

ETUDES HELLENIQUES

HELLENIC STUDIES

**LA DIASPORA GRECQUE
THE GREEK DIASPORA**

Edited by / Sous la direction de
Stephanos Constantinides

With associate editor / Avec la collaboration de
Thalia Tassou

Contributors / Contributions de
Jean Catsiapis

Stephanos Constantinides

Michael Damanakis

Dimitrios Filippou

Dionysia Kontoyiannis

Theodosia Michelakakis

Dimitrios Filippou

George Kanarakis

Alexander Kitroeff

Louiza Christodoulidou

Volume 23, No 2, Autumn / Automne 2015

2

The Transformation of the Greek American Press: The National Herald 1915-1939

Alexander Kitroeff *

RÉSUMÉ

La presse de langue grecque aux Etats-Unis dans la première moitié du XXe siècle, a été créée par plusieurs personnes ayant de fortes affiliations avec les deux grands mouvements politiques grecs, les vénizélistes libéraux et les pro-royalistes conservateurs. Bien qu'initialement créés en tant qu'organes de ces deux blocs idéologiques, les journaux ont peu à peu été adaptés aux réalités de leur environnement américain. En examinant la correspondance de Demetrios Callimaque, le légendaire rédacteur en chef du quotidien *Ethnikos Keryx*, de langue grecque, basé à New York, l'auteur de cet article examine comment ce journal a essayé de s'adapter à la situation grecque américaine tout en restant fidèle à ses racines idéologiques. Ce faisant, il révèle les façons dont un important journal américain grec a commencé la transition d'une réflexion sur la Grèce vers un miroir d'Amérique grecque.

ABSTRACT

The Greek language press in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century was established by several individuals with strong affiliations with the two major Greek political sides, the liberal venizelists and the conservative pro-royalists. Initially formed as the organs of those two ideological blocks, the newspapers gradually had to adapt to the realities of their American environment. By examining the correspondence of Demetrios Callimachos, the legendary editor-in-chief of the New York-based Greek language daily *Ethnikos Keryx* this article examines how that newspaper tried to adapt to the situation Greek American faced and also remain loyal to its ideological roots. In doing so it reveals the ways one important Greek American newspaper began transitioning from a reflection of Greece into a mirror of Greek America.

Introduction: The Greek American Press

When we study Greek American newspapers we have to take into account the

* Haverford College

role of certain key individuals whose work shaped the evolution of the press. Diaspora newspapers relied to some extent on support from the homeland, but the vagaries of production and distribution, let alone ensuring reliable content always made their existence much more precarious compared to the major newspapers in Athens or Thessaloniki. The same applies more generally to the ethnic press in America, and it would be difficult to provide a detailed list of the thousands of such newspapers that appeared and in many instances quickly disappeared across the United States during the twentieth century. Even now, when we can rely on electronic databases and search engines we are not quite sure exactly how many Greek language newspapers rolled off the presses in towns across America because there were so many. Those that survived did so largely not only because they appeared in the midst of large communities and had some significant capital investment, but also because of the efforts of their founders, owners or editors-in-chief who dedicated their lives to the noble cause of Greek American journalism. The major studies of the Greek American press, emphasize the role of that dedicated group of persons who carried Greek journalism on their sturdy shoulders.¹

In the pre-WWII era the individuals who played a leadership role in the Greek American press were caught up in the political rift between the Venizelists and the Royalists that divided Greek politics from 1915 to the late 1930s. The Greek press in the United States, and its leading figures, played an important role in promoting either the venizelist or the royalist cause. Indeed, the individuals who were so important for these ethnic newspapers were clearly identified with one of the two sides, with the exception of those involved in the few small workers' or left-wing newspapers. Solon Vlastos, a New York-based merchant who along with his brother Demetrios founded the *Atlantis* the first Greek language daily in the United States was an avowed and outspoken royalist. The *Atlantis* was so influential, that the venizelists established their own daily newspaper in New York, the *Ethnikos Keryx* (National Herald). Its first owner, Petros Tatanis, a businessman and Evripides "Ery" Kehaya a tobacco merchant and manufacturer who took over the paper in 1933 were both venizelists, as was the legendary Demetrios Callimachos who served as editor-in-chief under both owners. Persons committed to one of the two sides were also at the helm of the other pre-WWII Greek American newspapers. For example, Petros Lambros an ardent royalist was the owner of Chicago's *Hellenikos Astir* (Greek Star) and Alexander Pavellas, a venizelist was the co-founder of San Francisco's *Prometheus*.

Yet while most Greek newspapers in the pre-WWII United States were vehicles of either venizelist or pro-royalist ideology and politics, they were much more than that. First and foremost they were businesses, exposed to the vagaries of the price fluctuations in their industry and beholden to the economic status of their readers. They need to do what they could to survive economically. Secondly, whatever their political identification, they were links between the Greeks in America and their homeland and a mirror of their lives in their adopted country. And as I have argued elsewhere, the Greek press is more than a mirror-type record of the Greek experience in the United States, it shapes that experience by what it writes and what it says. There is a two-way interactive relationship between the ethnic press and the immigrant or diaspora community and sometimes homeland politics is deemed to be of outmost importance, but at other times the cultural ties to the homeland or the issues of assimilation and integration into American life take precedence.

This article explores the multiple functions of the Greek American press in America by examining the exchanges between the *Ethnikos Keryx*'s editor-in-chief Demetrios Callimachos with the two owners he served under, Tatanis and Kehaya. What emerges, are two main conclusions. The first is that the Greek press plays multiple roles even in periods of intense ideological divisions generated by the homeland, and secondly that "venizelism" abroad may initially appear as a reflection of venizelism in the homeland, but in fact it is mediated by the realities that shape the Greek experience in the United States. Yes, we can speak of venizelism and royalism among the Greeks of America, but it is to some extent a unique phenomenon. The Greeks in the United States, even in the pre-WWII period were not a simple extension of Greece, but an increasingly Americanized form of Greekness.

The Venizelist-Royalist National Schism at Home and in the Diaspora

The so-called national schism that broke out in 1915 divided Greek politics into supporters of the liberal politician Eleftherios Venizelos who was prime minister at the time, and the supporters of King Constantine I who was head of state. The two political leaders clashed over Greece's optimal policy in World War I. Venizelos, who was Anglophile and believed that entering the war on the side of the Anglo-French Entente, which he believed would be victorious, would

support Greece's territorial claims on lands controlled by the Ottoman Empire that were historically Greek and inhabited by a majority Greek ethnic population. In contrast, the Germanophile King believed Greece should remain neutral, something that would favor the Central Powers in the war and by extension be in Greece's best interests. Venizelos also prioritized Greece's regional interests and its ties with the ethnic Greeks of the Ottoman Empire, the King and the party that supported him, the Populists, favored a more circumspect Greek-oriented foreign policy. The King dismissed Venizelos but he managed to make a comeback in 1917 with the help of the Entente. In 1920, after the pro-royalist Populist party won the Greek general election Constantine returned as head of state but he lasted only until 1922 when he was forced to abdicate in the wake of the Asia Minor Disaster, Greece's traumatic defeat at the end of the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922. After several turbulent years Venizelos returned to power until 1932 when the Populists won the elections and soon after that restored the monarchy allowing Constantine's son, George II to ascend the throne. All this time the Venizelist-Royalist polarization continued as deep as ever often taking the form of violence and assassination attempts, of which Venizelos survived two. In August of 1936 General Ioannis Metaxas, who had dabbled in right wing policies, seized power with a coup and established a pro-royalist authoritarian and in many ways quasi-fascist regime that persecuted Venizelists and all who were further to the left than the liberals. We can say that the national schism ended only with the outbreak of WWII, giving way to a left versus right-wing polarization.

The national schism affected the Greek diaspora communities with almost the same visceral intensity with which it had ripped apart any chance of political consensus in the homeland. The two largest Greek diaspora communities at the time of the national schism were in Egypt and the United States. These groups were different in many ways even though both were affected by the venizelist-royalist rivalry. The Greeks had originally settled in Egypt back in the nineteenth century as a merchant community, benefitting from the privileges that Britain's control over that country ensured for its foreign residents. By the 1920s, the Greeks in Egypt had grown to about 150,000 led by a wealthy group of merchants who were involved in banking and the country's main source of income, the export of cotton. Around that mercantile elite there had formed a microcosm of Greek society made up of entrepreneurs, professionals, doctors and lawyers, small

businessmen and employees. The proximity of both Greece and Cyprus, which was under Ottoman rule, meant travel and settlement in Egypt was relatively easy. While the community was divided into supporters of Venizelos and the King and the Populists, as was the Greek press in Egypt, Venizelos' vision of both an Anglophile and an outwardly oriented Greece that wished to play a role in the Eastern Mediterranean was much more attractive to the Greeks in Egypt.²

The situation among the Greeks in the United States, where almost 400,000 had settled by the 1920s was quite different: the bulk of the community was made up of immigrants from rural Greece and there was only a very small educated elite made up of merchants and white collar professionals, although the number of immigrant employees and workers who were opening businesses increased rapidly. But what mattered above all was that a very large part of those who emigrated to the United States came from Southern Greece, the Peloponnese, which politically was a pro-royalist stronghold. This could have meant a preponderance of pro-royalists in the United States but Venizelos' pro-Western policies made him attractive to many Greeks in the United States, especially after both Greece under Venizelos and the United States entered WWI on the same side in 1917 within weeks of each other. With xenophobia rising throughout America, and a premium placed on displays of loyalty by foreign immigrants, Venizelism was the obvious choice for many Greek immigrants. So roughly speaking the community was divided almost down the middle.

The most dramatic example of the depth and resonance of the venizelist-royalist divide among the Greeks in the United States was the polarization it caused in the Greek Orthodox Church in America. The cause of this was the politicization of the Church of Greece when the national schism erupted. It openly sided with the King and Theocletos I, the Archbishop of Athens and All Greece held a public meeting in which he "anathematized" Venizelos whose effigy was burned – the "anathema" is a form of excommunication and requires the person to "repent" before being admitted back in the Church. The Greek Orthodox Church in America was under the jurisdiction of the Church of Greece and Theocletos naturally favored the appointment of clerics who shared his political views. When Venizelos returned to power in 1917 he replaced Theocletos with Meletios, an outspoken Venizelist prelate. When it was Meletios' turn to be dismissed following the pro-royalist victory in the 1920 elections he did not stay idle and went to the United States where he implemented a plan that had been discussed already for several

years. Establishing a centralized Greek Orthodox authority there to coordinate Church activities that had become random and beholden to local community organizations many of which ignored the jurisdiction that Greece was supposed to hold over Church affairs in America. Metaxakis, operating as somewhat of a self-proclaimed prelate in exile, went ahead and established the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in America. But pro-royalist clergy opposed an institution that was created by a Venizelist. There followed a decade of what was essentially a Venizelist-Royalist civil war in the Church in America, with many parishes splitting in two and the venizelists or the royalists leaving and forming their own Church. All this came to an end in 1930 when the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, which had already assumed jurisdiction over Greek Orthodoxy in the Americas, appointed a new Archbishop, and restructured the Church in such a way that most, though not all parishes, declared their allegiance to the Archdiocese. The venizelist-royalist rift in the United States went well beyond religious life, arguments, sometimes heated other times calmer, over homeland politics were always part of the life of the Greek immigrants.

Demetrios Callimachos, an Apostle of Venizelism

Demetrios Callimachos (1879-1963) became one of the most best known and prolific Greek American journalists. He was born in Madytos in Western Thrace the son of Panagiotis and Grammatiki Paximadas and was educated in Constantinople, Smyrna, and Athens where he obtained a degree in Theology. When he arrived in the United States at the age of 35 in 1914 he had already established a reputation as an outspoken supporter of Greece's "Great Idea", he had gained valuable journalistic experience as a contributor to the leading Athens daily newspaper *Akropolis* and as an editor of the Athens-based national journal *Hellenismos* of Neoklis Kazazis, a leading nationalist thinker in Greece in the early twentieth century. Callimachos had also lectured to several Greek communities in the Eastern Mediterranean including the large Greek communities in Egypt.

Callimachos was invited to the United States by the nationalist and pro-Venizelist organization *Panellinios Enosis* at a time when the Greek national interests were being discussed intensely among the growing numbers of Greeks in the United States. Soon after his arrival, he became editor of the Greek language daily *Ethnikos Keryx* and served in that post from 1915 to 1918 and from 1922

to 1944. In between 1918 and 1922 he served as the priest of a Greek Orthodox parish in Brooklyn, NY and he was one of the signatories of the charter that established the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in 1921. In 1925 he produced and wrote almost single-handedly a multi-paged book designed to commemorate the *Ethnikos Keryx's* first decade. He remained a strong and eloquent advocate of Venizelism through the 1930s, devoting hundreds of headlines to Venizelos, whom he interviewed several times. After 1944 he became editor in other Greek American publications but maintained a connection to the *Ethnikos Keryx* and was a principal spokesman for the cause of preserving the Greek language among the Greeks in the United States until his death in 1963.

Callimachos' personal papers were deposited at the Immigration Research Center at the University of Minnesota, which also possesses the papers of Theodore Saloutos who published the first comprehensive history of the Greeks in the United States in 1964. Saloutos had received Callimachos' help during his research. Callimachos' collection is significant, running to 20 linear feet and it includes biographical information, correspondence, writing and speeches, memorabilia and collected ephemera and photographs. A large part of the material and the correspondence refers to his work at the *Ethnikos Keryx*. The letters he exchanged with the newspaper's two owners, Petros Tatanis and Evripides Kehaya provide a unique insight into the workings of this major Greek American newspaper.

The *Ethnikos Kyrix's* Tatanis Era, 1915-1933

The *Ethnikos Keryx's* history during Petros Tatanis' ownership coincides with the most intensive phase of Venizelism in the United States. Tatanis was born in Amaliada in the Peloponnese in 1884 and arrived in New York in 1905 where he worked for the Caracanda Brothers company that imported coffee and other goods. Tatanis was active in the Panhellenic Union, the major Venizelist organization in the United States, so it did not take much persuading for him to become the owner of the *Ethnikos Keryx*. The newspaper's open support of Venizelos was evident from the beginning, the headline of the first issue, that appeared on April 2, 1915 was about an interview Venizelos had granted the newspaper. The very title of the newspaper and its fonts were based on the newspaper *Keryx* that Venizelos had published in his native island of Crete. A highlight of the *Ethnikos Keryx's* early years was when Venizelos visited its offices

in New York City in October 1921 when he made a trip to the United States. Ten thousand Greek Americans had welcomed him when the ship he was traveling on arrived at the port of New York.

The *Ethnikos Keryx* supported Venizelos consistently and strongly throughout Tatanis' years as owner, and he and Callimachos were the two main spokesmen of the liberal politician's vision of Greece. Day in day out newspaper's headline referred to Venizelos' latest initiative or statement or at least on some issue of Greek domestic or foreign policy. The inside pages included, of course, American news and considerable coverage of the life of Greek American communities all over the United States. But the prioritization of political news from Greece from a venizelist perspective was made abundantly clear.

Yet beneath the surface there was much more going on with the *Ethnikos Keryx*. As a way of balancing the newspaper's budget Tatanis was apparently reluctant to acquire a big staff or pay high salaries. This was the reason why Tatanis left the newspaper in 1918. He set out the reasons in a four-page letter to Tatanis dated January, 31 1918, complaining that the workload was too much, because he had to follow both Greek politics and Greek American community affairs as a journalist as well as supervise the production of the newspaper and spend time in meetings for the purpose of promoting the venizelist cause. The lack of a business manager, he added, was harming the newspaper, as was the uncritical acceptance of advertisements and other content despite Callimachos' objections.³

The 1920s witnessed a great deal of pressure aimed at Americanizing immigrants from Southeastern Europe, including Greece. Soon, the *Ethnikos Keryx* began to display a sense of urgency about preserving Greek identity. Even though the political news from Greece dominated its headlines, the newspaper was committed to supporting initiatives designed to increase the cultural cohesion of the Greek community. When, at long last, the Church of Greece sent a representative to the United States in order to resolve the venizelist-royalist divide among the clergy and parishes, Callimachos used his connections to Venizelos and wrote to the Greek prime-minister and emphasized the value of that initiative. Overcoming those differences, Callimachos wrote in 1929, was a matter of life and death as far as the future of the Greek community was concerned. A decade of pressures on the immigrants to assimilate and acquire U.S. citizenship had begun to bring about a reassessment of the newspaper's

priorities in the mind of its editor-in-chief.⁴ Gradually, the newspaper began promoting the idea that the Greeks in the United States should and could maintain their identity even though they had to acquire American citizenship.

In an important development that symbolized the gradual transformation of the newspaper, the *Ethnikos Keryx* endorsed Franklin Roosevelt in the U.S. presidential elections of 1932. Tatanis was chair of a Greek committee of 100 prominent individuals who were backing Roosevelt. Callimachos published an exchange of letters he had with Roosevelt, who solicited the support of European immigrants. In his own letter to Roosevelt, Callimachos described the Greeks as a people who had been reared in the values of democracy and liberalism, making the connections between venizelism and Roosevelt's policies.⁵

Arguably, the connection between Venizelos and Roosevelt that Callimachos skillfully constructed worked in favor of the newspaper at a time when the Great Depression was causing circulation difficulties. Both the *Ethnikos Keryx* and the *Atlantis* reached a combined circulation of 70,000 by the mid-1920s.⁶ By the mid-1930s that number had almost halved.

While the *Ethnikos Keryx* was becoming more and more focused on the issue of preserving Greek identity – while not abandoning its strong pro-venizelist stance - its owner Petros Tatanis began to experience economic problems following the Wall Street Crash of 1929. He was able to stay on as owner only for a few more years. In 1932 Greece experienced a financial crisis and Venizelos had to step down as prime-minister. A long era of venizelist rule in Greece was coming to an end. The following year Tatanis also had to step down, and he sold the newspaper to Evripides “Ery” Kehaya.

The Kehaya Era of the *Ethnikos Keryx*

Evripides “Ery” Kehaya's huge contribution to the *Ethnikos Keryx* and the Greek American community has been strangely overlooked although Saloutos briefly mentions him in his history of the Greeks in the United States noting his business and significant philanthropic activities.⁷ And yet, Kehaya an ardent venizelist and Roosevelt supporter, ushered a new era in the life of the newspaper, he professionalized its production and distribution. And most interestingly, he oversaw a turn away from the old partisan and polemical tone the newspaper had adopted, a move geared to respond to pressure from its readers.

Kehaya was born in 1885 in present day Ordu, Turkey, a town on the Black Sea coast in a tobacco-growing region with a large ethnically Greek population – the town was known as Kotyora in Greek and was part of the Ottoman Empire. Kehaya left in 1910, only a few years before the Greeks were forcibly expelled during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of Modern Turkey. The biographical information about him available on the website in association with the history of a tobacco company he would go on to establish in the United States makes interesting reading: “Although Kehaya was groomed for a role in the church, and educated by his uncle, an archbishop in a Macedonian diocese, the young man’s interests soon lead him in other directions. After traveling extensively and studying at the Sorbonne in Paris, Kehaya arrived in the United States and became a U.S. citizen. He initially found work as a waiter in a Greek-Turkish restaurant in New York City. However, the industrious young man had greater aspirations. In New York at the time, several small factories had been established at which cigarettes were rolled by hand using imported tobaccos. Several tobacco importers frequented the restaurant at which Kehaya worked, and, having become acquainted with some of them, Kehaya was prevailed upon to help sell one importer’s tobacco stock to the factories. Kehaya accepted the offer and received a commission for his sales. With the money he earned, he decided to leave the restaurant and get into the tobacco business himself. The few thousand dollars Kehaya had earned by 1912 became the start-up capital for his new enterprise: Standard Commercial Tobacco Company. Garnering a solid reputation for the good quality of its imported Oriental tobacco, the company saw steadily increasing sales and was incorporated in Delaware in 1916. That year, as a testament to Kehaya’s business acumen, Standard Commercial entered into a contract to provide Oriental leaf tobacco to R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. When offered a commission on the purchases, Kehaya said that he would prefer to be paid with interest in Reynolds, a company he believed offered tremendous opportunity for growth. He was right; his original shares in Reynolds would over the next ten years be worth about \$5 million.”⁸

As an ethnic Greek from the Ottoman Empire, and a businessman, Kehaya was naturally drawn to Venizelos’ policies that emphasized modernization and a broad regional presence of Greece in the Eastern Mediterranean. He also saw the need for the Greeks to demonstrate their support for the Allies in WWI, and he served

as Chair of the Committee formed by the U.S. Treasury Department to raise money for the “Fourth Liberty Loan” through the purchase of government bonds to help the war effort. Thus it is not at all surprising to see Kehaya “bailing out” Tatanis and buying the newspaper – and keeping Tatanis on the staff.

One of the first things Kehaya did as soon as he took over the *Ethnikos Keryx* was to write to Venizelos in September 1933 and invite him to become a regular contributor to the newspaper and also to consider giving the newspaper the rights to his memoirs. Kehaya was certain that an English version could be turned into a syndicated column and that the entire memoir would definitely be of interest to an American publisher. He ended the letter by asking Venizelos for his thoughts and his terms for both those projects and assured him of the continuing loyalty of the newspaper to his person and his ideas.⁹ The same day Callimachos wrote to Venizelos by way of introducing Kehaya and endorsing both his devotion to venizelism and his business acumen. The editor-in-chief acknowledged that both the idea of a syndicated column and the publication of memoirs came from an American business perspective but agreed with Kehaya that it would promote venizelism in the United States.¹⁰ Though Venizelos’ full response is not known, he did contribute at least one article, a long review of Greek political events of 1933 that warned of a renewal of the intensity of the country’s “national schism” that appeared in December of that year.

Upon taking over, Kehaya had to confront more mundane issues, such as the internal organization of the *Ethnikos Keryx*, its distribution and of course its viability as a business. Demetrios Christophorides, one of the newspaper’s prominent journalists submitted a seven-part set of recommendations for the restructuring of the newspaper’s editorial management. Although Christophorides was a left-leaning liberal who would eventually leave in order to write for pro-communist newspapers, his recommendations were in no way colored ideologically, in fact they read as a model for the rationalization of the newspaper’s work. Division of labor, accountability including personal responsibility, editorial support, coordination, were the main points Christophorides was making “in order to prevent unfortunate errors and blunders... which would eventually undermine the moral and ultimately the financial existence of the enterprise.”¹¹ Kehaya adopted several of Christophorides’ proposals over the next few months.

A year into his ownership, and working hard to increase the numbers of subscribers, Kehaya wrote to Vasilios Chebithes, the president of a major Greek American organization, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA), to solicit his continued help. Chebithes had already found a number of new subscribers to the newspapers and now he was traveling to the West Coast, a wonderful opportunity according to Kehaya, who in encouraging him, portrayed the *Ethnikos Keryx*'s many strengths by omitting its venizelist standpoint. "You are not selling hot air" he said, "you are selling good news from the old country, good news about the Greeks residing in this country, the goings on in the AHEPA, commercial and financial news, as well as good stories that relax the minds of the readers" adding "we also have comic strips in English for the children."¹² This was obviously a description of a newspaper that hoped to attract the broadest possible Greek American readership.

Four years later, Kehaya was still fighting to ensure the viability of the *Ethnikos Keryx* but he was doing so without wanting to compromise the newspaper's liberal traditions. A lot had happened in the five years since he took over the newspaper in 1933. The Great Depression had deeply affected the Greek American community which had witnessed hardships, loss of businesses, unemployment and this naturally had an adverse effect on the efforts of the newspaper to increase its circulation and on its ability to gain income through advertising. In Greece there had been major political changes. Out of power, Venizelos had orchestrated a military coup against the Populist government; it failed bringing his political career to an inglorious end. He died in early 1936 in exile in Paris. In August 1936, Ioannis Metaxas established the quasi fascist "4th of August" dictatorship, persecuting venizelists, liberals, socialists and communists. The *Ethnikos Keryx* was critical of the regime in Athens though in a guarded way. A letter Christophorides sent Callimachos complaining about the newspaper's policy suggests that Callimachos believed Metaxas' anti-communist rhetoric that Greece was facing the pseudo-dilemma of dictatorship or communism. Kehaya was also concerned with Callimachos' editorial direction, and wrote to him twice, in late 1937 and 1938. He told Callimachos the newspaper was losing \$1,000 a month and needed drastic improvements in terms of appearance, format and the content, but, he added significantly, those changes should not be made at the expense of maintaining the *Ethnikos Keryx*'s liberal perspective.¹³

A few weeks after he received the second letter Callimachos tendered his resignation, which Kehaya accepted. Callimachos' archive contains no information about the newspaper's life after he left, all we know is that Kehaya held on for another year. Then, he sold the newspaper to a Chicago lawyer Paul Demos who almost immediately then passed it on to Professor Basil Vlavianos who remained at the helm of the *Ethnikos Keryx* from 1940 through 1947. Vlavianos preserved the newspaper's liberal point of view he inherited from Kehaya. Indeed he went further adopting a sympathetic attitude towards the left-wing EAM/ELAS organizations that fought against Greece's Axis occupiers.

Conclusions

This somewhat fragmentary evidence, mostly the letters about the *Ethnikos Keryx* that exist in the Callimachos archive, along with the contents of the newspaper itself, provide a picture of the complexities associated with leading a diaspora Greek newspaper at a time of intense ideological polarization in the homeland but also important developments affecting the Greek community in the host country, in this case the pressures of assimilation and the effects of the Great Depression. The *Ethnikos Keryx* started off in many ways as a typical diaspora newspaper, an extension of the homeland abroad. Specifically it was designed as a reflection of the venizelist movement and addressed to the Greeks in the United States. But as a New York-based publication, and one that sought readers throughout the United States the *Ethnikos Keryx* was quickly drawn into the particular dynamics of the Greek presence in that country. As the initial capital put up by Tatanis gradually diminished, the newspaper was forced to modernize in order to be able to make a profit and survive. Weakened circulation and advertising in the 1930s posed a grave danger to the existence of the *Ethnikos Keryx* but thanks to the discipline Kehaya introduced into the production process, the newspaper survived until it was able to revive thanks to the new conditions following the outbreak of World War II. By the time Kehaya handed over the reigns the *Ethnikos Keryx* showed signs of both change and continuity. It had modernized its production and had become more oriented towards American as well as Greek politics. Kehaya had even momentarily considered introducing an English-language section but did not when he saw another Greek American newspaper that did so, the *Neon Vima* was unable to survive the difficult decade of the 1930s. But there was also continuity. The

Ethnikos Keryx retained its liberalism, a legacy of its venizelist roots in an era when Rooseveltian liberalism enjoyed a hegemony in the United States.

NOTES

1. Andrew T. Kopan “The Greek Press” in Sally M. Miller ed. *The Ethnic Press in the United States* New York: Greenwood Press, 1987 pp. 161-176; Victor S. Papacosma “The Greek Press in America” in *The Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 5/4 1979 pp. 45-61; Alexandros Kitroef “O Typos os Pigi gia tin Istoría ton Ellinon stis EPA” [The Press as a Source for the History of the Greeks in the USA] in Loukia Droulia ed. *O Ellinikos Typos 1784 eos Simera: Istorikes kai Theoretikes Prosegiseis* [The Greek Press 1784 to Today: Historical and Theoretical Approaches] INE/EIE Athens, 2005 pp. 371-379.
2. Alexander Kitroeff “O Venizelismos stin Egypto” Venizelist Republicanism among the Greeks in Egypt] in Th. Veremis & G. Goulimi eds *Elefthérios Venizelos: Koinotita, Oikonomia kai Politiki stin Epohi tou* [Eleftherios Venizelos: Community, Economy and Politics in his Era] Athens: Gnosi, 1989 125-142.
3. Letter, Callimachos to Tatanis, Jan. 31, 1918 Callimachos Papers IHRC, Box 1 ff 5.
4. Letter, Callimachos to Venizelos Feb. 21, 1929, Callimachos Papers IHRC, Box 1 ff 6.
5. *Ethnikos Keryx* Nov. 7, 1932.
6. Andrew T. Kopan “The Greek Press” in Sally M. Miller ed. *The Ethnic Press in the United States* New York: Greenwood Press, 1987 p. 64.
7. Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964 p. 273.
8. <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/standard-commercial-corporation-history/>
9. Letter, Kehaya to Venizelos, Sept. 8, 1933, Eleftherios Venizelos Digital Archive.
10. Letter, Callimachos to Venizelos, Sept. 8, 1933, Eleftherios Venizelos Digital Archive.
11. Letter, Christophorides to Kehaya July 16, 1933, Callimachos Papers IHRC, Box 13 ff 12.
12. Letter, Kehaya to Chebithes, July, 18, 1934 Callimachos Papers IHRC, Box 13 ff 12.
13. Letter, Kehaya to Callimachos.