...[O]ne cannot fail to notice that the Greek, operating as an individual, as a single business unit, has been competing not only with other businessmen, but also with large companies and corporations.... What could our homeland, Greece, and we not do in the business field, if more emphasis were laid on business training and education, if we co-operated more in business, and if we combined our resources into companies and corporations?¹¹⁴

Mismanagement often forced the Greeks into cooperating with each other. In the confectionery industry, the first entrepreneurs used cash to buy expensive fixtures for their elaborate parlors. Soon the owners faced overwhelming overhead costs. Theodore Saloutos notes:

At first the majority bought for cash; hence, [a Greek businessman's] credit rating was not listed with a credit bureau and their reliability was unknown to the business world. Worst of all, when they applied for credit, they often gave evasive answers on question forms and refused to declare the value of their businesses lest these facts became known to their competitors.¹¹⁵

These mistakes in management made many Greeks unable to get credit. It also forced them to look to fellow entrepreneurs in order to pool enough cash for an initial investment. In addition to confectioners, this problem faced the restau-

rateurs and bootblacks as well. Each of these establishments required hefty initial investments, especially for businesses located in high-rent districts downtown.

Seeing both the numerous business failures and the potential for success, the Greek community called on its businessmen to become better educated and organized. A 1914 article declared that:

An American does not enter any business that he is unfamiliar with. On the other hand, the Greek, who has sold fruit all his life, thinks nothing of opening a restaurant. The American opens a small store and awaits to see if it is successful before making any effort to enlarge it. The Greek spends every cent he has saved and borrowed, so that he can start out with a big bang. Usually, he works like a slave the rest of his life to pay for that mistake.¹¹⁶

In addition to serving as directories, books by Seraphim George Canoutas included business advice and guides. Published in 1917, Canoutas designed *Ho Symbolos Kai Procheiros Dikegoros tou Hellenikos en Amerike* to be an advisor for Greek immigrants in America. The book included passages on business councils, rules of conduct, naturalization laws, compensation acts, and legal regulations. Canoutas even wrote a helpful Greek-English glossary of American business terms and their peculiar meanings.

The Greek community also bonded together whenever Greek businesses came under outside scrutiny or attack. Greek newspapers praised the fruit peddlers as they struggled to gain access to small business ownership. When the Chicago Grocers Association sought to outlaw food peddling in 1904, newspapers voiced the community's support of the Greek pushcarts.¹¹⁷ Ironically, the fierce struggle often pit Greek peddlers against Greek grocers. Nevertheless, community support continued to side with the peddlers, who had united themselves under a Greek name with the creation of the Fruit-Dealers Association earlier that year.

Outside of the Greek community, public sentiment often went against Greek businesses and their owners. As explained earlier, Greek peddlers took control of the produce industry from the Italians during the 1890s. Soon Greeks began to overtake shops and stores that had been owned or operated by Italians. As the Greeks advanced into small business ownership, public support usually fell with the older, more assimilated Italian community. As enmity towards the Greeks increased during this "graeco-roman war,"¹¹⁸ the Greek community continued to support and encourage its businessmen. In 1909, the city of Chicago attempted to raise the peddler's license fee from \$25 to \$200 a year.¹¹⁹ Seeing the move as a blatant attempt to halt Greek advancement and protect the older immigrant groups, Greeks rallied behind their peddlers and business owners in a show of support and solidarity.¹²⁰

Greek Business Associations

Beginning in 1904, most major Greek industries tried to form business associations based on economic advancement and the projection of a positive Greek image. Despite the phenomenal commercial success of Greek businesses, Andrew Kopan and Theodore Saloutos believe that Greek business associations accomplished surprisingly little during this period.¹²¹ In essence this was true, but a closer examination of the Greek business associations reveals many instances of Greek businessmen contributing to the Greek community and social life. Greek business associations tried to strengthen the community by helping new Greek immigrants adjust to life in America. Other than the Church, Chicago had no other Greek institution capable of this endeavor. In August of 1904, the Chicago press published articles hostile to 320 Greeks who had accepted jobs as strikebreakers. Shortly thereafter, a general gathering of Greek businessmen took

place at a Greek Orthodox church, where the Reverend C. Georgiadis "...suggested that immediate steps should be taken to approach the misinformed Greek laborers and induce them for the sake of the Greek name...to abandon their temporary jobs."¹²² Dr. N. Salopoulos, the Greek Consul General in Chicago, was also present and "...reminded the businessmen that besides the injury to their business the national prestige of Greece has suffered."¹²³

Greek restaurant owners formed the largest Greek business association in 1910. The Greek Restaurant Keepers Association, also called Hermes, attempted to unify the hundreds of Greek-owned restaurants in the city. According to Kopan, "...typical factionalism among the Greeks made the association almost impotent."¹²⁴ Even as Hermes began operating, the *Loxias* foresaw the difficulty in uniting the Greek businessmen:

This organization has a very good purpose behind it and we sincerely hope it will succeed. The greatest danger lies in the animosity that can be found between the Spartans and the Tripolitans. If they can get along successfully, we have no fear of the Corinthians, Messinians, Trifilians, Stereoladitans, Nisiotans, Thrakans, and Macedonians.¹²⁵

Despite its problems in overcoming traditional factionalism, Hermes did its part in contributing to the advancement of the Greek community. According to Article 7 of the organization's by-laws, the association lent money to borrowers under specific rules and regulations. Hermes also sought to strengthen Greek solidarity by limiting outside business ventures. Article 9 declared that, "[n]o business dealings can be done with a restaurateur of another city or another nationality without the consent of the association."¹²⁶ Hermes even published its entire set of by-laws in the newspapers for the entire Greek community to read.

Hermes also organized social events for the community. For the association's first annual ball in November of 1910,

the *Loxias* declared that "[a]ll Greeks must be present at this dance because it signifies a huge family gathering of a united people."¹²⁷ The following year, a second "Grand Ball" drew over 3,500 people.¹²⁸ Under the umbrella of united small businesses, Hermes could bring together a larger group of Greeks than any Greek Orthodox church could.

In other cases, Hermes attempted to offer political leadership to the community. This was especially evident during the 1910s, when a political crisis arose in Greece between King Constantine and the revolutionary government of Eleutherios Venizelos. As political turmoil threatened stability in the homeland, Hermes sought to rally support behind Venizelos. This stood in opposition to the Greek Royalists, who supported the status quo under the reign of Constantine. In December of 1910, Hermes met with the Greek Confectioners Association, a combined gathering that reportedly brought together representatives of 1,700 establishments. According to one account, "[a] telegram was sent to the Greek nation, sending congratulations upon hearing that Eleutherios Venizelos had won the elections."¹²⁹ In 1912, Hermes "unanimously resolved to support the present government of Greece headed by Mr. Eleutherios Venizelos."¹³⁰ The Association further resolved:

to appeal to all the Greeks in the United States to support the Venizelos government, and ask every Greek in America to write his friends and relatives in the Old Country to support the aforesaid government, which has liberated Greece from the Demagogues.¹³¹

With the help of Hermes and the Confectioners Association, Chicago's Greeks continued to unite in support of the new liberal government. In February of 1917, a huge pro-Venizelos rally took place at a local coliseum. According to Saloutos, "more than twelve thousand Greek-Americans had assembled under one roof—an achievement in itself—to de-

nounce the King and announce their willingness to give body and soul to the Venizelos government."¹³² Finally, in 1921 Venizelos visited Chicago's Greek community and thanked them for their support in making him the leader of Greece. As he alighted from his car at the La Salle Street Station, a crowd of approximately 10,000 greeted him with cheers and chants of "Venizelos our hero! Long live Venizelos our saint!"¹³³ As this incident shows, despite its bouts with dissension and failures, Hermes played a role in solidifying Chicago support for political reform in Greece.

Businessmen in the confectionery industry tried to create an association on two occasions. Saloutos writes that "[a] Greek confectioner association was in existence in 1919, but no record of accomplishment has been found."¹³⁴ However, there are scattered accounts of an earlier association formed in 1906. In June of that year, 925 Greek confectioners collected initial dues and formed the Greek Confectioners Association.¹³⁵ Like Hermes, the confectioner's association also hosted significant social events for the community. One story described a 1908 Christmas ball put on by the organization:

One of the most important events of the Christmas holiday season...was the annual ball of the Association of Greek Confectionery Men. This affair not only surpassed any other previous and similar social event in brilliance and magnificence, but it also won the admiration and elicited the applause of all those who attended and contributed to the success of the gathering. The flower of our society was present; hundreds of families in their best clothes, charming young ladies in gay dresses and beautiful formal gowns...a brilliant spectacle and a rare gathering of happy, smiling, and cheerful people.¹³⁶

An estimated 1,500 hundred people from a wide spectrum of Greek society attended the event. Little more is known of this first confectioners association. Evidently, the group dis-

banded sometime before 1918, for in that year businessmen formed another group, the Greek Confectioners Association of Chicago. One report hyperbolized that this new group placed "over six thousand candy stores under one roof."¹³⁷

Business owners in smaller enterprises also attempted to form associations. In 1910, twelve Greek bakers in Chicago formed the foundation for an association. Skeptical of the group and its chances for success, a *Loxias* editorial exclaimed that, "If the Greeks will cooperate with one another and last a year, we will call the corporation a success. Otherwise it will go the way of other Greek enterprises."¹³⁸ Although the business associations did little to advance their member's economic gain, the very fact that businessmen attempted to unite sparked community dialogue and did much to foster Greek social life.

Beginning at the turn of the century, the Greek shoeshine parlors faced the serious *padrone* scandal that forced the Greek community to take action. The American press began accusing the Greek parlor owners of running a cruel network of child labor. Borrowed from the Italians, the *padrone* system involved luring Greek parents into sending their children to Chicago. Upon arrival, the *padrones* forced the children to work long hours of labor in deplorable conditions. By screening the youth's correspondences and limiting their contact with the outside world, the *padrones* controlled the children and kept them from the knowledge of a better life.

When the American press attacked the Greek parlor owners as part of the general campaign against child labor in the United States, the Greek community united to address the issue. A highly publicized case of 1908 involved, a Greek youth who stole \$206 from a Greek business establishment. Upon arrest and questioning the youth explained that he did not earn a wage and led authorities to a Greek *padrone* shop.¹³⁹ The story became a sensation in both the Chicago press and national media. Three years later, the tension mounted as the

United States Immigration Commission published a scathing report entitled *The Greek Padrone System in the United States*. The report clearly placed blame on the Greek parlor owners and vividly described the working conditions:

Boys employed as bootblacks live in unsanitary quarters and are absolutely ignorant of the necessity of fresh air. *Padrones* forbid the boys to have much to say to Greeks coming to the shop unless the *padrones* are present. By this means of complete isolation they are enabled to keep their help in ignorance of the English language and the labor conditions in this country, thereby preventing them from receiving information by contact with persons of their own race and learning that they can do better in other occupations elsewhere.¹⁴⁰

While most Greeks in Chicago condemned the guilty Greek employers, some members of the Greek community reacted by coming to the aid of the Greek owners. Asserting that the public stigmatized Greek businessmen and damaged the integrity of the entire community, a *Greek Star* editorial explained:

The American press of Chicago...gave considerable prominence to the alleged and not generally justified fact that Greek businessmen are sweating their hired labor and...are exploiting and underpaying their hard-working laborers.... Whole stories have been conceived and written saying that new epidemics of labor abuses have appeared in the Greek community.... These same men do not hesitate to put all Greek businessmen who own and operate shoe shine and hat cleaning shops on the spot.¹⁴¹

In May of 1916, a meeting of 150 Greeks from the shoe-shine parlor association elected a board of directors specifically to address the issue of child labor. Unfortunately, the board drafted a set of rules and regulations that actually took more interest in protecting the parlor owners than it did the children. One rule stated that the board would "fight for and

protect the interest of the Greek owners of shoe-shine parlors in Chicago." Another called for the association "to allow the members the freedom of regulating the wages and hours of their employees." The board even sought to "prevent anyone from interfering with any boy that wants to work, and is satisfied with the conditions of that work."¹⁴²

Nevertheless, most members of the Greek community raised concerns over the exploited youths and expressed their disapproval towards shoeshine parlors and owners. In particular, the *Saloniki* newspaper launched a lengthy struggle in which it sought to rouse Greek support for reforming the parlors. Led by its editor, Christos Damascus, the newspaper published several articles and editorials on the matter, including harsh exposés uncovering secret *padrone* shops.¹⁴³ According to Saloutos, Damascus "had all the earmarks of a muckraker."¹⁴⁴ The controversy that swept this Greek industry forced the immigrants to participate in a public dialogue and take responsibility for the deplorable labor regime employed by some of its businessmen.

Greeks in Chicago realized that this image would accrue to their entire community. Subsequently, they took an increasing interest in the ways that shop owners ran their establishments. Honesty became the most emphasized trait, especially as outsiders used racist stereotypes to accuse some owners of lying and cheating. In 1909, Grace Abbott wrote that, "[d]uring the short time that he has been in Chicago the Greek has established his reputation as a shrewd business man. On Halsted Street they are already saying, 'It takes a Greek to beat a Jew.'"¹⁴⁵ The author Thomas Burgess responded to such commentary in 1913 by explaining the Greek merchant's honesty: "Reports to the contrary notwithstanding, most of them show business honesty, better at any rate than that of some Americans with whom they have to deal."¹⁴⁶

Recognizing the importance of honest behavior in its busi-

ness, the Greek community demanded that its storeowners deal fairly with the public. A 1909 *Greek Star* editorial read, "dishonest dealings jeopardize the reputation and the interest of honest and decent Greek businessmen. Even the good name and honor of all Greeks is thus seriously injured."¹⁴⁷ The article went on to encourage members of the community to keep watch over unscrupulous vendors, proclaiming that, "honest and fair-minded Greeks...must take active steps to get rid of those unscrupulous and dishonest Greeks who disgrace themselves, who drag the Greek name down, and who injure our common interest."¹⁴⁸ The author even asserted that the Greeks were able to open their businesses without credit by using their honesty and integrity:

...[I]t will be noticed that very few of us who are in business have adopted a suitable and systematic method of granting and obtaining business credit. In spite of this, American business institutions...did not hesitate to open credit accounts with most of us whose names and businesses were not on the Chicago Businessmen's Resister. This took place...because they relied upon the personal honesty and integrity of the Greek businessman.¹⁴⁹

In addition to honesty, the community also stressed the importance of kindness, cleanliness, and promptness for the success of businesses. In a 1909 letter to the *Loxias*, one observer wrote:

I entered a Greek confectionery one day and found six of my countrymen, seated around a table, playing Skambili (a Greek card game). Imagine what business the proprietor must be doing! What would the customers think upon entering a store and finding card-players taking up all the room? A thousand dollar soda fountain, fixtures, etc., sacrificed to card-players.¹⁵⁰

Recognizing the power of Greek businessmen in shaping outside perception of Greek culture and community, Greek

patrons did not tolerate improper behavior or unacceptable etiquette. In his letter, the author went on to tell of another encounter:

Another time I saw two of my fellow-countrymen standing outside of their store in a lackadaisical way. Every woman that went by was loudly criticized in the way she walked, the way she dressed, the color of her hair, etc. After such humiliation, is it any wonder the woman does not patronize this store?"¹⁵¹

The Greek community's criticisms and prodding of its businessmen betrayed a deeper sense of pride. While the Greeks encouraged their businessmen to become better trained entrepreneurs, they also took pride in how far the immigrants had come in such a short period. The community marveled at men like John Raklios, who by 1920 became the "king of Chicago's restaurateurs."¹⁵² According to Saloutos, "[a]rriving in the United States at the turn of the century with a few dollars in his pocket, Raklios climbed the proverbial ladder of success."¹⁵³ The 1921 *Greek Directory* lists fourteen restaurants owned by Raklios, all but two of which were located in prominent downtown locales.¹⁵⁴ Greek newspapers publicized numerous stories on Raklios' success and celebrated his accomplishments. When Raklios married in 1915, the *Loxias* reported the following:

John Raklios, who owns fourteen restaurants and is one of the richest citizens of Chicago Greek parentage, yesterday married Marie Zyeal, who began to work for him as cook when he opened his first little lunch-room eight years ago and still remained his cook when he amassed about \$250,000.¹⁵⁵

While the most successful Greek businessmen acquired celebrity status, the community took pride in nearly every Greek establishment. Many owners created fancy signs and placards, while others proudly sent business cards to fam-

ily and friends in Greece. According to one story, Chicago's mail carriers were annoyed at packages arriving from Greece with bizarre addresses on them:

God knows what they [the carriers] think and say when they deliver some of the letters sent from Greece to Greeks in Chicago. Here is how they are addressed:

Mr. So and So

Café and Restaurant, Open all Night,

Fresh Meats and Pastry, Splendid Service

4 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois¹⁵⁶

Slowly, the support coming from home began to be replaced by the admonishment and encouragement of the Greek ethnic life in Chicago. As the Delta transformed itself to look more like home, the Greeks also began to mold themselves into a viable cultural community. Every issue that faced the Greek small businesses contributed to this metamorphosis, whether it consisted of scandal and dissension or praise and unity. In turn, each issue forced the Greeks to think and act as a community with shared values and goals. The Greek entrepreneurs formed the initial backbone for groups like the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association. As Greek small businesses in the Delta opened economic space for an emerging population, they simultaneously helped generate the social and cultural groundwork on which the community would thrive.

Epilogue

The Greeks' story of simultaneous business dispersion and centrality shares similar traits with the experiences of other ethnic groups. For example, in southern California ethnic Korean immigrants continue to open shops and stores dispersed throughout Los Angeles and Orange County. They have commandeered entire small business industries, as evidenced by their preference for hair and beauty salons and

hair manufacturing firms. Yet at the same time, southern California's rich Korean neighborhoods have been strengthened by an increase in small business ownership within these small ethnic zones.¹⁵⁷ For the Greeks of early Chicago, there was only one such zone, and it was the Delta.

While the story of Greek business in Chicago shares parallels with other historical and modern narratives, it also contains its own unique peculiarities. The other ethnic businesses of Chicago usually were the logical extension of an already established community with a strong cultural presence. Greek businesses served a much more important role. For Greek Chicagoans, small businesses embodied the very essence of Greek social life and culture. Instead of being the logical outgrowth of an ethnic community, Greek businesses themselves were the nucleus and driving force of the community.

Perhaps the most telling evidence of the importance of Greek businesses in forming Greektown came almost seventy years after the first Greek shops appeared on Halsted Street. The present day campus of the University of Illinois-Chicago stands on the site of the original Delta neighborhood. Built during the 1960s, the campus paved over the Greek neighborhood, seemingly to put an end to the historical Greek community. Nonetheless, a Greektown still exists within sight of the university and the original Delta. Anticipating their imminent displacement, many Greek business owners simply moved their establishments down the street, just a few blocks to the north and west. Today's revamped Greektown remains among the most prominent Greek districts in America. Over a century after the first Greek merchants appeared in the Delta, this concentration of Greek small businesses still epitomizes Greek culture in Chicago, and carries the flag of Chicago's ethnic Greek community.

NOTES

- ¹ Grace Abbott, "A Study of the Greeks in Chicago," *American Journal of Sociology* 15 (1909): 385.
- ² *The Return of Odysseus* in 1899 and Sophocles' *Ajax* in 1903. See the *Hull House Bulletin* XI (1903-1904): 18.
- ³ Graeco-Roman wrestling was a favorite Greek activity at the Hull House gymnasium.
- ⁴ *Hull House Bulletin* VII (1905-1906): 23.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ Kopan, "Greek Survival," 86. There have been historical cases made that Christopher Columbus himself was a Greek, a proposition especially popular within Greek communities. See Seraphim George Canoutas, *Christopher Columbus: A Greek Nobleman* (New York, 1943).
- ⁷ Melvin Hecker and Heike Fenton, *The Greeks in America, 1528-1977: A Chronology and Fact Book* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., 1978): 11. Hecker and Fenton probably obtained this figure from Seraphim George Canoutas' *Greek-American Guide* (New York, 1909).
- ⁸ 1900 Census data from Kopan, *Education*, 58.
- ⁹ Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven: Yale, 1911): 123.
- ¹⁰ For 1910 data, see *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Abstract of the Census* (Government Press, 1913): 644-646. For 1920, see *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Volume 3*, (Government Press, 1923): 274-276.
- ¹¹ Burgess, 236.
- ¹² Burgess, 123.
- ¹³ As will be seen, both Burgess and Fairchild did far better jobs in gauging the number of Greek businesses in Chicago, although discrepancies existed even in those numbers as well.
- ¹⁴ Charles Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success* (London, 1989): 21.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, 1964): 14.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ¹⁸ Abbott, 380.
- ¹⁹ Xenides, 40.
- ²⁰ Abbott, 384.
- ²¹ Moskos, 27.
- ²² Fairchild, 256.

- ²³ *Ibid.*, 250.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 258.
- ²⁵ Kopan, 58 lists Chicago's population at 2,185,283 in 1910 and 2,701,705 in 1920. Burgess, 12 estimates the population of Greece in 1913 at 2,500,000.
- ²⁶ William H. McNeill, *The Metamorphosis of Greece since World War II* (Chicago, 1978): 11.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.
- ²⁸ Sam Bass Warner, Jr. *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City* (Harper and Row, 1972): 107.
- ²⁹ *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Abstract of the Census*, 644-646. *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Volume 3*, 274-276.
- ³⁰ For a contemporary description of the Lincoln, Nebraska Greek neighborhood see Fairchild, 159.
- ³¹ *Saloniki*, May 1, 1915.
- ³² Seraphim George Canoutas, *Greek-American Guide* (1911): 391, translated by Burgess, 43.
- ³³ *Chicago Tribune*, February 15, 1897.
- ³⁴ Burgess, 44.
- ³⁵ *Saloniki*, May 25, 1918.
- ³⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, February 21, 1897.
- ³⁷ Abbott, 386.
- ³⁸ Burgess, 32.
- ³⁹ Kopan, *Education*, 94.
- ⁴⁰ See Leonard Dinnerstein, *Natives and Strangers* (Oxford 1996): 148.
- ⁴¹ Abbott, 388.
- ⁴² Donna Gabaccia, *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S., 1820-1990* (Indiana University Press, 1994): 56.
- ⁴³ Lawrence A. Lovell-Troy, "Clan Structure and Economic Activity" *Self-Help in Urban America* (Kennikat Press, 1980): 60-63.
- ⁴⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, April 7, 1895.
- ⁴⁵ February 15, 1897.
- ⁴⁶ *Loxias*, April 21, 1909.
- ⁴⁷ Edward Steiner, *On the Trail of the Immigrant* (New York, 1906): 285.
- ⁴⁸ Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration* (New York, 1912): 38.
- ⁴⁹ Abbott, 386.
- ⁵⁰ *Star*, April 1, 1904.
- ⁵¹ Saloutos, 266.
- ⁵² Fairchild, 171.
- ⁵³ Saloutos, 265.

- ⁵⁴ Fairchild, 171.
⁵⁵ Ibid.
⁵⁶ *Loxias*, October 9, 1909.
⁵⁷ *Loxias*, April 9, 1910.
⁵⁸ Burgess, 37.
⁵⁹ Kopan, *Education*, 80.
⁶⁰ Fairchild, 172.
⁶¹ Burgess, 126-127.
⁶² Saloutos, 79.
⁶³ Fairchild, 29.
⁶⁴ Saloutos, 77-79.
⁶⁵ *Star*, April 1, 1904.
⁶⁶ 5 June 1906.
⁶⁷ *Loxias*, March 7, 1918.
⁶⁸ Burgess, 35.
⁶⁹ Fairchild, 127.
⁷⁰ *Saloniki*, June 3, 1916.
⁷¹ June 5, 1915.
⁷² Louise Adamis, "Greek Immigrants in the United States", *Commonwealth Magazine*, reprinted in Hecker and Fenton, 91.
⁷³ Kopan, "Greek Survival," 103 footnote. Kopan hypothesizes that the treat was sold on Sundays as a response to the sabbatarianism of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, located north of Chicago in Evanston, IL.
⁷⁴ *Saloniki*, June 3, 1916.
⁷⁵ Saloutos, 261-262.
⁷⁶ Burgess, 35.
⁷⁷ *Saloniki*, May 29, 1915.
⁷⁸ *Star*, September 20, 1907.
⁷⁹ *Abstracts of the Reports of the Immigration Commission II* (61st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Document No. 747, 1911): 400.
⁸⁰ Saloutos, 259.
⁸¹ Burgess, 39.
⁸² Saloutos, 259.
⁸³ Fairchild, 173.
⁸⁴ For a complete description of the padrone system, see *Abstracts* or *Saloutos*, 46-58.
⁸⁵ *Abstracts*, 394.
⁸⁶ Fairchild, 127.
⁸⁷ *Saloniki*, August 9, 1913.
⁸⁸ Saloutos, 50.
⁸⁹ Fairchild, 173.

- ⁹⁰ *Abstracts*, 399.
⁹¹ Taken from Fairchild, 124.
⁹² *Saloniki*, November 6, 1915.
⁹³ Kopan, "Greek Survival," 86.
⁹⁴ *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Abstract of the Census*, 644-646. *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Volume 3*, 274-276.
⁹⁵ Specifically located on south Johnson Street.
⁹⁶ Kopan, 87. Although little evidence is available for these early quarrels, the Greek immigrants were always notorious for their dissension, a stigma that still exists today.
⁹⁷ Ibid., 90.
⁹⁸ Ibid.
⁹⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, February 15, 1897.
¹⁰⁰ See Map 1.
¹⁰¹ Although they varied in size, Chicago's wards were large areas. The entire city contained only 35 wards until later in the twentieth century.
¹⁰² *Chicago Tribune*, April 7, 1895.
¹⁰³ See *Hull-House maps and papers; a presentation of nationalities and wages in a congested district of Chicago, together with comments and essays on problems growing out of the social conditions* (New York: Crowell, 1895). The papers include fold out maps of the Hull House area, charting residents by nationality. One can clearly see the dispersion of Southern and Eastern European groups amidst Italian, Irish, German, and other immigrants.
¹⁰⁴ Seraphim George Canoutas, *Hodegos tou Metanastou en Amerike* (New York: Adolphia, 1909).
¹⁰⁵ Whether or not the Canoutas business directories are comprehensive, and it appears they are not, they offer a sample of Greek business types and locations. This is evident in the wide geographic spectrum of the businesses Canoutas listed. See Table 1.
¹⁰⁶ For example, the *Greek Directory* lists 635 confectioners, whereas *Hodegos* listed only 196.
¹⁰⁷ The question of determining a total number of Greek businesses was addressed in chapter one.
¹⁰⁸ This was especially true of the primarily "Greek-only" establishments in the area.
¹⁰⁹ Fairchild, 123.
¹¹⁰ Ibid., 123-124.
¹¹¹ Steiner, 290.
¹¹² *Saloniki*, August 8, 1914.
¹¹³ *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, November 6, 1927.

- ¹¹⁴ *Saloniki*, September 7, 1918.
¹¹⁵ *Saloutos*, 263.
¹¹⁶ *Saloniki*, November 28, 1914.
¹¹⁷ *Star*, April 22, 1904.
¹¹⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, April 7, 1895.
¹¹⁹ *Saloutos*, 261.
¹²⁰ *Loxias*, February 12, 1910.
¹²¹ Kopan, "Greek Survival," 102; *Saloutos*, 266.
¹²² *Star*, August 26, 1904, 1-2.
¹²³ *Ibid.*, 2.
¹²⁴ Kopan, "Greek Survival," 102.
¹²⁵ *Loxias*, May 21, 1910.
¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, April 25, 1910.
¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, October 25, 1910.
¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, January 27, 1912.
¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 3 December 1910.
¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 9 March 1912.
¹³¹ *Ibid.*
¹³² *Saloutos*, 144.
¹³³ *Ibid.*, 198.
¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 204.
¹³⁵ *Star*, 15 June 1906. Like most figures from the Greek newspapers, this number is almost certainly an exaggeration, as there were only approximately 5,000 native Greeks in the city at the time.
¹³⁶ *The Greek Star*, 10 January 1908, 1.
¹³⁷ *Loxias*, 7 March 1918.
¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 11 June 1910.
¹³⁹ *The Greek Star*, 25 September 1908.
¹⁴⁰ *Abstracts of the Reports of the Immigration Commission II*, (61st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Document No. 747, 1911): 394-395.
¹⁴¹ *The Greek Star*, 25 September 1908.
¹⁴² *Saloniki*, 13 May 1916.
¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 18 December 1915.
¹⁴⁴ *Saloutos*, 55.
¹⁴⁵ Abbott, 396.
¹⁴⁶ Burgess, 32.
¹⁴⁷ *The Greek Star*, April 30, 1909, 1.
¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.
¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁰ *Loxias*, May 20, 1909.
¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*
¹⁵² *Saloutos*, 271.

- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁴ *Greek Directory of Chicago and Vicinity* (Chicago, 1921).
¹⁵⁵ *Loxias*, September 1, 1915.
¹⁵⁶ *Star*, August 5, 1904.
¹⁵⁷ See specifically the work of Roger Waldinger, including *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies* (Sage Publications, 1990).