Social adjustment of the Greek immigrant to American culture in Great Falls

Anthony C. Ginalias

The University of Montana

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd
Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation
Ginalias, Anthony C., "Social adjustment of the Greek immigrant to American culture in Great Falls" (1960). Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers. 5398.
https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/5398

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.
THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE GREEK IMMIGRANT TO
AMERICAN CULTURE IN GREAT FALLS

by

Anthony C. Ginalias
B.A., College of Great Falls, 1948

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of

Master of Arts

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY
1960

Approved by:

[Signatures]
Chairman, Board of Examiners
Dean, Graduate School

Date
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Gordon Browder, who was most considerate and whose criticisms were constructive and most helpful. Many thanks also to Dr. Idris W. Evans and Dr. Limus Carleton, whose suggestions were very beneficial. I wish also to thank all those people of Great Falls who unhesitatingly answered my questions and without whose cooperation this paper would not have been possible.

Finally, I wish to thank my family, who sacrificed much, so that I might be able to complete this paper.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER | PAGE
---|---
I | 1
   A. Statement of the Problem
   B. Scope of Study
   C. Definitions
   D. Organization

II | 5
   THE GREEK IMMIGRANT COMES TO AMERICA
   A. Reasons for Immigrating
   B. Cultural Differentiation and Assimilation
   C. Occupations Found
   D. Early Education
   E. Greek Associations
   F. The Greek Church
   G. The Greek Press
   H. Summary

III | 33
   THE GREEK IMMIGRANT IN GREAT FALLS
   A. Employment
   B. Education
   C. Recreation and Social Activities
   D. Family and Social Status
   E. Housing and Residential Areas
   F. Lodges and Organizations
   G. The Greek Church
   H. Social Disorganization
   I. Greek-American Relations

IV | 62
   CONCLUSION

APPENDIX | 66

BIBLIOGRAPHY | 77
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Foreign-born Greeks (1910-1950)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Montana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Cascade County</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Great Falls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Total Immigration to the United States by Sex</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1901-1929)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Greeks admitted to the United States (1925-1948)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Emigration from the United States (1910-1924)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Greeks admitted to the United States (1910-1924)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Greek Immigration to the United States (1820-1950)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII All Major Businesses in Great Falls (1884-1892)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII Foreign-born Population, Montana, (1900-1950)</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX Foreign-born Population, Cascade County, (1900-1950)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X Foreign-born Population, Great Falls, (1900-1950)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI Interviews</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study of the Greek immigrant is not concerned with the conventional topics of employment, education, housing, crime, health and religion but is rather an attempt to treat the "Greek Immigrant" in his position in American society of which he is now a part. However, many of the above mentioned topics will be discussed in general to show the actual social adjustment or assimilation of the Greek immigrant in the social milieu of the city of Great Falls.

In this research, other factors of interest and importance were revealed, such as the attitude of the Greek immigrant in trying to adopt the new American culture and at the same time retain his own distinct culture.

This particular study purports to show how and why the Greek immigrant came to Montana, and to Great Falls in particular, and how the attitude and behavior patterns of his culture fitted into the American way - in short, how he struggled as a "new immigrant." The study's problem is to determine the attitudes of the non-Greek and the reciprocal behavior on the part of the Greek to win acceptance.

B. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study was made in Great Falls, Montana. The data collected and presented were obtained primarily by means of interviews. These interviews were conducted under varied conditions, e.g., in grocery stores,
restaurants, private homes, and at social functions. The method of inter-
view was a loose set of questions asked during friendly conversations. No
complex questionnaire was used. This technique proved very effective for
this study, as most informants were free to talk and give information
without the feeling of being questioned. The interviews were not limited
to any particular questions, and an attempt was made not to make the
questions directive. However, it was necessary to follow a general pattern
of interrogation to obtain certain basic facts.

Knowing many of the selected group from personal contacts, although
I am not a member of the religious or social groups, I was able to get
first hand information without making the informant overly conscious of his
particular culture.

In this study the Greek immigrant was considered in a general manner.
The line of interest was directed toward positive gains and negative losses
of the group. The immigrant's own conflicts, cooperation and frustration
were naturally included. The study will attempt to show the role played by
the Greek immigrant, the status achieved, and the attitudes of the majority
as well as the minority toward the present aspects of assimilation in Great
Falls.

Many books, pamphlets, and periodicals have been written on the
immigrant problem; some of these authoritative works are discussed in this
writing.

C. DEFINITION OF TERMS

A number of terms are used throughout this paper, and to make clear
the writer's meaning, an explanation follows:

**Assimilation**: Assimilation as used in this study will mean the process whereby groups with different cultures incorporate them into a common culture.\(^1\) It is a fusion of cultures.

**Culture**: Culture is a "composite of specific ways of thinking, feeling, and acting which differentiates one group from another."\(^2\) It comprises habits and capabilities acquired by the members of a society.

**Values**: As Robin M. Williams has pointed out, "Culture has been envisioned as the means devised by a group to meet its needs...values are involved. Values concern not only the needs themselves, or the ends of action, but also the selection of adequate means to achieve these ends."\(^3\)

**Ethnic**: The terms *ethnic group* and *minority group* are used interchangeably. The term *ethnic* denotes a feeling of belonging to a group because of racial or cultural similarities or both.\(^4\) Minority does not have a quantitative meaning; it has no reference of greater or lesser size. Rather, it has come to mean the underprivileged in relation to the opportunities of American life: "These were folks who suffer from social or political or economic discrimination by virtue of their identification...

---


\(^3\)Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, p. 376.

D. ORGANIZATION

This paper will attempt to demonstrate the attitude of the Greek immigrant in adapting to the American culture, by telling how and why the Greek immigrant came to America. It will attempt to explain his cultural differences, the occupations found, as well as how his early education influenced his behavior pattern in America. The paper will also show how the Greek-American associations, the Greek church and the Greek press in America influenced the Greek immigrant.

In Chapter III the problems of the Greek immigrant will be discussed from a personal contact with the Greeks in the city of Great Falls. Here will be shown the problems and adjustments the Greek immigrant made in his employment, education, recreation, and social activities, as well as his family life. The effects of the Greek church and the Greek associations in Great Falls with the Greeks on a national basis also will be compared.

Greek-American relations will be discussed, and in Chapter IV the assimilation of the Greek immigrant to American culture will be concluded.

---

5 Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life, p. 170.
CHAPTER II

THE GREEK IMMIGRANT COMES TO AMERICA

The first section of this chapter deals with reasons for the Greek immigration to America. This background of how and why the Greek came to migrate will provide a base for generalizations concerning an understanding of the problems of the Greek immigrant in America.

A. REASONS FOR MIGRATING

The Greeks call themselves Hellenes and their country Hellas. They belong to the Indo-European group of nations sometimes referred to as the Aryan group. History shows that the Greeks were seafaring, trading and colonizing people. This paper will not dwell upon Greek history, but will try to show why the Greek people came to America.

Professor Fairchild in Greek Immigration to the United States says the Greek came to America for money. "Stated succinctly, Greece has always been a splendid place to go away from to make a fortune."1 Although a great number of Greeks did come with the intent of making money and going back to the "old country," many also migrated because of political and religious persecution. They came to this country not only from Greece proper, but from Turkey, Egypt, and the Balkan nations as well. To these people freedom and security were goals.2

---

1Henry Pratt Fairchild, Greek Immigration to the United States, p. 9.
This work is primarily centered around the "new" immigrant, the immigrant who came after 1900. The Greeks were of late migration, as only 8,515 foreign-born Greeks lived in the United States in 1900. Before 1900, the Greeks migrated to the United States in small numbers. Some came after the Greek War of Independence against Turkey in 1821; these were brought to the United States by American volunteers who fought on the Greek side. Some were seamen who left their ships and the sea for a life on American soil. Another group already here was composed of the Greek cotton merchants whose firms were wiped out after the civil war in Greece. These constituted the Greek immigrants in the United States until the 1900's.  

According to Thomas Burgess, a student of the Greek problem of emigration, much of the emigration from Greece can be traced to a depression in 1891.

...brought about in part from the lack of diversified industry and the ever-shifting changes in the government, and brought to a crisis at the time by the failure of the all-important currant industry. With hard times at home, the Greek came because he could get more money in America; and when once started he kept coming.  

However desperate the economic status of a nation may be, its people do not leave in large numbers unless they hope to find greater opportunities elsewhere. As America appeared to offer economic relief, they came in great waves.

---

5Thomas Burgess, Greeks in America, p. 17.
Despite the fact that Greece, under the leadership of Eleftherios Venizelos in 1910, began to show internal improvement, a great number of Greek immigrants landed on American shores and continued coming until the peak period of 1920. The Emergency Quota Legislation of 1921 provided for a quota system based upon the United States census of 1910. Under this law, Greece was allowed to send 3,394 persons a year. Under the Immigration Act of 1924, based on the 1890 census, only 100 Greeks could come into the United States annually. Later, the National Origins Act, based upon the percentage of Greeks in proportion to the total population of the United States in 1920, fixed the number of Greeks allowed to enter the United States annually at 307.\(^7\)

Greeks who came to America prior to 1910 wrote letters to their friends and relatives in Greece telling of success in the land of plenty and encouraging those at home to come to America. Wages were high compared with those in Greece; food was plentiful and jobs could be had by all who wanted to work. In time American money became familiar in Greek towns and villages, and by 1910 one hundred and twenty million dollars was sent to Greece by Greek immigrants in America.\(^8\)

With the money sent from America many destitute families were able to afford luxuries which they never thought possible. They could build new homes and in general improve their social standing in Greece. Children

---


\(^7\)Sidney Kansas, *United States Immigration Exclusion and Deportation and Citizenship of the United States of America*, p. 53.

\(^8\)Carl Wittke, *We Who Build America*, p. 449.
were able to continue their education, and the Greek families who had sons or husbands in America were highly respected.

Frederick Haskins explains the reaction:

...and if your brother were to go to South America and send enough money back to his parents in a single year to buy a home, and with it a letter saying that other members of the family could do just as well, and that he had places for them all, wouldn't you want to go? Well, that's exactly what happens when the 'new' immigrant sends his money orders home.

In many cases a proud father and mother, when they received such letters, pass them from hand to hand and let all their neighbors see the great prosperity of their son, until the whole community knows of his success in America.9

Many other circumstances were responsible for the Greek's intense desire to come to America:

The Greek press...kept playing up stories about the enrichment of a formerly illiterate peasant, and fed its readers daily with the most fantastic exploits and success of immigrants.10

Occasionally a former Greek peasant returned to Greece with fancy clothes and generally a gold watch on a gold chain, and told of his exploits in America. He would tell of the many opportunities awaiting the ones who would go to seek them.

Steamship companies used propaganda methods to induce the immigrant to come to America, as the peasant was cheap cargo to carry and did not require luxuries.11 If the peasant did not stay in America, the companies could also count on his passage back. It became quite a lucrative business.

9Frederick J. Haskins, The Immigrant, p. 449.
10Brown and Rousek, op. cit., p. 341.
Also not to be forgotten was the American capitalist, who was in need of cheap, hard-working labor. He would use many methods to induce the immigrant to come to America.

In fact, had it been left to the initiative of the emigrants, the flow of immigration to America could scarcely have reached one-half its actual dimensions. Throughout our history these efforts have been inspired by one grand, effective motive...that of making profit upon the immigrants. The desire to get cheap labor, to take passenger fares, and to sell land have probably brought more immigrants than the hard conditions of Europe, Asia and Africa have sent.12

Some Greeks came to America because they wanted the adventure; they wanted to see for themselves what this land of plenty was like. Fairchild calls the Greek "a wanderer, adventurous, devoted to a seafaring life."13

After 1900, as the Greek immigrant became more noticeable on the American scene, his lack of knowledge of American customs, his odd dress, and his inability to speak English marked him as a "typical" Greek. The new immigrants first settled in the eastern states, especially New York and Massachusetts. They spread gradually to other states, and census reports show that the Greek immigrants are now greatly dispersed, located in almost every city or state in America.

A minority group, the Greeks constitute a small fraction of the population of the country. The Greek immigrant came to this country at a time when the United States was in the process of becoming a great world

12 John R. Commons, Races and Immigrants in America, pp. 107-8.
13 Fairchild, op. cit., p. 20.
power. His coming to America can be compared with that of the pioneer, but it was perhaps more troublesome for the Greek, because for the most part, he could not speak English.

Upon his arrival in the United States, the Greek immigrant usually had his destination picked out for him. Sometimes a friend or relative advanced his fare to America, but most often a representative or agent of a large railroad company or factory financed his way to America. The agent or his representative received the immigrant upon his disembarking and shipped him to a central office whence he was sent to an area to work. In the case of the railroad it was usually with the section crews. The Greek immigrant’s life on the railroad was not a happy one; he lived in boxcars, which were quite filthy, and he was perpetually moving from place to place. According to Peter Roberts, “the Greeks were the poorest paid immigrants in America,” but they worked hard and long to repay the trip over.

Although the Greeks were primarily men of the soil in Greece, they did not remain so when they came to America. One reason was their obligation to an individual or a company, but probably the greatest reason was the fact that they had very little money when they arrived and could not invest in property. Also, as mentioned by Fairchild, many came with the idea of making money and returning to Greece.

As previously stated, the Greeks were initially concentrated in

15 Ibid, p. 70.
New York, New England, and Illinois, but gradually they moved in every
direction across the United States. There are some 301 Greek communities
in the United States today, and there are very few communities in the
country without one or more Greek families.  

Census figures reveal that there were 101,264 Greeks in the United
States in 1910; 175,972 in 1920; 174,526 in 1930; and 163,252 in 1940.
These figures refer to persons born in Greece proper. In order to deter-
mine the actual number of Americans of Greek origin, one must consider the
fact that many Greek immigrants were born outside the political boundaries
of Greece. Many came from Turkey, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia, Egypt,
the Dodecanese Islands, and Cyprus. Making allowances for these, as well
as for those who came after 1940, and for some 300,000 born here of Greek
parents, one can safely say that the total number of Americans of Greek
origin in 1952 was over 600,000. 17

The census figures also reveal a lack of female immigrants before
the 1920-24 period. This perhaps could be attributed to the fact that
Greek women are devoted to home life and are under strict parental control.
In 1920, the Greek government issued a decree regarding the emigration of
Greek women, which stipulated that

The emigration of women and minors of the female sex over 16
years of age is not allowed unless accompanied by a husband,
father or mother, elder brother, uncle, son-in-law, brother-in-law,
or other near relation; or unless they are invited by such persons

17 Ibid., p. 242
or by their prospective husbands living in the country where
they wish to go, who will expressly guarantee their protection
by declaration made either before the local authorities and legal-
ized by the Greek counsel, or directly before the Greek consular
authorities.18

The Greek came to America looking for a job; he wanted to make
money so he could return to Greece. His main objective was work. If he
had a job waiting for him before he left Greece, he was usually heading for
a shoe-shine parlor, a railroad, or a lumber camp. When he had no job he
would stay in the cities and look for work. The work would have to be such
that it did not require skill or use of the English language; this was
usually in a mill, hotel or restaurant.

The reasons for the Greek's migration to America were unique in
that he did not plan to stay in America. This undoubtedly would have some
effect on his process of assimilation in American culture and his attitude
towards American cultural habits.

B. CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION AND ASSIMILATION

"...assimilation is an educational process."19

Park and Burgess have defined assimilation as a process of penetra-
tion and fusion in which persons and groups acquire memories, sentiments
and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experiences
and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.20

19 T. Earl Sullenger, "Problems of Ethnic Assimilation in Omaha," Social
20 Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science
of Society, p. 735.
Although it is usually the receiving group which erects barriers to acceptance, many times it may be the immigrant group. A study of the Greek immigrant reveals that the Greek was, to a certain extent, set apart from other groups in America. The Greek immigrant has tried to keep his own language (within his home and social group), religion and customs, and has maintained in unaltered simplicity many of the ways and manners of his countrymen. He has, to some extent, resisted cultural influences which have been impinging upon him from surrounding groups without lessening his social acceptance. In many cases he has stamped the offspring of intermarriage with his own culture and traditions. The manner in which the Greeks have retained many old forms and customs have made them a particularly significant group.

"The Greeks are a decidedly gregarious and clannish lot, and tend to herd together."21 As soon as a sufficient number of Greeks were located in some city or town in America, they would organize an orthodox community. This community includes all the Greeks in the locality. It elects officers (a president, vice-president, secretary, etc) and appoints various committees. Basically, the purpose of the organization is religious but it also is designed along social and fraternal lines.22 The prevalence of these communities and the general clannishness of the Greeks were not conducive to assimilation.

21 Fairchild, op. cit., p. 113.

22 Ibid., p. 120.

Also cited by J. P. Xenides, The Greeks in America, p. 73.
In the United States today the population includes peoples of all racial origins and many mixtures of races. The population is predominantly Caucasoid but is so assimilated into one group that for many whites it is not always possible to designate subracial composition. But in the early 1920's the "new" immigrants were noticeably different in appearance. The "old" immigrants included Irish, Germans, French, Scotch, Swedish, Dutch, and of course English, and their customs, habits and speech had become familiar. The "new" immigration, which included not only Greeks, but Italians, Poles, Jews, Portuguese, Russians and a varied assortment of Slavs, was markedly different from the older immigration. In addition, there were groups from the Near East which included Turks, Armenians, and Syrians.

The "new" immigrants differed in language, religion, and many cultural traits; the most significant contrasts were cultural rather than racial. The "new" immigrant had a difficult time making his adjustments to the dominant culture of the United States because of the sharp contrast with the people already in residence. "The prejudice against the immigrants was augmented by the changes in their character and the different conditions of adjustment."23

However, the reality and the significance of the difference has been greatly exaggerated. "The status of the new immigrant could not be lower than that of some of the old immigrants at the time of their first arrival, but comparisons made at a more recent date appear unfavorable to the new

immigrant." Thus, Xenides said in *The Greeks in America*,

Go halfway with the Greeks and they will go halfway with you. The Americanization of the Greeks, until recently, had been superficial, as they had come to the United States generally with the idea of making money and then returning to their native land. But there is no reason for despair, as the very names of Boston, New York, New England, etc., indicated that the early English in America were reluctant to separate themselves from their mother country.

A distinction of the Greek immigrants, in addition to their being mostly male, was that the majority were in the age group from 14 to 45 years of age, with about 10 per cent under 18 years of age. This is a large proportion of young immigrants when it is considered that the Greek immigration was not a family migration, but involved mostly males. The age and sex distribution would undoubtedly have an important effect on the Greek immigrant and his assimilation in this country.

Assimilation has not always been easy for any ethnic or minority group, but in the case of the Greek immigrant, according to Fairchild:

It is one thing to have foreign families coming here to cast in their lot with this nation permanently; it is quite another to have large groups of males coming over, either with the expectation of returning ultimately to their native land, or living in this country without family connections for an indefinite number of years. Such groups form an unnatural element in our population and alter the problem of assimilation very considerably.27

---

24 Taft, op. cit., p. 77.
25 Xenides, op. cit., p. 78.
26 Fairchild, op. cit., p. 113.
The proportion of Greek males to females was about seven to one in the period from 1901 to 1910 and remained unchanged until 1920-24. When male immigrants totaled 14,928 against 12,829 females. Generally speaking, the male immigrant was content with a bed in which to sleep, regardless of its location, food to eat, and something to keep his body warm. Although this was not always the case, usually the immigrant would end up in a room or share a room with someone of his own nationality. Generally such accommodations were located in low rent areas of the city, and the undesirable dwelling would classify the individual.

Xenides thus summarizes the family life of the Greek immigrant:

It is not far from the truth to say that 20 per cent of the Greeks in America have their families with them; the rest are either unmarried or have their families in the homeland. The number of families has been growing lately, both by marriage in the United States and married men bringing their families from Greece or Turkey. Men came alone for economic reasons, as sums of money insignificant in the United States were of great value and service on the other side. They worked in the United States and sent money home. 30

C. EMPLOYMENT

Generally speaking the Greek immigrant was not readily accepted. He was happy and appreciative of his opportunity in America, but was thinking of returning 'home' again. Occupational and residential mobility identified the Greek immigrant as a member of the upper-lower social class. He could not speak the English language; he worked on

---

29Xenides, op. cit., p. 76.
30 Ibid, p. 84.
jobs that Peter Roberts called parasitic, catering to the minor wants of Americans (for example, shoe shines, fruit stands, etc.); he lived in undesirable locations, and he saved his money. These tendencies did not make it easy for the Greek immigrant to become assimilated.

However, Brewton Berry gives a definition of assimilation that may add some light on just how difficult it was for the Greek to assimilate:

By assimilation we mean the process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture, not merely such items of the culture as dress, knives and forks, language, food, sports, and automobiles, which are relatively easy to appreciate and acquire, but also those less tangible items such as values, memories, sentiments, ideas and attitudes.

Assimilation refers thus to the fusion of cultural heritages, and must be distinguished from amalgamation, which denotes the biological mixture of originally distinct racial strains. It must be distinguished, too, from naturalization, a political concept denoting the act or process of admitting an alien to the status and privileges of a citizen. Americanization, of course, is simply a special case of assimilation, and refers to the process whereby a person of some foreign heritage acquires the customs, ideals and loyalties of American society, just as Europeanization, Russianization, and Germanization denote a similar process with respect to these cultures. These terms are related but are not interchangeable.

Considering this definition of assimilation, the Greek immigrant did acquire the values, the ideas and the attitudes, although it may not have appeared so on the surface. He did remain in America, even though he did not originally intend to do so. He became assimilated with the out-group, primarily through his employment.

The economic emancipation of the Greek immigrant is described by

---

Professor E. A. Ross, who writes:

Once his foot is on the first step, the saving and commercial minded Greek climbs. From curb to stand, from stand to store, from little store to big store, to the chain of stores, to branch stores in other cities. Such are the stages in his upward path. 33

Ross' statement also shows, concerning the occupational habits of the Greek immigrant, that the Greek businessman has dispersive tendencies. Thus the worker in a candy store or restaurant, when entering business for himself, seldom located his establishment in the environment where he had been employed. He would frequently locate in another city. 34

The Greek immigrant worked chiefly in the restaurant, the hotel business, flower trade, fur trade, theatre, tobacco shop and boot-black and hat-cleaning establishments. 35 Although many came to work in mills, factories and railroads, they usually ended up in a business of their own if and when the opportunity occurred. The Greek immigrant would work hard and render satisfactory service to the public; as a result, he could make money and advance his business.

Before delving further into the employment of the Greek immigrant, mention should be made of the so-called 'padrone' system employed by the Greeks in America. This method of employment is almost a system of slavery, introduced in this country by the Italians. 36 Padrone is an Italian word meaning boss or master. Established Italians in the United

34 Brown and Roucek, op. cit., p. 245
35 Xenides, op. cit., pp. 81-84.
36 Fairchild, op. cit., p. 274.
States apparently would make contacts with their countrymen who worked to come to America; they would find them employment and lodging and act as agents of the new immigrant. But the padrone would charge the newcomer well for his services and in many cases would subject the newcomer to various forms of extortion because of the newcomer's lack of knowledge of American ways.

Borrowing this system from the Italians, perhaps the best example of the padrone system was in the shoe shining industry among the Greeks in the United States. This business combined the necessary elements for the successful application of the system: small capital, cheap unskilled labor, and close supervision. The padrone, a Greek, would be one who had been in this country for some time and who knew the ways of the land. In this case he would be in the boot-blacking trade and able to secure help contracts for a number of boys from his native land to come to America to work for a certain length of time for a certain sum of money. The arrangements usually met with the parents' consent. When the youths arrived, they were furnished a room and immediately put to work shining shoes. They generally worked continuously with practically no time off, except for sleep.

The "boss" paid the boys about $200.00 a year and furnished the room and board. The rooms were generally crowded, poorly ventilated and wholly unhygienic. Meals were usually cooked on a hot plate in back of the shop. The boys were forbidden to go to night school, and with no knowledge of the English language, they could not talk with the patrons. The whole
system was designed to take advantage of the unenlightened, so that boys were discouraged from learning any American ways.\(^{37}\)

The phenomenal part of this system was that if a boy did learn English and acquire a little independence, instead of exposing the system, he would set up as a peddler himself.

The restaurant business attracted many of the Greek immigrants. Why and how the Greek became interested in the restaurant business is explained by the ease with which he could get employment. Such work as a bus boy or dish washer demanded little skill and very little English. The Greeks would generally start out as bus boys and then work up to waiters, to head waiters, and with a small amount of capital through savings and from tips would go out and buy a small restaurant. That was the general pattern.

In the *Greeks in America*, Xenides listed the ten leading Greek occupations as follows:

1. Restaurant owners
2. Waiters
3. Grocery store owners
4. Cigarette manufacturers
5. Shippers
6. Travel Agents
7. Bankers
8. Theater owners
9. Shoe-shine parlor operators
10. Coffee-House owners

He also listed the leading trades:

1. Barbers
2. Bakers
3. Carpenters
4. Printers
5. Tailors
6. Furriers

7. Shoe makers
8. Electricians
9. Machinists
10. Sponge divers and fishermen in California and Florida

The Greeks furnish an example of the virtual absorption of an occupation by an immigrant race: that of boot-blackening which the Greek has made his own, having driven out the Negro and the Italian by his better business methods. Small business enterprises seem to thrive under the Greeks. They are people who are willing to work long hours and utilize the service of children. The Greek will succeed where conditions encourage the efforts of the individual. They will sacrifice personal comforts and devote full time to their employment. The work of the Greek immigrant was generally satisfactory and he never seemed to complain about conditions of his work, nor did he outwardly complain about the country that enabled him to find this work.

Generally, the Greek immigrant fell into the line of work occupied by immigrants before him. It is perhaps natural that immigrants coming to this country, ignorant of the customs, would take up the business in which others of their own nationality have succeeded.

D. EARLY EDUCATION

History tells us that the Greeks have always cherished wisdom and

38 Xenides, op. cit., pp. 81-84
39 Annie Marion MacLean, Modern Immigration, p. 42.
40 Fairchild, op. cit., p. 165.
knowledge. Education had taken a high place with them throughout their history. The early Greek immigrant found very little time for education in America; however, inquiries reveal that some did attend night school when it was available, to learn to read and write English. Many who did not have the time or the desire to attend school learned to speak English simply by listening to conversations, and today some of the Greek immigrants cannot read or write English. They can generally read numbers and write their own name, which in some instances is sufficient for their type of employment and social life. The number of these illiterates is, however, small.

Several Greek immigrants have revealed that they feel they have missed opportunities because of their lack of education. So prevalent is this desire for learning that most of the family men expressed a desire to have their children go to college.

The more recent Greek immigrants feel that the English language and American schools come first; this is evidenced by the fact that the parochial school system has apparently not been favored by the church. However, a large, secularly-controlled school, the Greek-American Institute, was set up in 1911 in New York City with the support of various Greek societies and is still flourishing today.

Greek education is seldom administered to the American-born Greek today, just as American education was unavailable for the Greek immigrant. Several of the Greek-American social organizations, however, are attempting

---

41 Brown and Roucek, Our Racial and National Minorities, p. 351.
to promote education in Greek. This is an attempt to keep the Greek language active in America.

The lack of education of the Greek immigrant, as was mentioned, was a hindrance to his acceptance in American society. Many Greeks did not even have a complete education in Greece, as they came to America at an early age. Such were the boys who came over on the padrone system.

The Greeks seemed to be proud of their language, and many felt it was not necessary to learn English, as they would be returning to Greece in the future. There was a definite desire to retain their language because of their close association to a cultural tradition: "...the Greeks are more explicit and more defensive in the expression of their conflicting attitudes to the problems of duality of language."42

This attitude prevailed among the Greek immigrants. The Greek remained linguistically a Greek. Within the Greek family, the Greek group, and the Greek Coffee-House, he spoke only Greek. Only Greek was spoken in closed meetings of several of the Greek social and fraternal organizations and in the Greek Church. The Greek literally lived a dual life. His employment called for contact with English speaking groups, yet the life of the Greek immigrant consisted of moving back and forth between his close Greek relationships and the relationships of "outside" American contacts. As will be stressed later, this same dual existence is still evidenced to some extent today. Testimony from several Greek immigrants reveals, however, that they learned to speak English because they were ashamed to

speak Greek aloud in public. Thus pride, as well as necessity, explains the reason for many Greeks learning the English language.

E. GREEK ASSOCIATIONS

Greek immigrants organized into groups soon after they came to America. The groups set up can be classified into five types: (1) The mutual benefit societies, which were groups set up by immigrants from the same province, island or community in Greece. The main function of these groups has evolved into a general picnic in the summer and a dance in the winter, (2) Occupational organisations, (3) Recreational clubs, (4) Professional clubs, and (5) the Greek-American lodges. This last is perhaps the most influential type of Greek organization.43

Michael Anagnos organised the "National Union of Greeks" which later changed to the "Pan Hellenic Union."44 This was organised in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1904 and had eight thousand members in 1911. By 1912 the membership had grown to thirty thousand. The aims of the Union were:

1. To protect the immigrant and to help him in sickness and poverty.
2. To instill veneration and affection for the laws and institutions of the United States.
3. To teach the English and Greek languages to the children of the immigrants.

---

43 Brown and Rousek, op. cit., p. 351.
44 Annie E. S. Beard, Our Foreign Born Citizens, p. 16.
4. To preserve the ideals of the Greek Orthodox Church.

5. To secure the moral and material assistance of the Union towards the needs of Greece.

Perhaps the most influential and best known Greek fraternity is Ahepa, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, founded in Atlanta, Georgia, July 26, 1922.

The Order of Ahepa was originally organized as a national secret society by a small group of Greeks in Atlanta. Membership has never been limited to Greeks alone, and its meetings were conducted exclusively in the English language. Its main aims are to make the immigrant conscious of his noble heritage, and to help him adopt the American culture rapidly through contacts, naturalization, and other means. The goals of the Ahepa are:

A. To promote and encourage loyalty to the United States of America, allegiance to its constitution and traditions, obedience to the laws of the land, including the laws of the several states of the Union, and the ordinances of all legally constituted subdivisions thereof;

B. To instruct its members in the tenets and principles of democracy, in the methods and operation of political life in the United States, and to inspire the entire membership with a genuine reverence for the majesty of the law;

C. To instill in every one of its members a sincere love for the United States, its history and traditions, a due appreciation of the privilege of citizenship, and the sacred duties attendant therewith;

---

46Order of Ahepa, Yearbook, 1949.
D. To encourage its members always to be profoundly interested, and actively participating in the political, civil, social and commercial life of the United States, and to strive always for its betterment;

E. To promote throughout the world, especially in the United States of America, a better and more comprehensive understanding of the Hellenic peoples and nations; and to revive, cultivate, enrich, and marshal into service for humanity the noblest attributes and highest ideals of true Hellenism.47

Further aims of the organization are to promote:

**American** Loyalty to the United States of America, respect for its laws and attachment to its principles and traditions.

**Hellenic** Better understanding of the Greek people and the fostering of culture based on the noble attributes and the high ideals of Hellenic thought.

**Educational** Practical education particularly directed to the building up of manly character and conduct based on Christian and useful endeavor.

**Progressive** Progress in outlook, efficiency in procedure and an intelligent examination of life's manifold problems.

**Association** The benefits of association with a view to providing social contacts, closer relationships and an opportunity to develop friendships and cooperation.48

The organization spread throughout America rapidly. Today in America there are several lodges in almost all the larger cities. The city of Great Falls has an active lodge of 75 members comprising mostly Greek immigrants.49 The national organization boasts a membership of many

47Order of Ahepa, Constitution, 1937
48Ibid.
49Order of Ahepa, Secretary's Minutes, Great Falls Lodge #229
prominent Americans such as the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and President Dwight D. Eisenhower.  

Much of the success of the organization came about by the defeat of the Greek army and the extirpation of the Greek population in Asia Minor. The leaders of the organization say that the Greeks in America were completely demoralized and had accepted a defeatist attitude. Thus the effect on the Greek people was to make their newly founded home in America a place to stay. This hastened the process of Americanization considerably.  

A year after the founding of Ahepa in Atlanta, the Greek American Progressive Association, or GAP, was founded in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. This group also aimed at the perpetuation of Greek tradition by cultivating Greek letters and love for the Greek Orthodox religion. Membership is limited to Greeks, and the Greek language is spoken exclusively at the meetings.

The aim of the GAP as outlined in its constitution is as follows:

1. To promote and encourage among its members loyalty and allegiance to the constitution and laws of the United States;

2. To teach persons of Greek nationality in the United States the principles, ideals, and doctrines of American citizenship, and to urge its members to become citizens;

3. To promote better understanding between the American and Greek peoples;

4. To cultivate and preserve the Greek language and to strengthen the religious sentiments according to the doctrine of the Greek-Orthodox Church;

---

50 Order of Ahepa, Yearbook, 1959

5. To preserve and develop the Hellenic ideals and traditions;

6. To cooperate in benevolent and philanthropic work;

7. To inspire in its members high moral standards; to promote the spirit of good fellowship and altruism; to aid their families in case of need.52

Although the two organizations have nearly the same number of lodges, (Ahepa, 501, GAPA, 449), the GAPA has more members: 22,000 to 17,500.53 As far as could be determined, the GAPA was never organized in Montana, and no record of such an organization exists in Great Falls.54

It should be noted here that an informal organization symbolic of the Greeks and the Greek community, known as the "Coffee-House" was formed in Great Falls, however.

The immigrant communities in America have tried to bring out in the coffee-house what is intended to meet the tastes and habits of the Greek, Bulgarian and Turkish elements, which do not patronize the American saloon.55 The coffee-house usually is a large, well-lighted room, or rooms, furnished with small tables and plain chairs. It generally serves nothing more than Turkish coffee and Badava, a Greek pastry. Some have been known to serve tea and coffee, however, as well as soft drinks and ice cream.56

The coffee-house has always been the place where most Greeks have

52Greek-American Progressive Association, Constitution and By-Laws of the Men's Lodges.


54Greek Community of Great Falls, Records, 1918-1959.


56Ibid., p. 127.
gathered to read the Greek language paper, to joke, gossip, and play cards and dice. Church notices are available along with records of Greek school activities, and occasionally political handbills are posted on the walls. The gatherings are informal; anyone is invited and there is no promotion of the sale of coffee.⁵⁷

The coffee-house represents to the immigrant Greek an aspect of his ancestral society which is less changed from the original than any other part of the community, the family not excluded, and the Greek Church alone excepted. In the coffee-house the patron can be more completely the Greek personality than anywhere else in his new environment.⁵⁸

F. THE GREEK CHURCH

The great majority of Greeks belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. New York is the see of the Archbishop, who owes allegiance to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. The head of the Greek Church in America is the Most Reverend Archbishop Iakovos. The church seems unified but appears to have problems in obtaining enough qualified priests. The priests are generally trained at the Archdiocese Theological School of the Holy Cross at Brookline, Massachusetts.⁵⁹ The church doctrine follows closely the decrees of the Council of Nice. The veneration of the Virgin Mary is not predominant; its clergy marry; it accepts the Holy Trinity, but

⁵⁷ Warner and Sroka, op. cit., p. 261.
⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 263.
⁵⁹ Brown and Roucek, One America, p. 241.
the Holy Spirit is assumed to proceed from the Father only. There are no indulgences, no belief in purgatory, and the sacraments include Marriage, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, Ordination, Penance, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Infants are baptized by immersion; penance, confession and absolution are fundamental, and fasts quite numerous.

Many Greek Church holidays are held during the year, but Easter is perhaps the most important Church celebration of the year. The event is held on the eve of Easter Sunday. The services are very long and usually followed by celebrations in the home.

The Greek religion consists mainly of formalism. Many of the clergy and the great mass of the common people are not carefully instructed on the true nature of the teachings of Christ, and with the Greek there is very little connection between religion and everyday life. "Nevertheless, on account of the national character of the religion, the Greeks are loyal to it, and it forms an important part of the constitution of every Greek community." 61

G. GREEK PRESS

The Greek press has assumed an important role in the Americanization of the Greek immigrant. Most of the immigrants, as was noted earlier, could not speak, write or read English, but most of them could at least read Greek. The Greek press is considered by many writers as having had a 

---

60 Fairchild, op. cit., pp. 43-47

61 Ibid., p. 50
great influence upon the Greek immigrant.

The first Greek newspaper in the United States was *Neos Kosmos.* This was published for a few months in 1892 in Boston. Perhaps the two best known Greek newspapers in America are two dailies, *The Atlantis* (founded in 1894) and the *National Herald* (founded in 1915), both published in New York. Although the newspaper has been beneficial to the Greek immigrant, at times it has been considered injurious. While it has helped the Greek to understand American life better, it has, at the same time, informed them of news of political and economic events in Greece. The results would have been beneficial had an impartial policy been followed, but no Greek paper pursued such a policy, and the result was not always for the best interests. In many cases, the political battles of Greece were fought just as intensely in Greek-American communities as they were in Greece. The nature of the newspaper man who came from Greece was steeped in tradition of nationalism. Greek editors in America, being better informed on current events in Greece, often emphasized that tradition, thus neglecting activity in the new world to some extent.

Both the *Atlantis* and the *National Herald* are written in the Greek language; however, a weekly supplement in English is now found in both papers. This supplement is aimed at the young Greek-American, and many articles of interest to youth can be found there. The Greek is a devoted reader of the Greek paper, and as Fairchild has noted: "Along with his Church the Greek demands his newspaper."  

---

64 Fairchild, *op. cit.* p. 209.
The most widely circulated Greek magazine is called "Atlantis, Monthly Illustrated Magazine." The magazine may be compared with "Life" magazine in format. It has many pictures and several captions in English as well as in Greek, although the magazine is almost entirely written in Greek. Published in New York, it covers news articles both national and international and receives much of its coverage from community representatives not on the magazine's payroll.

II. SUMMARY

The introduction to this chapter presented the reasons for the Greek immigration to America. The other sections of the chapter contain data pertaining to the problems and adjustments of the Greek in America. Certain discriminatory behavior of the majority group was evidenced, but on the whole the Greek immigrant through his employment and social organizations did assimilate to the American culture. His education was his biggest drawback, but because of his desire to earn money, he accepted the American ways while still holding on to many of his own customs.

Based on these data, it seems apparent that members of this group would find similar situations in less densely populated areas such as Great Falls, Montana, in the early 1900's.

The following chapter presents data reflecting how the Greek immigrant came to a young section of our country, how the various groups received this new "element," and what difficulties were encountered. Great Falls was selected for this study because it is the headquarters for the Greek Community Church and has the largest Greek population of any city in Montana.
CHAPTER III

THE GREEK IMMIGRANT IN GREAT FALLS

Research on the Greek immigrant in Great Falls was conducted primarily through personal contact with the Greek people of the community. Church records were read, and personal visits and attendance at social functions gave the writer a fairly accurate account of Greek culture in the city of Great Falls.

Great Falls is the largest city in Montana, with a 1950 population of 39,214 people. In 1900 the total population was 14,930. The metropolitan population in 1950 was 45,721; while the January, 1958, estimate was 70,320 for the metropolitan area and 54,441 for the city limits. An estimated 60 per cent of the population are industrial workers, and 90 per cent are American-born.¹

The city of Great Falls, as the name indicates, is located near the Great Falls of the Missouri River. Because of its nearly central location, it serves as the trade-center for half of the state's population.

The Anaconda Company, with its electrolytic plant, zinc refinery, and rod and wire mills, is the largest industry in Great Falls. Other important industries in Great Falls include the flour mills, oil refineries, and the Great Northern and Milwaukee railroads. Great Falls also serves as the business center for a large agricultural area and Malmstrom Air Force Base, located two miles east, adds to the economy of the city.² Many new

¹Polk's Great Falls City Directory, R. L. Polk and Co., 1958, p. IX.
²Great Falls Chamber of Commerce, interview with Secretary.
industries have come to Great Falls since its beginning, but the city has remained quite stable and has not experienced a superficial or "boom" growth except for the 1890-1900 and 1910-1920 periods.

In the early 1900's Great Falls' main industry was the Anaconda Company smelter and the railroad. The local economy was dependent on these two industries, directly or indirectly, for its existence.

The growth of population in any city is partly determined by the expansion of the community's industrial potential. Industries developed in Great Falls and labor was easily supplied. Except for the railroads, there was no need to import cheap labor into Great Falls. Although the railroads were responsible for bringing most of the Greek immigrants into Montana and Great Falls, the Greeks did not, for the most part, threaten the employment competition, and as a result the Greek immigrants were not a drain on the economy of the city. The work the Greek immigrants were doing on the railroads was unskilled, hard work and not a desirable form of employment.

From 1900 to 1910, the largest foreign-born groups in Cascade County and Great Falls were the immigrants from Canada, Austria, Sweden, Germany, England and Norway, with the largest single group being the Canadians. This was the "foreign" element in Great Falls when the Greek immigrant arrived. There was no record of Greeks in Cascade County or Great Falls prior to 1900. Of the total foreign-born population of 8,216 in Cascade County in 1900, 571 were listed under "other countries" which

---

3U.S. Bureau of the Census Reports, 1900 and 1910.
may have included Greeks. Butte, Montana showed the largest foreign-born population in Montana at that time - 10,210.4

The Greek immigrant came to Montana in large numbers in the early 1900's. There were 1,905 foreign-born Greeks in Montana in 1910.5 Most of these immigrants came to Montana with the railroad and settled in the railroad centers of Missoula, Great Falls, Havre, Billings, Helena, Cut Bank, and Livingston. Many of the Greek immigrants, however, did not stay with the railroad in Montana. Usually they opened a small business themselves, such as fruit stands, grocery stores, restaurants, etc.

Brown and Roucek describe the Greek immigrant as "ambitious, adaptable, versatile, and most of all, thrifty. He set out for himself as soon as he had accumulated a small capital."6 This seemed to be the tendency of the Greek immigrant in Montana. He generally left the railroad after his obligations were met, and with what little capital he had saved, he went into other types of employment.

In Montana, as well as nationally, the Greek immigrant worked as a laborer. He came to America looking for a job. If he had one before he came to this country, he would be heading for a shoe-shine parlor, or a railroad or lumber camp. When he had no job, he would stay or go to the cities and look for work that did not require skill. This was usually in a mill or

---

4Ibid.
5Ibid.
6Brown and Roucek, Our Racial and National Minorities, p. 344.
a hotel or restaurant. In 1910 most of the Greek immigrants were located in the larger Montana cities. Great Falls had 69 Greek immigrants at that time. Presently Great Falls has the largest Greek population in Montana, approximately 250, of which 96 are foreign-born.

A. EMPLOYMENT

In 1910 there were no Greek families reported in Great Falls, and, according to the census reports mentioned earlier, there were 69 Greek immigrants, bachelors or men who left their families in Greece. Most of these men worked for the railroad and lived in box cars provided by the company or in cheap rooming houses or hotels in an undesirable section of the city. Like their fellow countrymen elsewhere in America, these Montana Greek immigrants were primarily interested in making money and eventually returning to their homeland. It was not too long after their arrival, however, that many of them left the railroad to work for themselves. By 1910 Greek immigrants owned a coffee-house, a confectionary and two restaurants in Great Falls. At the present time in that city there are several Greek-owned businesses, including two groceries, two restaurants, a soda fountain and confectionary store, a shoe shining and hat cleaning establishment, a theatre, a laundry and dry cleaning establishment and several rental development projects.

There were hardly any employment problems for the Greek immigrant

---

7 Ibid.
8 U.S. Bureau of Census Reports, 1910 and 1950.
9 Great Falls Chamber of Commerce, Report.
when he came to Montana, because he either already had a job with the railroad or went to work for himself. He was generally illiterate and as a result, did not seek other types of employment besides the railroad or a small type of business that did not involve a great deal of capital or experience. Generally speaking, the Greek immigrant did not present an employment problem in Great Falls.

In Stockett, Sand Coulee and Belt, just a short distance east of Great Falls, the discovery of coal attracted many immigrants to Cascade County, but no record of Greek immigrants in these areas is known. The largest immigrant groups to go to work in the coal mines were the Austrians and Italians.

At the same time of the arrival of the first Greek immigrants to Great Falls, several business establishments were in operation, and by 1890 the city had a population of 3,979. Among the established businesses, besides the Anaconda Company and the railroad, were milling companies, clothing, furniture, hardware and drug stores, banks, loan companies, newspapers, a brewery, and a meat company. Several other small businesses, including a flower shop and several saloons and cafes, were also in operation. ¹⁰

The first established Greek business in Great Falls was a confectionary operated by three Greeks in 1908. After this, several others established cafes, fruit stands, grocery stores and shoe shine parlors. ¹¹

¹⁰Great Falls Chamber of Commerce, Report and Interview, with Secretary
¹¹Information from interview with Greek immigrants.
Outside of the several self-owned businesses in Great Falls today, the Greek immigrant can be found mostly in railroad occupations, primarily in the sections and shops. Other Greek immigrants are employed as barbers, bakers, tailors or shoe shiners. Even today, most of the Greek immigrants have not attempted to seek employment other than in the trades with which they are familiar.

B. EDUCATION

On their arrival in Great Falls the Greeks had assorted problems, but most of them arose from the fact that they were illiterate and did not take too many pains to correct the situation. Usually a spokesman for the group would do all of the buying and make the necessary social contacts for the whole group. For example, "On the Great Northern Railroad the bosses mulcted each laborer a dollar a month for an interpreter." A Greek who knew a little English could get a Greek peddler arrested in order to get an interpreter's fee. This unethical practice occurred often among the Greek immigrants.

Poor laboring conditions still were not enough of an incentive for the majority to learn the English language, as the Greek immigrant would spend most of his leisure time with other Greek immigrants, usually in a coffee-house, and did not feel the need for knowledge of the English language.

---

13 Ibid., pp. 294-295.
The education of the Greek immigrant today is not much better than when he first came over. He can now speak English, but he has done very little for himself to obtain a general education. Several attend night school, but they are primarily interested in being able to speak better and to write a little. They do not generally attend school with the idea of getting a better job or of raising their social status.

Bernard C. Rosen stated that one of the important aspects of cultural orientation for an ethnic group is the aspiration for educational and occupational achievement.\textsuperscript{14} The Greek immigrant in the Great Falls community did not appear to be interested in advancing himself, so to speak, on an educational and occupational level, but interested only in making money and eventually returning to Greece.

Today the Greek is interested in educational facilities for his family, and it is interesting to note the large proportion of second generation Greeks who are attending schools of higher learning.

By the same token, many Greeks have managed to keep their language and culture alive by having their children attend a Greek school twice a week. The school is held after the public school dismisses and generally lasts for about one and one-half hours. The Greek priest is the teacher and such subjects as language, history, music and religion are taught.

C. RECREATION AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Visiting is perhaps the greatest form of recreation among the

Greek element of the Great Falls community. Greek immigrants enjoy going
to someone's home to spend the evening talking. The visits are frequent
and refreshments are always served. Many times Greek pastry or candy
will be served with either coffee or tea. Visits during the day are
usually made by the women, but in the evenings the men join them after
their visits to the coffee house or, as is the case in Great Falls now,
in one of the local Greek grocery stores. The evening is usually spent
in visiting, but on special occasions, such as Saints' days, these
occasions are more festive and include dancing, playing phonograph records,
singing, etc.

The Greek does not celebrate his birthday, but instead he cele-
brates his "name day" - the day of the saint after whom he is named.
Friends and relatives visit on these occasions and enjoy music and
dancing, playing indoor games and, of course, visiting. The more important
name days (approximately a dozen in number) are considered "holy days,"
and a Mass is celebrated. Women abstain from work as much as possible,
and a party with open house is held at all homes which have a member of
the family named after the particular saint, such as St. George. Then the
Greek families visit them, going from house to house until all the "Georges"
are visited. The playing of "Greek" phonograph records is part of the
festivities enjoyed by the immigrant. Home-made pastries and a liqueur are
served.

Another special day of celebration for the Greek people in Great Falls is Greek Independence Day, March 25. On this day a large social gathering is held in the church basement, which serves as the community recreation hall. Food prepared by the members of the church committee is served.

"The Greek is very loyal to the national appetite--black olives, brown bread and goat's cheese." On the occasion that I attended, roast lamb and a cold beverage were served in addition to the olives, bread, and cheese. Everyone ate and drank throughout the evening. The food was placed on large tables, and the servers were male workers of the church committee. Speeches were made by the president of the church committee and other local Greek community officials, and a blessing was presented by the Greek priest. Dancing to phonograph records followed the ceremony, and the native Greek dance was performed by almost all present. The dance is formed in a semi-circle with a leader and the followers holding hands. The leader and the person next to him hold a handkerchief which enables the leader to move more freely. Each leader had his own dance, and many gestures - such as touching the toes and jumping in the air - accompany the dance. The women leaders were more conservative in their leading. The followers did not go through all the actions of their leader but merely walked in step. No one knew if the dances were symbolic. Most of them said that they danced that way in their "part of the old country." Money, usually small coins, was thrown on the floor by friends of the leader, and

---

this money went into the church committee fund.

On August 15, the Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a Greek community picnic is held. This is an annual affair, and with the exception of Greek dancing, is no different from any other group picnic.

Easter is considered the "biggest" church holiday of the year; it is even more celebrated than Christmas. A midnight service is held in the church, after which families return home for a large dinner. A speciality for Easter is a doughnut-like cookie called "koolooria" and red-dyed Easter eggs. Despite the late hour, it is a family affair and the children are present.

Another festive occasion celebrated by the Great Falls Greeks is New Year's Day, called the "Basilopita." Bread with a coin in it is made and served on this occasion. They call the bread "St. Basil's bread," and the one who receives the piece with the coin in it is supposed to have good luck for the coming year. Each family brings the bread to a social gathering, when the usual evening of dancing, eating and visiting takes place. An admission is usually charged, with proceeds donated to the St. Basil Orphans' Academy in New York City.

A Greek wedding is also time for a great celebration. This is true even when the marriage is a mixed marriage, as long as it is held in the Greek church. The Greeks are strongly set against marrying anyone not of Greek descent, but once the mixed marriage has taken place, there is a reluctant acceptance of the act.17 Greek immigrants have come to tolerate

inter-marriage in Great Falls, although most of them still prefer an all-Greek marriage. The parents of the Greek boy or girl who marries a non-Greek do not approve of the relationship, but because of close family ties, and perhaps pride, the marriage is accepted. The Greek parents express disappointment and make every effort to have the non-Greek member learn many of the Greek customs, such as Greek cooking, active participation in social functions, and attendance at the services of the Greek Orthodox church.

The immigrant Greeks who have married non-Greeks in Great Falls are small in number, but a survey of the second generation Greeks showed that out of 28 marriages of Greek parentage in Great Falls from the period 1950 to 1958, 22 involved non-Greeks. Of this number of mixed marriages, 12 involved second generation Greek boys.

The number of mixed marriages by girls compared with that of boys does not indicate a strong Greek community pressure in Great Falls on the second generation female, as is the case on a national basis. The Greek parents in America have more control of the female member of the family in regard to marriage.

In Great Falls the second generation male and female frequently avoid Greek-Greek relations in social activities. Many claim that they participate in the social functions to satisfy their parents but prefer activities outside the Greek community.

---

18 Interview with parents of Greek-non-Greek marriages.
20 Information received from interview with a second generation group of Greeks, predominantly of marriageable age.
The often criticized "dowry system," which sapped all the romance out of marital relations in Greece,\(^1\) is not evident in Great Falls. The incentive of this system in Greece was to secure enough money and wealth for the girl to enable her to gain a desirable husband. Although many of the Greek girls of the second generation did have "hope" chests, no dowry was reason for marriage even in Greek-Greek marriages.

Nearly all of the immigrant Greeks married women from Greece and these marriages were secured by sending money to Greece to have the girls come to America, or, in some cases, the Greek immigrant would return to Greece and bring the bride back to Great Falls. In several instances where the immigrant sent for the bride, he did not know her, but was acquainted with her family.

D. FAMILY AND SOCIAL STATUS

The most significant result of this study of the Greek immigrant is the discovery of the lack of families in the early periods of migration. As mentioned earlier, Greek migration to the United States was mainly of the male population. Families began to come to Great Falls during the 1920-24 period. There is no evidence of a Greek colony in Great Falls in the early 1900's. Although most of the men lived in the same section of town, they either secured their own meals or procured them at a restaurant. No family life existed for the early Greek immigrant in Great Falls. After 1920, when Greek families arrived in numbers, most of the immigrants purchased homes, and today most of the married Greek immigrants in Great Falls

\(^{21}\)Rose, op. cit., p. 300.
own their own homes.

Socially the Greeks think of themselves as a unit. Many Greeks feel that the Greeks in Great Falls are "one big family," and when they are together they feel "more at home." The Greek social gatherings are informal (except for "name days" and other occasions) and spontaneous; a thorough mixing of the members of the group demonstrates the close ties of the Greek community. They do not resent non-Greeks at their gatherings or visits but do not take the "outsider" into consideration in their activities, as the conversations are mostly in Greek. The Greeks pride themselves on hospitality, and "no one leaves a Greek home without being treated to food, drink, or both."

The traditional patriarchal pattern of the Greek immigrant is altered when the father takes his place in the industrial economy of the American community. The children of the Greek immigrant are quick to adopt the habits of the American culture and as a result seek more freedom within the home. Also they are anxious to have spending money of their own and desire to seek "part-time" employment. However, the father still controls the purse and apportions amounts of money as needed. He generally makes most of the purchases, which include clothing, furniture, etc.

The Greek fathers place great emphasis upon their dignity and

---

22 Rose, op. cit., p. 300.
23 Interview with Greek family groups.
24 Rose, op. cit., p. 301.
authority, and the mother and children are subordinated.

The Greek women of Yankee city are the more ardent family church members. Yet, even within the church structure the Greek women have no status except through their husbands. Only men are recognized as church members, and the women sit in a reserved section of the church during services. The women's role is a passive one.\(^{26}\)

This was found to be true in the Great Falls community.

Domestic friction is never exposed, and the Greek family keeps its shortcomings within the group. In my visits in the Greek community of Great Falls, I noticed that even the discipline of the children was done in the privacy of the home, as no reprimanding of the children was apparent.

The majority of Greeks in Great Falls come from the northwest coast of the Peloponnesus, from the provincial town of Kalavryta. Other representatives are from all sections of Greece. Most of them came from the agricultural regions and mostly from families of modest means. This may be one of the reasons for the lack of class distinction among Greeks in Great Falls.

All the Greeks in Great Falls go to parties, dances and other festivities together. No one group is preferred to any other. Their general attitude seems to be that "a Greek is a Greek" regardless of his occupation or economic status. Few would admit to any distinction in status; \(^{27}\) it is clear there is no real class distinction. Some structural evidence of class is present in money matters, as in the Greek reference to the immigrant

\(^{26}\) William L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, p. 110.

\(^{27}\) Interview with Greek businessmen.
"big shot," but this is minimal. The word "big shot" was used loosely in conversation among the Greeks when the subject of money was discussed.

The lack of class distinction is evidenced in Greek organizational structure: the President of the Greek church committee is a grocery store employee; the President of the Ahepa is a railroad section foreman. Other Greek community leaders are generally of an average economic standing in the community.

The Greeks have a strong feeling concerning their home province, and anyone from the same province is called a "Patriotise," which is nearly the same to them as a relative. If a Greek bank president and a Greek laborer are both from the same province in Greece, they are equal. The bank president is not thought of as better or of a higher class than the laborer. This characteristic was evidenced prominently among the Greeks in Great Falls.

The Greeks in Great Falls cooperate closely with other Greeks within their own community, but testimony of one segment reveals that the Greeks are not generally active in larger American community activities.28

E. HOUSING AND RESIDENTIAL AREAS

An investigation of housing conditions in Great Falls, according to social or economic status, shows that Greek families were found to be located in all sections of the city. In interviews with several Great Falls real estate firms, and the Great Falls City-County Planning Office, it was

28 Interview with Greek businessman.
noted that with the exception of the Greek immigrant bachelor, there is no particular location for Greek families in Great Falls.  

The Greek immigrant bachelor, however, tended to locate in the business district close to his downtown employment and to the Greek-owned grocery stores and coffee house. This section in Great Falls is located near "skid row" in south downtown Great Falls, and bachelors of several nationalities and races linger in this section. Some Greek real estate holdings, other than their own residences, also may be observed in the less desirable locations. This was explained, however, by the fact that these locations were former business establishments owned by Greeks and kept for income property.

F. LODGES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The Great Falls Chapter #229, Order of Ahepa, is the largest fraternal social organization of the Montana Greeks. The Ahepa was organized in Great Falls in 1929 with 110 members. It is closely identified with the national organization. Its largest social function is a state convention once a year. The Ahepa has three active lodges in Montana in Great Falls, Butte and Missoula.

The conventions are held in the three cities on a rotating basis. In 1959 the 24th annual meeting was held in Butte. The convention is held in conjunction with the ladies' auxiliary organization, the Daughters of Penelope. There are no organized youth groups in Montana, although on the

---

29 Interview with Administrator of the Great Falls City-County Planning Office.

30 Order of Ahepa, Secretary Records and Minutes, 1929-59.
national level there are the Sons of Pericles and the Maids of Athens. These two groups were both active at one time in Great Falls, but because of lack of interest by youths of Greek descent, they became inactive.

Montana is located in the Rocky Mountain 18th District of the Order of Ahepa, and each year the state organization elects a district governor, lieutenant governor, secretary-treasurer and marshall. 31 Structurally, the clubs and organizations connected with the church are important to the Greek community. In Great Falls the members of the Ahepa are mostly members of the Greek Orthodox Church as well, and the two groups are closely related. However, this is not necessarily true in larger cities. The Ahepa is open to non-Greeks, but the Great Falls lodge does not show any members other than Greeks or Greek descendants on its membership rolls. 32

In addition to the Ahepa and the Daughters of Penelope, a society of Greek married women, called the Philoptocos, is active in Great Falls. The main function of this organization is to sponsor drives, bazaars and food sales as fund-raising devices. Its purpose is also to come to the aid of those in distress, although this function is not now necessary in Great Falls. Most of the families are self-supporting, and no Greek family is on the Cascade County Welfare list. 33

Several youth groups have been organized in Great Falls from time to

32 Order of Ahepa, Secretary membership roll, 1959.
33 Cascade County Public Welfare Office, Interview with Administrator.
time, but for lack of interest they never function for any period of time. The older Greeks in Great Falls, the immigrants, are close and unified, but the second generation will not accept the customs and traditions. As one Greek immigrant said, "I don't know what's the matter with the kids. They don't want anything Greek—in another 20 years there won't be a Greek church or an Ahepa in Great Falls." 34

Perhaps the most significant social organization in a Greek community is the Greek Coffee House. Greeks consider it a club "something like where the Elks and Eagles go. People go to talk, play cards, and drink coffee." 35 All the gossip can be heard there, and they go at least once a day just to see what is going on.

Although there is no coffee-house in Great Falls at the present time, (the last one closed in 1953), the writer visited one when it was in operation. On this visit the shop was filled. Everyone was absorbed in playing cards, visiting and drinking coffee. A newcomer could pass unobserved until he made himself known.

Despite the fact that many bars and saloons were located in the immediate vicinity of the coffee-house, no one was drinking any intoxicant. All present were Greek and talked and understood the language. Many loud and animated discussions were going on. Participants pounded the tables and even stamped on the floor. The entire atmosphere could be taken for a quarrel, yet it was explained that this aggressiveness is part of the Greek personality and that he naturally accompanies his words

34 Interview with Greek immigrant.

35 Interview with former Greek coffee house operator.
with gestures of the hands and feet.

The coffee-house itself was one large room with old fashioned, drug store type circular tables. Chairs were lined up along two walls and several of them were occupied. Some were sitting on these chairs visiting, others reading, and several just dozing.

The men at the tables were playing cards, and several groups were standing by each table watching the action. As the coffee-house is exclusively for the Greek male, many times a player would slam down his cards on the table with a curse. Profanity is common among the men, yet, typical of the group, when women are present the men are softspoken. The game they were playing was called "casino." No money or chips were on the tables. On several occasions, however, the loser would pay for the coffee of the other players.

The coffee is thick and very strong. It is served in a small cup, which seems to get lost in the grip of the drinker, and the coffee is sipped.

New Year's Eve is a big evening in a Greek coffee-house, and a gambling game called "barbutti" is played until the early hours on New Year's morning. The game is played with three dice, and the players gamble on making the best combinations of numbers. For example, three 6's is better than two 6's or three 5's. The best combination possible is 4, 5, 6.

In the rear of the shop was a glass candy show-case which contained several Greek sweets and pastries. In back of the show-case was a small stove with one burner and a sink for washing cups.
The proprietor of the coffee-house walked around and picked up empty cups, but never at any time during the evening did he try to persuade the customers to buy any pastry or coffee, and not many sales were made. The proprietor was friendly and served a cup of coffee "on the house." He explained that the cards were played just for a pastime and recreation, but that in the past there was frequent gambling. The writer was also informed that the Greek priest is a frequent visitor to the coffee-house.

G. THE GREEK CHURCH

The significance of the church to the structural unity of the community cannot be overemphasized. It holds its members together psychologically because it embodies the ethics and ideals they believe in, and brings them together structurally by its group ritual and social functions. It is the main unifying structure in the community.36

All the Greeks in Great Falls belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church of which New York is the see of the Archbishop.

As is the case nationally, the church in Great Falls has problems obtaining qualified priests. Many Greek priests come directly from Greece and are placed in parishes without knowledge of the English language.37 This is the case in Great Falls at the present time, and because of the lack of knowledge of the English language, the Greek priest in Great Falls has certain difficulties with his activities in the community. This is

36 Rose, op. cit., p. 303.
37 Brown and Roucek, One America, p. 241.
more a matter of inconvenience than of dis-association, but the members of
the church committee indicated that a recent trend is for the securing of
American-trained priests.

Burgess discusses the status of the Greek priest:

...he has no power as far as the written constitution goes.
Thus, we find a most anomalous condition in the Greek churches
in America. It works out something like the worst side of the
vestry system of the Episcopal Church parishes, without the
legal rights of the rector. The Greek priest is hired and often
fired by a parish committee composed usually of poorly
educated peasants....the poor priests sent out by the Holy
Synod in response to the cry for spiritual help, sometimes find
themselves as office boys at the mercy of their employers.\(^{38}\)

The governing body in the structure of the Greek church lies with
the Church committee.

The laity participate as an active force in all phases of
church life; through the Parish council they direct all the
not purely spiritual or liturgical affairs of the parish.
In various forms they participate in the supreme governing
bodies, both of the diocese and the whole church.\(^{39}\)

The church committee in Great Falls comprises men who are members
of the community and the church. They are elected by the male population
and widows of deceased members of the church. The church is governed by
this group and the priest is employed at a salary set by the committee.
Members of the Great Falls church committee state that at one time it was
easy to dismiss a Greek priest if the committee was not satisfied. Usually
a letter to the Archbishop from the committee asking permission to dismiss
a Greek priest produced results. The priest would be transferred and another

\(^{38}\) Thomas Burgess, *Greeks in America*, pp. 57-58.

\(^{39}\) Stefan Zankov, *The Eastern Orthodox Church*, translated by D. A.
Lowie, pp. 90-91.
sent to replace him. Now it is more difficult to dismiss a priest. The Archbishop will make a complete investigation of the situation before a decision is made.

Although the Greek tradition of democratic organizations prevents the priest from having any formal control of the church, he still maintains a high status in the Greek society and does have influence. The Greek church pays the priest a yearly salary and he supplements his income when he performs marriages, baptisms and funerals by voluntary contributions. Aside from this, the church committee regulates all other income. The main source of income is the monthly church dues, which each member is expected to pay once a year, as well as the weekly collections. This money goes into the Greek Church treasury. The priest’s salary and operating expenses are paid from this account.

The Greek priest has three main functions:

1. To relate the community to the national society’s sacred ideology.

2. To relate the community spiritually to the social structure of the nation through the church hierarchy.

3. To relate the community to the national society’s norms by keeping the members from deviating from these norms.

In Greek church services in Great Falls the members sit in separate sections, the women and children on one side of the church and the men on the other. The faithful stand, sit and kneel for long periods of time during the lengthy service. The services are highly symbolic and the spoken word and motions of the priest are closely observed. A complete

\[\text{Burgess, op. cit., p. 58.}\]
Sunday service begins with morning prayers. Few members of the congregation attend this service. The priest goes through the ceremony, and in "chanters' boxes" on both sides of the Holy Temple two elderly gentlemen chant responses to the priest. The priest is assisted on the altar by three young members of the parish, called "alter boys." The second part of the service begins when the choir starts singing the doxology. This part is known as the Holy Liturgy and is the most important part of the service. It is at this point that most of the faithful arrive at the church. On entering the church each member lights a candle at the entrance, crosses himself and takes a seat.

No congregation response is made other than the blessing of themselves at different intervals. The sign of the cross is made and each time it is made three times in a row. The entire ceremony, including the sermon, is in Greek.

Great Falls is the headquarters for the Greek church in Montana, which includes the entire state as well as Southern Alberta, Canada. The priest makes his headquarters in Great Falls, and periodically travels and performs services in the several larger Montana and Canadian communities.

The Greek Orthodox Church in Great Falls was organized in 1919 through the efforts of a few Greek immigrants who donated money to build a small wooden frame church. The money raised also went for the training of a priest. Members of the church committee, many of whom were the organizers of the church, claim that one of the members of the community in 1919 was fairly well educated in Greece, was sent east for training, and returned in a few months to become the first Greek priest in Great Falls.

The church was named Sts. Constantine and Helen. Although now
enlarged and remodeled, it is still in its original location. The committee says the largest contributor in the collection drive had the choice of naming the church. This is an established practice, and even in a major remodeling project, a large contributor may request a choice of naming the church. In the case of the Great Falls church, however, the name has been the same since it was first organized.

Most of the Greeks and Greek families in Great Falls are members of the church, and the collection of monthly dues is not a serious problem. Committee members noted, however, that second generation Greeks are not as faithful as the Greek immigrant. Membership dues to the church are paid by the family until the child gets married, but it generally follows that the second generation becomes careless in church attendance. This is not always the case, but there is a sufficient number of lapsed memberships in the Great Falls parish to substantiate the fact.

H. SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

In any group, regardless of its homogeneity, there is some evidence of disunity and disorganization within the group.

From every indication the Greeks form a true community from within, but the most common criticism against the Greek in Great Falls is his lack of community spirit in the larger American community. The Greeks are an endogamous group, and Greek immigrants who have married non-Greeks in Great Falls number only about twenty. As noted earlier, however, a significant number of mixed marriages have occurred among second generation Greeks. A majority of Greeks, especially in Great Falls, have now accepted mixed
marriages, but several feel that the Greek is lost when he marries a non-Greek. Of the 22 non-Greek marriages mentioned earlier, 10 were held in the Greek Orthodox Church. In a number of cases, the church ceremony was performed only to satisfy the parents, as many of the younger people are not faithful parishioners of the church.

Class, as mentioned, is not in evidence, but a certain amount of class distinction is inevitable. Although the Greek will not admit to class distinction in Great Falls, there are several families who would probably be called upper-class in American society. However, this fact is not noticeable in the Greek community itself. Conversations with the Greek people bear this out.

Generally speaking, the Greek community, despite their minor differences, are on the whole well-organized. As one Greek immigrant stated: "We Greeks stick pretty close together."

I. GREEK-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Carl Wittke says:

that there were significant and striking differences between the new arrivals and the old German, Irish, Scandinavian, and Anglo-Saxon stock is apparent to even the most casual observer. The newcomers from Southern and Eastern Europe represent peoples who were strikingly different in language, customs, political experiences and ideologies, and personal standards of living. Italian, Greek and Slavic tongues sounded strange to Americans whose ears had gradually become attuned to German or Scandinavian.

The newer immigrants arrived in great masculine hordes; they came not to stay and to acquire citizenship, but to save enough money to return as speedily as possible to the fatherland. As a result, they were less concerned with the American standards of living than earlier immigrants, who looked upon the United States as their permanent home; they were slower to join the labor movement; they were content for the time being to live in the
worst quarters of the industrial towns, and they took little interest at the outset in the political and economic questions which exercised their interests; they took less interest than those who had a permanent status in American society. 41

The Greek immigrant was no different; he did not plan on staying in this country. As a result he did little at first to help himself or the community.

Interviews with several non-Greek inhabitants who lived among the Greeks in Great Falls during the early 1900's revealed little prejudice. As was stated by one native, "they (the Greeks) stayed pretty much to themselves, and didn't bother us any." It seems that most groups in this period were closely knitted by nationality or religion, and the Greeks followed suit.

The Greek is known for paying his debts and meeting his obligations but is criticized for not being faithful to minor law and restrictions. The sanitation code in Great Falls is an example. Repeated violation of this code by the Greek in the restaurant or grocery store business occurred because of his habit of exploiting. The Greek was very quick to report any violation of the sanitation code by another Greek. A small fee was generally paid by health authorities to any person who reported such a violation. But basically, Greeks reported on each other for reasons of envy or selfishness.

The Great Falls Greek community has no paupers on report at the public welfare office. No families are listed as needy in Great Falls.

41 Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America*, pp. 405-6.
42 Interview with Great Falls resident.
Only two Greeks receive Old Age Assistance benefits. Of these two, one receives benefits because of blindness.

"Gambling—not intoxication—was the major vice, and although Greeks committed few major crimes, they acquired a bad reputation in some communities for trying to evade the law in minor matters," such as the sanitation code.

Two major crimes have been committed by the Greek immigrant in Great Falls, and both of these involved shootings. The events took place in 1913 and 1927, involving two brothers. The first event took place in a house of ill repute, where a Greek immigrant shot a Negro following an argument. The second shooting occurred during prohibition, and because the victim was a woman and the assailant a brother of the first offender, this event caused more resentment. Both offenders were found guilty. The first was fined; the second was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Since the majority of Greek immigrants were hard working people, and as several had established businesses in Great Falls, these affairs did not affect the attitude of the majority. The reciprocal behavior on the part of the Greek to win acceptance continued. It might be noted here, however, that several Greek immigrants attempted to gain membership into one of the leading social and fraternal organizations in Great Falls and were denied membership after the second shooting. This organization's prohibitive move, however, reflects only the attitude of members of that


44 "Major crimes committed in Great Falls and Cascade County," file reference: 1890-1959. (Great Falls Tribune).
time, since today several second generation Greeks belong to the order.

Aside from the Ahepa and their own social group, few immigrants belong to social or fraternal organizations in Great Falls. Many of those interviewed in the community of Great Falls said the Greeks were not civic-minded when they arrived, and even today they are not overly active in the affairs of the city.

The Greek immigrant in Great Falls did not threaten to any great extent the social or economic organization of the community, though, and as a result did not develop strained community relations.

In conversations with several of the second generation Greeks, the writer found no social non-acceptance, except perhaps in early school days when youthful expressions of different ethnic groups were voiced.

The second generation Greeks did not attend Greek social affairs that would interfere with the activities of the American school group, and felt they were definitely part of the American society. This attitude seemed to prevail throughout, and no discrimination is, or was, evidenced in the second and third generation Greeks in Great Falls.

In conclusion then, the Greek immigrant in Great Falls met the same problems the Greek immigrant did everywhere in America. He did not meet any resistance in obtaining employment, as he usually had a job before he came to Montana. His education was lacking, but because of his desires to make money, it did not affect his goal. He found very little discrimination in Great Falls, and although he lost his close family ties, he did remain organized in his Church and his social organizations.

In Great Falls as in the rest of America, the Greek was accepted
into the American culture and society but still has maintained many of his own distinctive characteristics.
J. P. Mahoffy has said:

Among the nations which stand out in the course of history as having done most to promote human knowledge, human art and human culture, the Greeks are first in the judgment of all competent observers.¹

Unfortunately this was not the opinion of the majority groups in America in regard to the Greek immigrant. As mentioned earlier, the Greek immigrant was earmarked as the man looking out for his own interests.

It is not easy to arrive at a conclusion about the assimilation of the Greek immigrant from the record in Great Falls. The early immigrant in the 1900-1910 period was primarily concerned with his employment and not necessarily interested in cultural integration. By the time he brought his family or began raising a family, he was still so accustomed to his own culture that he did nothing to further assimilation at the beginning.

Basically, the Greek immigrant was assimilated into Great Falls society for no apparent reason other than that expressed by Aaron Antonovsky:

it is also frequently argued that modern society is naught but a complex of subcultures and that, inasmuch as each of us is a member of a class, ethnic, religious, and possibly of other subcultures whose bounds rarely coincide, we are all marginal.²

¹Joseph B. Gittler, Social Thought Among the Early Greeks, p. 1.

It is noted as well in this study that the Greek immigrant was not always ready to accept the American culture. He has to a certain extent been able to accept the necessary cultural traits of the majority of the group, and by the same token has been able to retain many of his traits. The Greek community organization in itself is a good example of this characteristic. In this same vein, second generation Greeks have fallen and are falling away from the strong Greek traditions and customs of the past. Inter-marriages are of great significance and indicate that Greek community pressure is less effective on the immigrants' offspring.

In addition, young Greek women indicate a certain amount of frustration in trying to locate suitable mates among the Greek men in the community, as is the wish of their parents. Strong family ties of the second generation in childhood become weak as the second generation Greek becomes older. One or two have indicated that they are interested in the social and fraternal functions of the Greek community, but the majority have made the break and are not interested in the social life of the Greek community as such.

In conclusion, then, the Greek immigrant in Great Falls has in his own distinctive way won the necessary acceptance by the majority group, and has kept his own cultural heritage by not letting it interfere with the American society in Great Falls. He is a member of the American society first but still active in his own group.

The potential competition in the economic area, which is generally present, and a great motive for non-acceptance by a majority group, did not seem to play a part in the assimilation of the Greek immigrant. He accepted
employment not desired by other groups and for the most part became
successful in his pursuit. The amount of discrimination which all minority
groups inevitably receive was challenged by the pride of the Greek's own
culture and heritage.

He appears to this observer to be satisfied with his accomplishments
in America, although he wants his children to do better. He is not happy
about the apparent falling away of the second generation but feels perhaps
that his strong family ties may bring the latter back to Greek customs and
traditions.

The Greek immigrants were discriminated against; however there does
not appear to be any discrimination against this group in Great Falls today.

In the course of this study many other potential areas of research
concerning human relationship have become apparent to the writer. A number
of other cultural and national groups are present in Great Falls and would
make ideal studies in inter-group relations. Also, a sequel to this study
on the second generation Greek in Great Falls would make a worthwhile
project for further research for two reasons:

One, a sequel would examine more exactly the nature and degree of
parental influence on second generation Greeks; and, two, it might establish
more definite and precise proof as to the future cultural pattern of a group
still influenced by the traditions and customs of an immigrant element.
Which customs and traditions will second-generation Greeks still accept and
actually be influenced by them in the American scene? Which will they reject?
What of the American society's response to such influence?
These are questions which are of necessity posed in a considered sequel. Their answers are pertinent to the sociological study of minority groups.
TABLE I

FOREIGN-BORN GREEKS, 1910-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pop. of Montana</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Montana</th>
<th>Foreign-Born Greeks in Cascade County</th>
<th>Great Falls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>376,053</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,905</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>548,889</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,465</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>537,606</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>No listing</td>
<td>No listing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>559,456</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>591,456</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## TABLE II

**GREEK IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S. BY SEX, 1901-1929**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total Immigration</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Total Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
<td>56,658</td>
<td>49,319</td>
<td>7,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1914</td>
<td>40,130</td>
<td>31,644</td>
<td>8,486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1919</td>
<td>25,181</td>
<td>17,068</td>
<td>8,113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1924</td>
<td>27,757</td>
<td>14,928</td>
<td>12,829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1926</td>
<td>3,342</td>
<td>1,579</td>
<td>1,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>1,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>2,211</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>1,481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>2,223</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>1,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Years</td>
<td>159,632</td>
<td>116,807</td>
<td>42,825</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Census Reports, 1930.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Years 5,819

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Emigration</th>
<th>Emigration to Greece</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>202,436</td>
<td>8,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>295,666</td>
<td>9,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>333,262</td>
<td>11,461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>308,190</td>
<td>30,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>303,338</td>
<td>11,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>204,074</td>
<td>9,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>129,765</td>
<td>4,829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>66,277</td>
<td>2,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>94,585</td>
<td>2,986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>123,522</td>
<td>15,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>228,315</td>
<td>20,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>247,718</td>
<td>13,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>198,712</td>
<td>7,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>81,450</td>
<td>2,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>74,789</td>
<td>7,250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Years 2,892,099 157,295

### TABLE V

**GREEKS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, 1910-1924**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>From Greece</th>
<th>From Turkey in Europe</th>
<th>From Turkey in Asia</th>
<th>From British No. America</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>25,675</td>
<td>8,959</td>
<td>3,693</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>38,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>26,086</td>
<td>7,569</td>
<td>2,301</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>36,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>21,288</td>
<td>7,134</td>
<td>2,147</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>30,969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>22,437</td>
<td>9,374</td>
<td>5,192</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>37,949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>34,836</td>
<td>3,631</td>
<td>4,946</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>44,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>11,223</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>1,460</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>14,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>22,589</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>1,279</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>25,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>22,006</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>22,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1,784</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>1,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>10,893</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>3,396</td>
<td>15,113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>26,232</td>
<td>1,649</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>28,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>3,115</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>3,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3,057</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>3,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>4,001</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>4,578</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**All Years** 235,590  40,726  22,697  9,936  308,949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1820-1830</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831-1840</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-1850</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-1860</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-1870</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-1880</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1890</td>
<td>2,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1900</td>
<td>15,979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
<td>167,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1920</td>
<td>184,201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>51,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td>9,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1950</td>
<td>8,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>439,581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1950 annual report, United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.
### TABLE VII

**ALL MAJOR BUSINESSES IN GREAT FALLS 1884-1892**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Business Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Great Falls Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Great Falls Tribune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Murphy-Maclay Hardware Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Great Falls Townsite Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Albrechts' Furniture Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Great Falls Bottling Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>First National Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>J. E. Kenkel's Shoe Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Strain Brother Department Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>North Montana Abstract Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad (later Great Northern Railroad Company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Great Falls Leader (Newspaper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Great Falls Meat Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Great Falls Brewery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Great Falls Building and Loan Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Great Falls Iron Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Great Falls Ice and Fuel Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>The Hub Clothing Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Great Falls Transfer and Storage Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Kops Piano House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Swains Spring Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Krantz Flower Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Great Falls National Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Boston and Montana Consolidated Copper and Silver Mining Company (Later Anaconda Company - 1910)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Great Falls Chamber of Commerce, Business Report.*
### TABLE VIII

**FOREIGN BORN POPULATION OF MONTANA, 1900-1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Norway</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Austria</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>9,012</td>
<td>9,436</td>
<td>3,354</td>
<td>5,346</td>
<td>7,162</td>
<td>3,752</td>
<td>10,310</td>
<td>2,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>8,890</td>
<td>9,469</td>
<td>7,169</td>
<td>6,410</td>
<td>8,669</td>
<td>8,349</td>
<td>10,627</td>
<td>6,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>8,159</td>
<td>7,260</td>
<td>9,962</td>
<td>7,179</td>
<td>7,873</td>
<td>3,296</td>
<td>12,105</td>
<td>3,842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>13,795</td>
<td>13,795</td>
<td>20,395</td>
<td>10,571</td>
<td>24,222</td>
<td>9,549</td>
<td>16,010</td>
<td>5,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3,176</td>
<td>2,003</td>
<td>5,228</td>
<td>2,731</td>
<td>3,025</td>
<td>3,423</td>
<td>6,741</td>
<td>2,422</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MONTANA**

**FOREIGN BORN - ALL COUNTRIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>67,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>91,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>93,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>160,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>55,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>43,119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Census Reports, 1900 to 1950*
### TABLE IX

**FOREIGN BORN POPULATION OF CASCADE COUNTY, 1900-1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Norway</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Austria</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Finland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>1,055</td>
<td>1,533</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>569 (Italy)</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>1,712</td>
<td>1,048</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>455 (Italy)</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1,332</td>
<td>484 (Jugoslavia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td>1,075</td>
<td>2,048</td>
<td>810 (Czecho-slovakia)</td>
<td>1,716</td>
<td>594 (Jugoslavia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>246 (Italy)</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>254 (Czecho-slovakia)</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>285 (Jugoslavia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>221 (Italy)</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>190 (Scotland)</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>217 (Jugoslavia)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CASCADE COUNTY**

**FOREIGN BORN - ALL COUNTRIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>8,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>9,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>8,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>13,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>4,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>4,293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S., Bureau of Census Reports, 1900 to 1950.
### FOREIGN BORN POPULATION OF CITY OF GREAT FALLS 1900-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>319</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>363</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** U.S. Bureau of Census Reports, 1900-1950.
## TABLE XI

**INTERVIEWS**

| GREAT FALLS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, GREAT FALLS | Secretary |
| GREAT FALLS CITY-COUNTY PLANNING BOARD, GREAT FALLS | Administrator |
| CASCADE COUNTY PUBLIC WELFARE OFFICE, GREAT FALLS | Administrator |
| Case Worker |
| GREEK IMMIGRANTS (35 interviewed) | Businessmen |
| Laborers |
| Priest |
| Former Ahepa President |
| Secretary of Ahepa |
| Greek Immigrant Ladies |
| SECOND GENERATION GREEKS (25 interviewed) | College Students |
| Laborers |
| Businessmen |
| Young Married Couples |
| Mixed Marriages |
| Greek Marriages |
| High School Students |
| Teacher |
| GREAT FALLS COMMUNITY CITIZENS (18 interviewed) | Businessmen |
| Teachers |
| Lawyers |
| Judge |
| Laborers |
| Secretaries |
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Ahepa, Order of (Constitution),

Ahepa, Order of (Pamphlet),

Ahepa, Order of,
Secretary Records and Reports, Great Falls, Montana, 1929-59.

Ahepa, Order of (1949 yearbook)

Antonovsky, Aaron,

Beard, Annie E. S.,

Berry, Breston,

Bogardus, Emory S.,
Immigration and Race Attitudes, Boston, Heath and Company, 1928.

Brown, Francis James and Roucek, Joseph S.,

Brown, Francis James and Roucek, Joseph S.,

Burgess, Thomas,

Chamber of Commerce,
Reports, Great Falls, Montana, 1958.

Commons, John R.,
Corylos, P. L.,

Fairchild, Henry P.,
Greek Immigration to the United States, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1911.

Fairchild, Henry P.,

Greek-American Progressive Association,
Constitution and By-Laws of the Meho Lodges, Pittsburgh.

Great Falls Tribune,
Major crimes committed in Great Falls and Cascade County, Reference Files, Great Falls, Montana, 1890-1959.

Greek Community of Great Falls,
Records, meetings, constitution, Great Falls, Montana, 1918-1959.

Handlin, Oscar,

Haskin, Frederic J.,

Jenks, Jeremiah W., and Lauck, W. Jett,
The Immigration Problem, New York, Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1922.

Kansas, Sidney,

Lee, Dorothy,

Maclean, Annie M.,

Municipal Code of Great Falls,
Great Falls City Council, Sterling Codifiers, Weiser, Idaho, 1958.

Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W.,
Polk's Great Falls City Directory,

Pollack, Otto,

Roberts, Peter,

Rose, Arnold M.,

Rosen, Bernard G.,

Ross, Edward Alsworth,

Steiner, Edward A.,

Sullenger, T. Earl,

Taft, Donald R.,

U.S. Bureau of the Census,

U.S. Bureau of the Census,

U.S. Bureau of the Census,

U.S. Bureau of the Census,
U.S. Bureau of the Census,

U.S. Bureau of the Census,

Walter, Paul A. F., Jr.,

Warner, William L., and Lunt, Paul S.,

Warner, William L., and Srole, Leo,

Wilcox, Walter F. (Editor),
International Migrations. I (Statistics), New York, 1929.

Williams, Robin M., Jr.,

Woods, Frances Jerome,

Xenides, J. P.,
The Greeks in America, New York, George H. Doran Co., 1922.

Zandor, Stefan,
The Eastern Orthodox Church, translated by D. A. Lowrie, London, The Orthodox Christian Society, 1929.