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GREEK-AMERICAN PROFESSIONALS : 1820's-1970's*

That occupations and professions occupy a strategic position in contemporary societies is well documented. They are among the main mediators between the individual and society. In a significant way, they enable us to understand the nature of society, its social institutions, and the individual. Historically certain professional and occupational groups have played vanguard roles in spearheading societal change or have blocked change. From the perspective of stratification and social class the individual's occupation and/or profession is the single best indicator of his social and economic standing in society.

The study of occupations and professions among ethnic and racial minorities in the U.S. has been of sustaining interest to social scientists. Recently, however, it has been reported (Ritzer *et al.*, 1974; Roth, *et al.*, 1973) that there is a shift away from the study of ethnic and racial minorities (including their occupations and professions) to that focusing on professional women. Irregardless of the redirection in the literature, one finds studies of occupations/professions on a number of ethnic/racial minorities. To mention a few most pertinent, one may include Lipset and Ladd (1971) on Jewish-American academics; Greeley (1972) on American-Catholic professionals; Featherman (1971) on ethnic achievement, Petersén (1971) on Japanese-American professionals; Edwards (1959) on Black-American professionals; Kuvlesky (with Thomas, 1971 and with Patella, 1971) on Black-American and Mexican-American occupational aspirations. In addition, the U.S. Census (1973) reports the occupational/professional orientations of at least two dozen first and second generation ethnic and racial minorities. While one finds some general and special studies on a number of ethnic/racial professionals, there is little or nothing on Greek-American professionals. Furthermore although one can speak of a visible and ener-

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getic entrepreneurial class of Greek-Americans, it is doubtful that many Americans will recognize the existence of an emerging and viable class of Greek-American professionals.

An analysis of Greek-American professionals or of any professionals for that matter would entail a conceptual refinement of what sociologists mean by professions/professionals and related concepts. The concept of profession and/or professional is one of the most elusive and abused concepts in the lexicon of social science. "Profession" originally meant the act of professing that was associated with the vows of religious order. Gradually it has come to mean "the occupation which one professes to be skilled in and to follow a vocation in which professed knowledge of some branch of learning is used in its application to the affairs of others, or in the practice of an art based upon it" (Hughes, 1963). Professionals then profess to know better than others and their clients. The professional claim to esoteric and specialized knowledge gives him an exclusive right to practice his vocation while at the same time it disqualifies the non-professional from exercising that right.

A professional claim to knowledge generates a fiduciary role relationship in which a client has to trust the professional's judgement and the professional has to abide by a code of ethics defining the perimeters of professional-client relationships. More recently, however, the professional authority, claim to knowledge, and professional practices and beliefs have been challenged by individual clients and groups.

More cogently, a profession is typified by a career which involves a lifelong commitment, i.e., a medical doctor. It entails a succession and/or sequence of discrete stages through which a professional moves in a hierarchical fashion. A profession then is that occupation which requires extensive training; it is more specialized, demanding and costly and prepares the individual for a lifelong career. A profession is more than a job or an occupation. It is an enduring and continuous career that is sharply differentiated from a non-profession.

Despite the efforts by many occupational sociologists to clarify the conceptual distinction between occupations and professions, one of the most perennial issues in the literature involves what differentiates a profession from a non-profession. Although no overall conceptual/theoretical framework exists for the study of professions, Ritzer *et al.* (1974) have identified three major models in the sociological study of professions: the structuralist, the processual, and the power perspectives.

The Structuralist Model. Known also as structuralist-functionalist and/or attribute approach, it has been suggested mainly by scholars of the Ivy League schools. Among others one may include Greenwood (1957), Gross (1958), Goode (1960), Hall (1969), and Hughes (1963). The structuralists tend to view

professions as possessing certain "core characteristics" that differentiate them from all other occupations. There is, however, no consensus among the structuralists as to what these attributes are. Greenwood (1957:44), for example, lists systematic theory, authority, community sanction, an ethical code and a culture as differentiating attributes of professions from non-professions. Goode (1960:903) stresses "a prolonged specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge and a collectivity or service orientation".

Hall (1969) distinguishes between structural and attitudinal attributes of professionalism. A structural attribute is an integral part of the profession, i.e., graduate or professional school while an attitudinal attribute refers to the belief a professional holds toward his profession and his role in society, i.e., belief in service to the public or belief in self-regulation. Hall contends that professionalism and professionalization are conceptually and empirically distinct. It is his contention that structural and attitudinal aspects of professionalism do not necessarily vary together. Some more established professions have rather weakly developed professional attitudes or vice-versa.

This structuralist model has been criticized as the least useful approach because its emphasis is on the product rather than on the process of professionalization (Vollmer and Mills, 1966). Friedson (1970a) criticizes it as a self-serving approach while Bucher and Strauss (1961) find it rather pretentious for assuming that professions are a homogeneous group of independent practitioners.

More recently Ritzer *et al.* (1974) argues that there is 1) an organization-occupation-profession continuum that is exemplified by the process of professionalization of an occupation and 2) an individual professional continuum that corresponds to the concept of professionalism. A profession then is more of an organizational concept while professionalism refers to attitudes and behavior of individual professionals.

The Processual Model. It is also known as the historical approach and/or professionalization process that focuses on a developmental sequence concerning how professions emerge, develop, and are legitimized in the society. This approach is usually associated with the Chicago school and supported by Wilensky (1964) and Vollmer and Mills (1966) among others. Wilensky (1964), for example, identified five steps in the process of professionalization—establishment of a full time occupation, the establishment of training schools, formation of professional associations, political agitation for legal recognition and exclusiveness, and development of internal rules and code of ethics.

Power Model. While the structural and processual approaches are analytically distinct and both have vied for hegemony within the sociology of professions, a more recent model is the so-called power perspective. Friedson

(1970a, 1970b, and 1973) suggests that the political clout of an occupation to win recognition as a profession is the single defining power characteristic of a profession. Friedson illustrates this power perspective in his study of medicine as a profession. In Friedson's view it is not whether one has a claim to knowledge but how that knowledge comes to be utilized, evaluated, and controlled (1973:28). Ritzer *et al.* (1974) argue that indeed if one accepts the power perspective for becoming a profession, then it is essential for a would-be profession to develop an ideology (a belief system) and try to convince others of the profession's exclusive right to a particular domain of knowledge.

Types of Professions. Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) have classified the professions into four major categories according to the possession of an "intellectual technique" that is a set of theoretical principles and techniques for the solution of specific problems. In order of acquisition of "intellectual technique" these are: the old established professions, i.e., religion, law, medicine, higher education; the new professions, i.e., chemists, engineers, natural and social scientists; semi-professions (where technical practice and knowledge replace theoretical study of a field of learning) such as nursing, optometry, social work, and school teaching; the would-be professions whose members aspire to professional status but have not yet achieved such recognition, i.e., sales managers and engineers, personnel directors, hospital managers. Others (Pavalko, 1971; Reiss, 1961) use a fifth classificatory term known as "marginal professions" which refers to internal inconsistencies of an occupation in which an occupation has both professional and non-professional attributes, i.e., pharmacy, chiropractor.

Similarly other writers distinguish professions into "emergent professions", "professions in transition", and "professions in process". These professional types, Pavalko (1971) maintains, represent dimensions of the professionalization process or the extent to which certain occupations change their position on one or more dimensions of the occupation-profession continuum. Wilensky (1964), in his study of the temporal sequence of professionalization of a number of occupations, has proposed a fourfold classification: "established professions" (law, medicine, architecture); "professions in process" (or marginal professions), i.e., librarian, nursing, optometry, pharmacy; "the new professions" (city management, city planning, hospital administration), and finally, the "doubtful category of professions" including advertising and funeral directors.

The foregoing discussion serves as a conceptual prolegomenon to the analysis of Greek-American professionals proper. In the present paper the emphasis will be primarily on the established professions and only secondarily on other types of professions. More concretely, an effort will be made 1) to delin-

eat the socio-historical antecedents of contemporary Greek-American professionals and 2) to investigate the contemporary Greek-American professionals with respect to a number of socio-demographic and professional variables.

For the purpose of this inquiry the terms "profession" and "professional" will be used interchangeably. A "Greek professional" will include a rather small aggregate of first and second generation Greek-Americans¹ who possess at least two structural and/or organizational/institutional characteristics: *one*, the possession of a graduate or professional degree from an accredited college or university (i.e., M.A./M.S., Ph.D., M.D., LL.D., or M.D.S.) and *two*, an organizational/institutional affiliation (i.e., college or university, hospital, law office, and the like).

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

For the present analysis qualitative (historical) and quantitative (survey type) sources of data were used. The most we know about the Greek professional in the United States is contained in general works on Greek-Americans or some impressionistic generalizations without a genuine effort to empirically take stock of the Greek-American professionals.

Forty-nine sources were used to collect necessary data concerning the contemporary Greek-American professionals in the U.S. For the purpose of brevity these sources are classified as follows: 1) Directories of American professional associations; 2) Directories of the Who's Who variety including Leaders in American Education and American Men and Women of Science; 3) Membership lists of Greek national professional associations (Modern Greek Studies Association, Democritos Society); 4) University catalogues (only top universities); 5) Greek Orthodox Yearbooks (1970, 1974) and a more recent publication *Who's Who of Greek Origin in Institutions of Higher Learning in the United States and Canada* published by the Greek Archdiocese (only those in the U.S. were included in the present analysis); 6) Personal files, magazines, newspapers, and communications with individuals.

It took more than a year for this research to be completed. It was necessary to go through thousands of pages to identify Greek professionals through their surnames, initials, and first names. While the process is a rather tedious one and exceedingly time-consuming, it is an unobtrusive source of data collection. With the exception of computer time used in the quantitative part of the project, there is usually no cost to the author and the institution.

1. First generation includes all those born in Greece or overseas while their progenies or those born in the U.S. of Greek or mixed parenthood are the second generation. Third generation will include the children of the second generation and so on.

Data on 3,549 Greek academics, doctors, lawyers, and scientists were collected along with a number of selected socio-demographic characteristics. In this type of research the investigator has no control over the nature of social background variables he finds in these sources. For this reason missing data on a number of variables was unavoidable. However, in most instances it was possible to cross-check the names and add necessary information or delete those names or data which appeared in more than one source before the final computer runs.

While there are certain methodological advantages in conducting ethnic research in this manner, one should not underestimate the built-in disadvantages as well. For the most part these are: 1) It is difficult to identify those who have anglicized their names; 2) Most Greek professional women who are married to non-Greeks are also difficult to recognize; 3) Not all professionals are members of associations; 4) Some Greek surnames are similar to names of other nationalities especially those of Baltic states (Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian); and 5) The most recent professionals are not always found in directories.

To overcome some of these problems the author compared American and Greek sources, and asked co-ethnic professionals to submit names of other co-ethnics in their special field whenever appropriate.

In short, the 3,549 Greek-American professionals on which the latter part of the analysis is based do not in any way claim to be inclusive of all existing Greek-American professionals in the U.S. However, the author believes that the number of academics is a rather close estimate and represents the total population of Greek academics currently employed in U.S. institutions of higher learning.

GREEK-AMERICAN PROFESSIONALS: A CAPSULE SOCIO-HISTORICAL PROFILE

19th Century Greek-American Professionals. Historically, a number of Greek and American authors (Burgess, 1913; Canoutas, 1918; Malafouris, 1948; Dendias, 1919) reported the existence of a few dozen Greek-American professionals in the U.S. during the 19th century. Canoutas (1918), for example, distinguished three major sources of Greek immigrants to the U.S. in the 19th century. *One*, Greek orphans of the Greek Revolution of 1821 and those who survived the massacre of Chios by the Turks in 1822. *Two*, those who came to the U.S. as merchants and sailors. *Three*, immigrants of later periods.

It has been reported (Burgess, 1913; Canoutas, 1918; Dendias, 1919; Malafouris, 1948) that a number of Greek orphans of the Greek Revolution of

1821 were brought to the U.S. by American missionaries and sponsored by either American philhellenes or the missionaries themselves. These orphans became the proto-Greek-American professionals in the U.S.

While some of the orphans returned to Greece after their studies and thus became the first unofficial ambassadors of the U.S. to Greece and some maintained their ethnic identity, the majority became assimilated by changing their religion (from Orthodox to Protestant) and their names. Exact figures for the number of Greek orphans brought to the U.S., those who came by other means, and those who studied in institutions of higher learning are not known. It has been estimated (Kastanis, cited in Malafouris, 1948:48-49) that about 40 Greek male youngsters were brought to the U.S. by American missionaries and American philhellenes following the Greek Revolution of 1821.

Canoutas (1918) maintained that in the 19th century most Greeks including the orphans came from the Greek islands of the Aegean Sea. For the most part these young Greek males (orphans, sailors, and others) came from the island of Chios, Asia Minor and some from Epirus, and Macedonia, and settled in seaport cities. Many of the early Greek-American professionals studied at Yale, Amherst, Princeton, Hartford Seminary, Kenyon of Ohio, Eastern of Pennsylvania, and Knoxville of Tennessee colleges and excelled in a number of professions including theology, politics, classics, medicine, military (navy), and the sciences. (See Appendix I for a more detailed listing). Canoutas (1918:96-97) also maintains that many Greeks in the 19th century studied Protestant theology but not all of them later followed that profession.

Greek-American Professionals: 1900-1940's. While sporadic Greek immigrants came to the U.S. in the 19th century, in reality Greek immigration to the U.S. began at the turn of the 20th century. Greeks, along with other immigrant groups from Southern, Southeastern and Central Europe, made up the "late immigrants" *vis-à-vis* the "early immigrants" from countries of Northwestern Europe. Greek immigration to the U.S. reached its peak in the first quarter of the century. In 1924, however, Congress enacted a discriminatory law according to which a quota system based on the 1920 U.S. Census limited sharply the number of Southeastern Europeans entering the U.S. This act which was the official U.S. Immigration and Naturalization policy until 1965 conspicuously favored immigrants from countries of Northwestern Europe.

While most European immigration to the U.S. has declined, Greek immigration, excluding the interwar years, has never really ceased. Continued Greek immigration has given to the larger Greek-American community "a graduate scale of ethnicity" with sustained doses of "Greek cultural transfusion". At one extreme of the continuum are those Greeks who are totally "Americanized" while at the other extreme are those who can hardly speak a word of English.

It is only proper then that one differentiates between Greek immigrants who came in the first 40 years of the 20th century and those who came following World War II and continue to come. Although no exact figure of both groups is known, a reasonable estimate would be that there are somewhere between 1,250,000 to 1,500,000 Greek born and Greek descended Americans.

Three types of Greek-American communities can be discerned at the present time: a predominantly post-war Greek community made up of "late" Greek immigrants and their families, a mixed Greek-American community of "early" and "late" Greek immigrants and their progenies, and a Greek-American community made up of second and third generation American born Greeks. The first two are by and large ethnic urban communities. Their members are made up of working and lower-middle class life styles with a substantial number engaged in small service oriented establishments, particularly restaurants, taverns, and groceries, and low white collar occupations, especially among second generation Greeks. As a rule, they reside in close proximity to their churches. The third type which is increasingly a suburban Greek-American community is made up primarily of middle and upper-middle class life styles or professionals and businessmen. The latter more and more follow the patterns and life styles of the tripartite Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish suburban ethno-religious groups. Although most Greek churches are bilingual, in the third type Greek is gradually but steadily being replaced by English and the priests are exclusively recruited from the second generation American born Greeks. In the last analysis, language has become the differentiating issue between early and late Greek immigrants.

That the overwhelming majority of the "late immigrants" including the Greeks were from the working class has been well documented by students of ethnic history. And like most "late immigrants" Greeks as a rule were poor, had limited education and skills, and came primarily from agricultural communities. In addition, Greeks (like Italians) did not come as families because they did not expect to stay in the U.S. By contrast, the post World War II Greek immigrants tend to be more educated, do not come exclusively from small agricultural communities, and many come as families sponsored or invited by relatives and friends among the "early" Greek immigrants.

Included in both groups were a small number of Greek professionals, semi-professionals, ethnic literati, and ethnic apostles. The latter particularly became the purveyors of ethnic ideals and values of Greek culture and society. It has been reported (Burgess, 1913; Canoutas, 1918; Dendias, 1919; Malafouris, 1948; Kourvetaris, 1971a and 1975) that the majority of Greek professionals in the first quarter of the 20th century were doctors. (This is a profession whose skills do not demand high proficiency of the English language as for instance

practicing law demands). Burgess (1913) estimated there were about 40 or 50 Greek doctors throughout the U.S. at the turn of the century but only half of them were licensed. Most of the early Greek doctors received their training in Greece and had no other choice but practice among their co-ethnics (a phenomenon which continues to some extent even today).

Later, however, Canoutas (1918) and Dendias (1919), both Greek authors, estimated about 100 or so doctors. Added to that number there were many Greek students who studied medicine in the first quarter of the 20th century. Malafouris (1948) reports about two dozen doctors, most of them established in major cities of the U.S. approximately between the 1890's and 1920's. Almost all of those born in Greece studied medicine in the U.S.²

The next largest professional groups³ were lawyers, dentists, pharmacists, and chemists in that order which altogether did not exceed 70 to 100 professionals. In addition, around the turn of the century there were a few dozen other Greek professionals including individuals in literature, philosophy, classics, sociology, and mechanical and electrical engineering. Added to that number there were about 30-60 students enrolled in American colleges by 1913. Burgess (1913) reported that very few of the lawyers were admitted to the Bar because of the language barrier. Most of the lawyers received their degree from the University of Athens.

Canoutas (1918), however, predicted that by the 1920's the number of Greek professionals would be doubled and tripled due to the fact that many hundreds of Greek students already attended a number of universities including the Universities of Boston, Cambridge, California, and Pennsylvania. Dendias (1919) also reported that many Greek students attended Amherst, Yale, Harvard, Cornell, Washington, and Maryland Universities. Vavoudis (1925), on the other hand, estimated about 100 graduates from American universities by the 1920's.

CONTEMPORARY GREEK-AMERICAN PROFESSIONALS

Writing at the turn of the century, Burgess (1913) predicted the coming of the professional and business class of the Greek immigrant. Writing fifty years later, Saloutos (1964), a second generation Greek-American professor of history, describes the advent of professional, commercial, and intellectual prom-

2. Among the 336 Greeks in *Who's Who in Business* reported by Malafouris (1948) about 13 could be classified as first generation Greek-American professionals. In addition, Vavoudis (1925) mentions another four doctors who were active with the Greek Students' Association "Helikon".

3. During the first quarter of the 20th century about one dozen or so lawyers, 3 engineers, one chemist, and one sculptor were mentioned by name in Malafouris (1948), Vavoudis (1925), and Burgess (1911).

inence of the Greek which he characterized as impressive or the coming of "the era of respectability for the Greek in America". In Saloutos' words, there is "the emergence of a new generation of Greek-Americans to positions of influence. Greek-Americans are on the way to a new status in American society. The immigrants of yesteryear had established sobriety, industry, and integrity".

While generalizations such as those mentioned by Burgess and Saloutos are often found in the literature, no empirical study has attempted to investigate a number of pertinent questions concerning Greek-American professionals. Thus this part of the analysis will seek to report the findings of a survey on the contemporary Greek-American professionals with emphasis on the academics. More cogently, questions such as: To what extent is there a Greek-American professional class? What are the sources of recruitment of Greek-American professionals? What general patterns do they follow *vis-à-vis* Greek-Americans in general (i.e., where are they located? what kinds of professions do they choose?) What are their fields of specialization and expertise? What is the caliber of their education and present institutional affiliation (particularly of academics)? will be considered.

It is the overall thesis in this part of the paper that an emerging and viable Greek-American professional class is in the making. Furthermore, it will be argued that 1) the emergence of Greek-American professionals is a rather post World War II phenomenon, and 2) a product by and large of the so-called Greek "brain-drain" or mobility of Greek scientists, engineers, doctors, and professionals in general and Greek students (potential professionals) who came to the U.S. on student visas especially in the 1950's. Put another way this part of the analysis will consist of 1) a report and discussion of survey findings of selective demographic characteristics of the Greek-American professionals in general, i.e., sources of recruitment, place of birth, location of Greek-American professionals, education, area of competence and nature of institutional affiliation will be briefly examined and 2) a report of survey findings and discussion of Greek-American academics only with respect to a number of selective socio-demographic variables.

Sources of Greek-American Professional Recruitment. Three major categories of Greek-American professional recruitment may be distinguished that can invariably be seen as sources of international migration of Greek scientists and professionals, also commonly known as Greek "brain drain". These are the actual, the potential, and the hidden⁴ which are also applicable to other nations with a similar problem of brain drain.

4. Hidden "brain drain" includes all those scientists and other professionals who, while working in their respective countries, might be employed by more lucrative foreign compa-

The actual includes all those professionals, technical and kindred workers (including scientists, engineers and doctors) who after completing their professional training decide to migrate to more advanced countries particularly those of the U.S., Canada, Western Europe and Australia, and only secondarily to less developed or equally developed countries (as that of Greece) in Asia, Africa, and Latin America which are collectively known as countries of the third world. It has been estimated (Coutsoumaris, 1968:169) that between 1957-1961, Greece lost to the U.S. alone over one fifth of all her first degrees in engineering. Coutsoumaris believes that the total loss is even greater than this if one adds those who left for the other advanced countries of Western Europe and Canada and even those who migrated to the less advanced countries of the third world.

More specifically, the magnitude of Greek "brain drain" both in terms of professional specialties and professionals in general for the last decade are given in Tables 1, 2, and 3. The figures presented in Table 1 by major professional subcategories show both the permanent and temporary nature of migration of Greek professionals. Looking at Table 1 nearly 35% of the graduates in engineering, over 27% in sciences and 25% in the medical profession have left the country permanently between 1961-1965. Of course, the percentage is even higher if the final outflow of temporary emigrants is added.

Figures presented in Table 2 also indicate that from 1962 to 1973 a total of 1,610 scientists, engineers, physicians, and surgeons were admitted to the U.S. from Greece. Table 3 gives an overall picture of Greek professional, technical and kindred occupations and total Greek immigrants admitted to the U.S. in the fiscal years 1962-1973 *vis-à-vis* total admitted, total professionals admitted, total European immigrants admitted and total European professionals admitted.

The figures given in Table 3 also indicate that for the last twelve years a total of 5,520 Greek emigrants in different types of professional, technical and kindred occupations have been admitted under different immigration laws to the U.S. alone. It must be noted, however, that there is an overlapping in all three aforementioned tables and it is exceedingly difficult to calculate the exact magnitude of Greek brain drain. Thus, although the exact number of Greek scientists and other professionals who temporarily or permanently migrated to other countries is not known, it has been estimated (Coutsoumaris, 1968: 169) that Greece is losing about 1,000 young people with university training per year.

nies and/or research institutes that have branches or have investment in various countries. For the purpose of this report and because it was not possible to collect any data on this source of Greek brain drain, the subsequent analysis will be based on the actual and potential sources of Greek brain drain only.

Table 1. Greece: Emigration of Scientists and other Professionals in Relation to total First-Degree Graduates 1961-1965

	Stock According to 1961 Census	Total of New Graduates 1961-65	Persons Emigrated Permanently 1961-65	% of Emigra- tion to Graduates	Tempor- ary Emi- gration 1961-65	% of Tem- porary Emigration to Graduates
I. Total of Professionals & Scientists	77,600	22,566	3,232	14.3	1,981	8.8
1. Engineers, architects, and similar fields, first-degree graduates of higher education	5,000	1,876	650	34.6	191	10.2
2. Scientists (physicists, chemists, geologists, biologists, agricultural sciences, etc.)	5,700	2,200	600	27.3	233	10.6
3. Physicians, dentists, and trained persons related to medical profession	15,500	3,151	793	25.2	409	13.0
4. Teaching personnel	40,000	11,994	954	8.0	1,072	8.9
5. Lawyers	11,400	3,345	235	7.0	76	2.3
II. Managerial and Higher Administrative Personnel	28,500	5,804	470	8.1	125	2.2
Total of Groups I and II	106,100	28,370	3,702	13.0	2,106	7.4

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece: Statistical Yearbooks, taken from Coutsouraris, 1968:170.

Table 2. Total, European, and Greek Scientists, Engineers, and Physicians and Surgeons who were admitted to the United States for Fiscal Years 1962-1973

<i>Fiscal Year*</i>	<i>Total Number</i>			<i>European</i>			<i>Greek</i>		
	<i>Scient.</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Phys. & Surgs.</i>	<i>Scient.</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Phys. & Surgs.</i>	<i>Scient.</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Phys. & Surgs.</i>
1962	1,357	2,940	—	780	1,651	—	17	52	—
1963	1,919	4,014	—	985	2,017	—	39	64	—
1964	2,037	3,725	—	1,041	1,941	—	26	53	—
1965	1,899	3,446	2,012	1,085	1,893	588	20	37	32
1966	2,290	4,915	2,549	1,041	2,371	739	51	57	48
1967	3,702	8,821	3,325	1,301	3,722	854	59	111	59
1968	2,959	9,310	3,128	1,101	3,601	691	29	108	34
1969	2,483	7,098	2,756	642	1,813	579	30	104	36
1970	4,032	9,305	3,155	908	2,000	550	**	**	39
1971***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1972	3,329	7,374	7,144	589	933	862	35	68	64
1973	1,948	4,419	7,119	394	792	946	28	45	65
Grand Total	27,955	65,367	31,188	9,867	22,734	5,809	334	699	377

Sources: National Science Foundation and Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

* Each fiscal year ends June 30.

** Data only available for the total number of engineers and scientists combined who were admitted to the U.S. from Greece for 1970. This number is 200 and is not included in the grand total figures.

*** No information obtained for 1971.

Table 3. Greek Immigrants in Professional, Technical and Kindred Occupations and Total Immigrants and Professionals Admitted to the United States Fiscal Years 1962-1973

Fiscal Year*	Total Admitted		Total Prof. Admitted		Total Europ. Admitted		Total Europ. Prof. Admitted		Total Greek Admitted		Total Greek Prof. Admitted	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1962	283,763		23,710	8.4	119,692	42.2	10,979	9.2	4,702	1.7	261	5.6
1963	306,260		27,930	9.1	125,932	41.1	12,636	10.0	4,825	1.6	364	7.5
1964	292,248		28,756	9.8	123,064	42.1	12,759	10.4	3,909	1.3	268	6.9
1965	296,697		28,790	9.7	114,329	38.5	12,941	11.3	3,002	1.0	212	7.1
1966	323,040		30,039	9.3	125,023	38.7	12,059	9.6	8,265	2.6	374	4.5
1967	361,972		41,652	11.5	139,514	38.5	14,431	10.3	14,905	4.1	589	4.0
1968	454,448		48,753	10.7	139,514	30.7	15,955	11.4	13,047	2.9	512	3.9
1969	358,579		40,427	11.3	120,086	33.5	10,023	8.3	17,724	4.9	586	3.3
1970	373,326		46,151	12.4	118,106	31.6	10,294	8.7	16,464	4.4	697	4.2
1971	370,478		48,850	13.2	96,506	26.0	7,983	8.3	15,939	4.3	654	4.1
1972	384,685		48,887	12.7	86,321	22.4	8,117	9.4	10,452	2.7	542	5.2
1973	400,063		41,147	10.3	91,183	22.8	7,878	8.6	10,348	2.6	461	4.5
Grand Total	4,205,559		455,092	10.8	1,399,270	33.3	136,055	9.7	123,582	2.9	5,520	4.5

Source: United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

* Each fiscal year ends June 30.

The next source of Greek brain drain includes all those Greek students⁵ who are granted immigrant or non-immigrant visas by foreign consulates to pursue their education abroad and who potentially may be classified as the major source of Greek brain drain. It has been estimated, for example, by Coutsouris (1968:169) that Greece has an annual average of well over 8,000 Greek students abroad of whom about 10% are in graduate and 80% in undergraduate schools. This number represents about 15% of the total student body enrolled in institutions of higher learning in Greece. Despite the fact that no empirical studies have been conducted to determine the percentages of Greek students who received undergraduate and graduate degrees from foreign universities and the number of them who settle in the host country or repatriate upon the completion of their studies, it is safe to speculate that a substantial number of them do manage to graduate, but the majority remain abroad after graduation particularly those studying in the U.S. and Canada.

Concerning Greek students, a report by the Institute of International Education and Exchange indicated that a total of 1,968 Greek students were enrolled in the U.S. colleges and universities in 1971. (This number includes students who began their studies in 1968 and prior, 1969, and 1970). A distribution by sex, academic status, type of financial support, and major field of study of Greek students in 1970-71 reveals the following characteristics (see table 4): Of the 2,000 Greek students in U.S. colleges and universities, more than three-fourths were male and about one-fourth female, and they were approximately evenly divided between undergraduate and graduate students. A large number of the students (754) were self-supporting, one-fifth (436) were financially supported by U.S. colleges or universities, but for 642 of them the source of support was not ascertained. Finally 612 students considered engineering their field of major interest, with humanities, physical and life sciences, and business administration ranking second, third, and fourth respectively.

Table 5 gives the total, European and Greek aliens and students who adjusted to permanent resident status in the U.S. for fiscal years 1966-73 under section 245 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. A total of 10,855 Greeks including 1,965 students adjusted to permanent resident status in the fiscal years cited.

The exact number of Greek students (like Greek scientists and other professionals) who have graduated and adjusted their student visas to that of permanent resident and subsequently remained in the U.S. in the last decade is not

5. In most instances Greek students studying abroad have finished their secondary education or have graduated from an institution of Greek higher education. If the Greek student completed both his undergraduate and graduate studies abroad, it is not clear whether or not one can classify him even as a potential source of Greek brain drain.

Table 4. Total Foreign and Greek Students in the United States by Sex, Academic Status, Financial Support, and Major Field of Study: 1970-1971

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Total Foreign Students</i>	<i>Total Greek Students</i>
Sex		
Male	107,609	1,592
Female	34,564	355
No answer	2,535	21
Academic Status		
Undergraduates	71,213	997
Graduates		
Pursuing M.S. degree	48,327*	568**
Pursuing Ph.D degree	17,532	269
Special***	5,132	98
No answer	2,506	36
Financial Support		
U.S. Gov't	4,504	28
Foreign Gov't	5,297	16
U.S. College or Univ.	23,527	436
Private	8,101	61
Self	53,000	754
U.S. Coll. or Univ. and Private or U.S. or Foreign Gov't	2,715	27
Private and U.S. or Foreign Gov't	626	4
No answer	46,938	642
Field of Major Interest		
Agriculture	3,735	26
Business Administration	18,320	154
Education	7,896	42
Engineering	33,832	612
Humanities	25,334	390
Medical Sciences	6,994	42
Physical & Life Sciences	21,733	355
Social Sciences	17,936	258
All other	703	6
No answer	8,225	83

Source: Open Doors 1971. Report on International Exchange Institute of International Education.

* This figure includes 20,971 students who are pursuing graduate professional degrees of unspecified nature or no degree.

** This figure includes 235 Greek students who are pursuing graduate professional degrees of unspecified nature or no degree.

*** A "special" student is an undergraduate who is not enrolled for a degree.

NOTE: 446 out of 1,968 Greek students (22.7 %) hold immigrant visas (are unlikely to return to Greece upon the completion of their studies) while 26,732 of 144,708 foreign students (18.5 %) hold immigrant visas.

known. My speculation is that the majority of Greek students have remained in the U.S. by one means or another (some married to American or Greek naturalized citizens, some sponsored by their employers, and still others paid to remain in the U.S.). Irregardless of how they managed to remain, the truth of the matter is that the majority of them did not return to Greece.

Table 5. Total, European, and Greek Aliens and Students (by place of birth) who were adjusted to Permanent Resident Status in the United States under Section 245, Immigration and Nationality Act, for Fiscal Years 1966-1973

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Total Number Adjusted</i>	<i>Total Students Adjusted</i>	<i>Total Europ. Adjusted</i>	<i>Total Eur. Students Adjusted</i>	<i>Total Greeks Adjusted</i>	<i>Total Greek Students Adjusted</i>
1966	29,556	4,814	8,974	807	815	227
1967	38,619	9,957	13,025	1,059	1,305	320
1968	33,595	7,937	15,573	1,027	1,241	252
1969	29,257	7,493	11,737	769	1,133	211
1970	41,528	10,489	16,816	1,066	1,587	250
1971	49,239	11,693	16,901	962	1,538	225
1972	61,429	12,724	20,958	1,194	1,705	250
1973	59,450	9,983	23,182	1,037	1,531	230
Grand Total	342,673	75,090	127,166	7,921	10,855	1,965

Source: United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

An overall occupational distribution of first and second generation Greek-Americans and the national averages are given in Table 6. Looking at this table, one notices that the percentage of second generation Greek-Americans in the professional, technical, and kindred workers category is more than twice as great as their first generation counterparts and about 5% higher than the national averages of the first and second generation of other ethnic Americans. This is also somewhat true for the managerial and administrative occupations.

Socio-Demographic Profile. This part includes the findings of the survey on Greek-American professionals. Table 7 below shows the selected socio-demographic characteristics of Greek-American professionals in general.

Place of Birth. As seen in the cumulative table about an equal number of Greek-American professionals (mostly academics) were born either in the U.S. or Greece. The majority, however, not ascertained for their place of birth.

Region. The geographic distribution of Greek-American professionals follows the Greek-ethnic distribution in general. Most of the Greek-American

professionals are located in the Northeast and Midwest (about equally distributed), 35% and 31% respectively. About one-third lived in the Southern and Western states and were approximately equally distributed between these two regions.

Formal Education. The majority of those surveyed were found to have graduate professional degrees (M.A. or M.S. and/or Ph.D. or equivalent), but for almost half it could not be determined what kind of graduate degree they held.

Table 6. Occupational Classification of First and Second Generation National Average and Greek-American males in Percentages

<i>Classification</i>	<i>1st Gen. Nat'l Ave.</i>	<i>2nd Gen. Nat'l Ave.</i>	<i>1st Gen. Greek Men</i>	<i>2nd Gen. Greek Men</i>
Professional, Technical, and kindred workers*	16.8	16.0	9.8	21.4
Managers and administrators except farm	10.4	14.0	15.4	21.2
Sales workers	6.1	8.2	5.2	10.7
Clerical and kindred workers	6.6	8.5	3.9	8.2
Craftsmen and kindred workers	21.3	21.1	17.9	14.7
Operatives, except transport	14.7	11.5	12.5	7.6
Transport Equipment Operatives	2.9	4.9	1.9	4.1
Laborers, except farm	5.9	4.6	3.5	2.5
Farmers and farm managers	.9	2.6	.3	.4
Farm laborers and farm foremen	2.3	.9	.1	.1
Service workers, except private household	11.9	7.7	29.5	9.1
Private household workers	.2	.0	.0	.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973.

* It must be emphasized that U.S. Census classification of professional, technical, and kindred workers includes all categories of professions, semi-professions, marginal professions, would be professions, and so on. (See the discussion on professions in the introduction). Data are given for about two dozen American ethnic groups.

Table 7. Selected Socio-Demographic Variables of Greek-American Professionals

<i>Socio-Demographic Characteristics</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Place of Birth		
Greece	542	15
USA	583	16
Cyprus	29	1
Other	60	2
Not Ascertained	2335	66
Total	3549	100
Region		
Northeast	1032	29
Midwest	908	26
South	463	13
West	530	15
Not Ascertained or not in U.S.	616	17
Total	3549	100
Formal Education		
B.S. or B.A.	36	1
M.S. or M.A.	324	9
Ph.D or equivalent	1600	45
Not Ascertained	1589	45
Total	3549	100
Areas of Competence		
Biological/agricultural sciences	149	4
Education	148	4
Engineering	225	6
Health fields	870	25
Mathematical Sciences	101	3
Physical Sciences	361	10
Social/behavioral sciences	429	12
Arts, Humanities, and other related specialties	839	24
Miscellaneous	427	12
Total	3549	100

Areas of Professional Competence. The highest number of Greek-American professionals are found to be specialized in the health fields (i.e., doctors, dentists, medical science, and related fields) or are competent in the area of arts, humanities and other related fields (i.e., law, history, art, philosophy, literature classics, theology).

GREEK-AMERICAN ACADEMICS

With the exception of a few Greek-American academics at the turn of the century that totaled perhaps one hundred or so by the 1940's, Greek-American academic professionals are a rather recent phenomenon. Saloutos (1964:324) contends that the professions which mostly appealed to second generation Greeks were law, medicine, and to a lesser degree dentistry. These were the professions that counted more in Greece and also in the U.S. Later teaching and engineering acquired more appeal Saloutos contends. Thus, despite the number of professional and cultural societies in the 1920's and 1930's and some student associations, by the 1940's and early 1950's the Greek-American professionals amounted to a few hundred or perhaps to one thousand in contrast to the many thousands of Greek-Americans and their progenies in the U.S.

Malafouris (1948), in his survey of Greek-Americans, specifically lists about 45 or so academics—13 in humanities, 10 in social sciences, 7 in natural sciences, 7 in medical sciences, 4 other miscellaneous, and 4 mentioned in the text (2 each in medicine and chemistry).

One of the most learned men of letters that Greeks ever produced in the U.S. early in the 20th century was Professor Aristides Phoutridis who was a *summa cum laude* from Harvard and recipient of many scholarships. Professor Phoutridis was a founder and pioneer in the establishment of the first Greek student association "Helikon"⁶ in 1911 in Boston where he lived for a number

6. Greek-Americans over the years established many fraternal, benevolent, professional, and students' associations. Only the more pertinent in this study will be mentioned. The Greek students' association "Helikon" was founded in Boston by students and faculty of Harvard in 1911. Aristidis Phoutridis became its first president. Between 1912 and 1913 the association numbered about 30 to 60 Greek students. The "Helikon" is now in its 64th year of existence.

Later during the 1930's and 1940's similar efforts were made in other cities and universities. In New York, for example, Greek students' associations were established at Columbia University (1924), University of New York, Hunter College (1937), Intercollegiate Federation of Hellenic Societies, Fordham University, Long Island University, College of Brooklyn, and others.

Greek students' associations were established at the University of California at Berkeley, University of Indiana, University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, San Francisco,

of years. He taught at Yale and translated part of Palama's (the most celebrated modern Greek poet) poetry into English. His premature death, however, at the age of 35 deprived Greece and Greek-Americans of one of its brilliant sons.

Later some of the most prominent men of science in medicine were noted by Malafouris (1948). The name of Dr. George Papanikolaou (M.D.), for example, stands out as the most illustrious among the Greek-American medical scientists. It was he who discovered what is commonly known as the "Pap" smear test for detecting cancer of the uterus while professor of anatomy at Cornell University. Dr. Polyvios Koryllos (M.D.), professor of medicine at the University of Athens and Yale, was also another medical scientist famous for his contributions in the diagnoses of tuberculosis patients. In chemistry Professors Nicholas Mitropoulos of the University of Chicago and Pythagoras Sfaellos of New York University both took part in the scientific research of atomic energy. The former was also present at the atomic test in New Mexico.

Despite a number of sporadic academics including a few illustrious scientists and scholars, one can argue that by 1940 there was no genuine professional class of Greek-American academics. What we had was a smattering of Greek-American academics scattered in a number of American colleges and universities. It is suggested by this author that due to the demands of their work, geographic dispersion (away from Greek-American communities) and small numbers, Greek-American academics were isolated from each other and from their ethnic communities or what one might term double marginality⁷. This prob-

University of Illinois, University of Toledo in Ohio, Bryn Mawr College, Wayne University of Detroit, Washington University at St. Louis, Missouri, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Syracuse University, Cornell University, and elsewhere.

Various professional societies were established during the 1920's and 1930's, some of which are still in existence, i.e., the Hellenic Professional Society of Illinois; the Pythagoreans of Detroit; the Greek Women's University Club of Illinois. In addition, one finds professional associations of specific professions (especially established ones). One of the most important ones that is organized at national and international levels is the Modern Greek Studies Association (MGSA) founded in 1968 with about 300 members (mostly academics in the humanities and social sciences). A recent issue of its *Bulletin* (Vol. 5, No. 1, June 1973) included a useful bibliographic documentation of more than 200 Ph.D. dissertations and 130 M.A. theses on Modern Greece, mainly written in the last 10 years or so. Also the Democritus Society with over 100 members is primarily for natural scientists, engineers, medical scientists and the like.

7. The concept of marginality refers to those individuals who find themselves in two cultures, one particularistic (ethnic subculture) and one more general (dominant Anglo-Saxon culture) but they are full-fledged members of neither. Members of first and second generation (ethnic groups) are in this instance marginal. "Double marginality" is suggested by this author to refer to two types of marginality present among Greek-American academics and other Greek-American professionals in general, one stemming from within its own

lem continues in the present especially for those who are located away from large Greek-American ethnic communities and find themselves in colleges or universities which are located in small towns where in most instances there are few or no other Greek-American professionals.

Socio-Demographic and Professional Characteristics. This part of the analysis includes findings on contemporary Greek-American academics or all those currently teaching and/or affiliated with institutions of higher learning in the U.S. Table 8 presents information on various socio-demographic and professional characteristics.

Place of Birth. Of the 993 academics for whom place of birth was determined and who were born in either the U.S. or Greece, 56% were born in the U.S. and 44% in Greece.

Region. The regions where Greek-American academics are located follow the general pattern of Greek-American professionals and/or the geographic distribution of Greek-Americans in general. Most Greek-American academics are found in the Northeast followed by the Midwest, South, and West respectively.

Formal Education. Of 1,610 academics for whom the type of degree was determined, 80% had Ph.D.'s or equivalent, 18% M.S.'s or M.A.'s and only 2% B.A.'s or B.S.'s.

Academic Institutions. The majority of Greek-American academics or 68% teach at universities. Of the remaining 32%, 25% and 7% teach at four and two year colleges respectively.

Areas of Competence. Physical sciences, humanities, social sciences, health specialties, engineering, education, fine arts, biological sciences, and business are the academic disciplines and specialties in which most Greek-American academics are found in the order mentioned above.

*Quality of Graduate Faculty*⁸. Only 295 graduate faculty members were rated according to their specialty. In all other cases either the department was not rated or the university or both were not rated or the academic was not in a school

ethnic community and the other from the American professional community at large. One is internal and the other external. In their internal marginality Greek-American professionals find themselves by and large detached from their ethnic communities while in their external marginality are interethnically perceived to be of little avail in the overall U.S. occupational and ethnic power structures. Although this thesis cannot be substantiated with the existing data, it is offered here as a heuristic hypothesis.

8. For an assessment of quality of American graduate faculty and effectiveness of graduate programs see Kenneth D. Roose and Charles J. Anderson, *A Rating of Graduate Programs* published by the American Council on Education (1970). This report is an updated version of the original study by Allan M. Carter in 1964 entitled an *Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education* and published in 1966 by the same council as above.

*Table 8. Selective Socio-Demographic and Professional Characteristics of Greek-American Academics**

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Number (N=2021)</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Place of Birth		
Greece	440	44
U.S.	553	56
Total	993	100
Region		
Northeast	764	39
Midwest	507	26
South	368	19
West	327	16
Total	1966	100
Formal Education		
B.S. or B.A.	29	2
M.S. or M.A.	286	18
Ph.D. or Equivalent	1295	80
Total	1610	100
Academic Institution		
University	1253	68
4 year college	462	25
2 year college	124	7
Total	1839	100
Areas of Competence		
Social Sciences	(n=303**)*	(15)
Economics	87	4
Psychology	69	3
Sociology	55	3
Political Science	39	2
Humanities	(n=326)	(16)
English	92	4
History	102	5
Religion & Theology	15	1
Foreign Languages and Classics	117	6
Physical Sciences	(n=369)	(18)
Chemistry	129	6
Physics	120	6
Earth Sciences	27	1
Mathematics & Statistics	93	5

Table 8. Selective Socio-Demographic and Professional Characteristics of Greek-American Academics (continued)

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Number (N=2021)</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Areas of Competence (cont.)		
Art, Music, Drama	101	5
Biological Sciences	93	5
Law	13	1
Education	112	5
Health Specialties	234	12
Business	67	3
Engineering	148	7
Agriculture	12	1
Trade, Ind. & Tech.	34	2
Miscellaneous	209	10
Total	2021	100
Quality of Graduate Faculty		
Distinguished	157	53
Strong	65	22
Good	73	25
Total	295	100
Effectiveness of Graduate Program		
Distinguished	70	25
Strong	74	26
Good	137	49
Total	281	100
Undergraduate Rating		
300's	22	2
400's	218	17
500's	397	32
600's	227	18
700's	165	13
800's	143	11
900's	88	7
Total	1260	100

* Approximately 80 academics were born in places other than the U.S. or Greece and are not included here.

** The total number and percentage of social sciences is more than the total of those listed for the separate disciplines because they include 53 more individuals who were listed as "social scientists".

*** The parentheses indicate the total number or percentage for the major categories of social sciences, humanities, and physical sciences.

which awarded graduate degrees in a particular area. Among those rated, 53% were distinguished, 22% strong, and 25% good.

Effectiveness of Graduate Faculty. Only 281 graduate programs were rated in which graduate faculty were teaching. Of those rated, 49% were good, 26% strong, and 25% distinguished.

*Undergraduate Rating*⁹. The undergraduate rating includes those in 4 year colleges and universities which were rated. The mean score was 636 with a range of 641 points.

SOCIAL-PROFESSIONAL CORRELATES AND GREEK-AMERICAN ACADEMICS

The relationship between Greek-American academics and socio-demographic and professional background variables was also examined. Variables in the analysis of socio-demographic background included place of birth and region where academics are located. The analysis of professional background variables included degree, academic institution, quality and effectiveness of graduate faculty and program, and undergraduate rating of the college or university (the latter two might be called the caliber variables). Table 9 gives a cumulative profile of socio-demographic and professional background characteristics of Greek-American academics by place of birth.

Region. Whether one was born in Greece or in the U.S. did not greatly affect the location of Greek-American academics. However, those born in the U.S. were more likely to be located in the Midwest than those born in Greece with 28% and 20% respectively. The reverse was somewhat true for those academics located in the South. Twenty-five per cent were born in Greece and 19% in the U.S. Of those located in the West 17% were born in the U.S. and 15% in Greece.

*Education*¹⁰. For those Greek-American academics that it was possible to determine their type of degree, it was found that those born in Greece tend to have attained higher formal education than those born in the U.S. This is reflected in the percentage of Ph.D.'s or equivalent held by those born in Greece and the U.S. or 83% and 66% respectively. Or conversely the percentage of M.S. or M.A. degrees held by the American born Greek academics *vis-à-vis* those

9. The undergraduate rating was based on the book *College Rater* with a composite index of 700 numerically ranked colleges and universities by Allentown, Pa. (1967). Major criteria for evaluating schools included such items as SAT/ACT scores of recently enrolled freshmen, proportion of faculty with doctorate, faculty salaries, etc.

10. Whether those born in Greece attained their higher education there prior to coming to the U.S. or were educated in the U.S. was not ascertained. It has been suggested (Kourvetaris, 1973), however, that the majority of academics born in Greece attained their higher education in the U.S.

Table 9. Selective Socio-Demographic and Professional Characteristics by Place of Birth

Characteristics	Place of birth			
	United States		Greece	
	N	%	N	%
Region				
Northeast	208	36	195	40
Midwest	164	28	101	20
South	109	19	125	25
West	99	17	72	15
Total	580	100	493	100
Education				
B.S. or B.A.	18	3	8	2
M.S. or M.A.	176	31	73	15
Ph.D. or equiv.	378	66	400	83
Total	572	100	481	100
$\chi^2 = 39.50, 2 \text{ df}, p < .001$				
Academic Institution				
2 year college	43	8	14	3
4 year college	145	28	89	22
University	332	64	312	75
Total	519	100	415	100
$\chi^2 = 16.648, 2 \text{ df}, p < .001$				
Quality of Graduate Faculty				
Distinguished	28	46	40	50
Strong	17	28	18	23
Good	16	26	22	27
Total	61	100	80	100
$\chi^2 = 0.54, 2 \text{ df}, p > .05$				
Rating of Graduate Program				
Distinguished	10	17	16	20
Strong	16	27	22	28
Good	33	56	41	52
Total	59	100	79	100
$\chi^2 = 0.304, 2 \text{ df}, p > .05$				

born in Greece is 31% and 15% respectively. The relationship was found to be statistically significant at the .001 level.

Academic Institution. A greater majority or those born in Greece as compared with those born in the U.S. taught at universities, 75% and 64% respectively. Conversely, those born in the U.S. were more likely to teach at 2 year and 4 year colleges than their counterparts born in Greece. This relationship was also found to be significant at .001 level and is also consistent with the previous finding of formal education and place of birth.

Quality of Graduate Faculty. While the relationship between quality of graduate faculty and place of birth was not found to be statistically significant, the relationship nevertheless shows that there is a slight tendency for those born in Greece to be located at universities with higher graduate faculty ratings.

Effectiveness of Graduate Program. As with the relationship mentioned previously between quality of faculty and place of birth, this relationship too was not found to be significant. However, there was a slight tendency of those academics born in Greece to be located more frequently at departments with distinguished programs than those born in the U.S.

Undergraduate Rating. The undergraduate mean score of those born in Greece was higher than those born in the U.S., 623 and 608 respectively. However there were data on rating for 1,260 people, but data for place of birth included only 253 born in the U.S. and 204 born in Greece. The overall mean rating for both those who had place of birth data and those who did not was higher than for either those born in the U.S. or in Greece.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1) *Greek-American Professionals in the 19th Century.* There were three dozen or so Greek-American professionals in the 19th century. Most of them were brought to the U.S. by Protestant missionaries as orphans or refugees following the Greek Revolution of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire and the massacre of Chios by the Turks in 1822. Protestant missionaries were interested in converting Greek Orthodox to Protestantism by sending some of these Greek theology graduates back to Greece to do missionary work and convert fellow Greeks. Similar attempts were made by Catholics in Greece during the Otho dynasty (1830's-1860's). Both efforts, however, were unsuccessful. They failed to convert many Greeks in Greece to either Protestantism or Catholicism.

Theology, law, classics/literature were the most frequent areas of specialization of the proto-Greek-American professionals that reflected the intellectual and educational orientations of 19th century America. The other less frequent areas of specialization were military, medicine, history, journalism, and

banking. Some returned to Greece after their studies but those who remained became Americanized and married to non-Greek women (no Greek females were brought to the U.S. with the exception of one or two). This was also true in the later immigration of Greeks in the first quarter of the 20th century. The latter came to the U.S. as “birds of passage” to amass their fortune and return to their homeland as soon as possible.

Most accounts of Greek-American professionals by various Greek and non-Greek authors tend to report the most illustrious Greek-American professionals of the first generation or those who were born overseas or who as a rule were members of organizations and institutions. In other words, most of the 19th century accounts of Greek-American professionals do not include the progenies of the pioneer Greek-American professionals or the second and subsequent generations of Greek-Americans.

In a sense early Greek-American professionals had little or no ethnic identity because they came very young and were adopted by Americans. They were thus completely detached from things Greek and besides as yet there was no Greek ethnic community in America. Many of them Americanized their names. Greek-American professionals were in fact American educated and knew about Greece mainly through their studies especially classics in American colleges. They had no Greek-American ethnic professional identification and consciousness. It seems safe then to suggest because of the smallness in numbers and lack of ethnic consciousness and identity (adopted or sponsored by Americans) that those of the 19th century proto-Greek-American professionals who remained in the U.S. became totally Americanized. Thus 19th century Greek-Americans failed to establish a Greek-American tradition of professionalism and scholarship which the subsequent generations of Greek-American professionals of later years could use as a frame of reference.

2) *Greek-American Professionals (1900-1940's)*. In the first forty years of the 20th century Greek-Americans made some inroads in the established professions. However, one should keep in mind that Greek immigration to the U.S. was and still is a matter mainly involving lower socio-economic classes of Greece. This means that Greek established professionals and higher socio-economic classes did not then and do not now migrate from Greece.

Whatever gains Greek-Americans made in the established professions were against insurmountable odds and obstacles that they had to overcome. For one thing the major concern of the early Greek immigrants was economic/material security. They had first to establish an economic base and then embark on more intangible avenues of mobility. Second, the Greeks up until the 1920's were not sure of their permanent settlement in the U.S. This ambivalence alone

delayed their long commitment and future goal orientations that established professions and professionalism demand. Thus, Greeks, oriented themselves to those occupations where it was easier to make money with minimum skill and education. In a sense they had no other choice. Professions and higher education were beyond the reach of the most early Greek immigrants and their children.

Despite the efforts to establish a viable Greek-American professional class in the first forty years of Greek ethnic community life in the U.S., one can argue that the number and caliber of Greek-American professionals by the 1940's was still insignificant. Indeed, one finds a few hundred Greek-American professionals while during the same period Greek-Americans had reached close to one million Greek descended Americans. In short, one may say that by the 1940's we still find a small number of Greek-American professionals which was disproportionate to the number of Greek-Americans in the U.S.

3) *Contemporary Greek-American Professionals (1940-1970's)*. It has been shown that a genuine Greek-American professional class began to emerge following World War II. For example, for the first time it was found that about 2,000 Greek-Americans became professors in institutions of higher learning in the U.S. With the exception of a few dozen this was not true before the 1940's. Of course this is not unique to only the Greek-Americans. Greater inroads in academia are found by Jewish-Americans who surpass all ethnic groups including the Anglo-Saxon Americans. Similarly about the same period Italian-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and other groups began entering the professions in increasing numbers. In other words late ethnic groups and their progenies entered an era of respectability which in America and in other parts of the world is associated with the professions although more recently there is a challenge of professional authority and prestige.

In conclusion, the present analysis was a survey of past and present Greek-American professionals with emphasis on established professions and academics. It has been argued in the present analysis that the advent of a sizeable Greek-American professional class is a post World War II phenomenon. Of course this does not mean that Greek-American professionals were not present in the U.S. prior to the 1940's, indeed as was shown some of the most illustrious proto-Greek-American professionals were found earlier in the 19th and 20th centuries. What about the contemporary Greek-American professions? What conclusions can be drawn from the present survey?

Even though by the 1970's there is a sizeable group of Greek-American professionals including academics, it is this author's contention and it is supported by the data that as an ethnic group Greek-Americans have not kept up

with their share in the more established and prestigious professions and institutions in the U.S. *vis-à-vis* their numbers and compared to other ethnic groups, i.e., Jewish-Americans. Put another way, there is no doubt that there are many Greek-American professional practitioners, i.e., doctors, lawyers, engineers, and academics but there are few outstanding medical scientists, physical and social scientists, legal authorities, and scholars in general. Why is it for instance that only a handful of Greek-Americans are found in the elite universities? Why are there only a few Greek-American world renown scholars and scientists? As an ethnic group Greek-Americans have not succeeded in establishing a tradition of scholarship and professionalism. It is only recently that an effort is being made in that direction. The question arises why Greek-Americans were late in establishing a more viable and dynamic professional class.

The aforementioned are difficult questions. Yet as an ethnic group and culture one should seriously study the professional and intellectual orientations of Greek-Americans. It seems to me that our emphasis as a family, church, mass media and other ethnic institutions is on the Dionysian and material aspects of life, i.e., food, dance, homes, buildings and much less on the Apollonian world view, i.e., intellectual and professional pursuits and scholarship, the arts and sciences and the like. We must as an ethnic group reorient ourselves from a Dionysian view of life to a more Apollonian or at least a balance between the two. (In a sense the entire American society is materially and hedonistically oriented).

Of course the reasons for the late entrance of Greek-Americans into the professions including academia are many. The purpose of the present analysis is not to examine in detail the reasons. To mention some of the most pertinent one has to include the following: 1) There was no genuine tradition of Greek-American scholarship in the U.S. prior to the 1940's . 2) Other more tangible avenues of mobility than to pursue an academic career were followed by Greeks in America. In most instances it was beyond the immigrant's reach. 3) Medicine and law were the professions that the Greek immigrant knew most in the old country. Teaching and engineering became career choices later. 4) Discrimination and prejudice against ethnic minorities including the Greeks were high in the first quarter of the 20th century. 5) Prior to the 1920's Greeks in America were ambivalent as to the length and permanence of their stay in the U.S. Professions require long career commitment that the Greek immigrant was not equipped to give. He was a "bird of passage" with little intention to stay in the U.S. 6) Unless Greek professionals from Greece who came to the U.S. continued their education in the new country and became proficient in the English language, it was difficult for them to earn a living as academics, lawyers, doctors, or other professionals in general. In fact, Greek peasants were better ad-

justed in the new country than Greek professionals. The latter became declassé and worked below their ability in the U.S. 7) Late immigration to the U.S. was also a cause of late professional entry. 8) Although Greek-Americans did follow the professions, they follow only a few professions. 9) The lowly social origins and social class of the Greek immigrant was a handicap for his children.

Coupled with the foregoing reasons were the political factionalism and social cleavages among Greek-American communities along the lines of old vs. new immigrants, entrepreneurial class vs. professional class, young vs. old, and Greek cultural norms vs. American ways. Class distinctions were minimized to keep the group together, but as the Greek-Americans (and other hyphenated Americans for that matter) improved their socio-economic standing, class and status distinctions became more apparent. Thus those Greeks who came first to the U.S. and their progenies called the post World War II Greeks D.P.'s meaning displaced persons while the latter called the earlier immigrants and their children mis-hellene and anti-Greek. Both groups avoided each other and both believed themselves to be superior to each other in their own way by using different cultural frames of reference, those of Greece and the U.S. respectively.

In short the present analysis has demonstrated the need for this kind of inquiry. More than that Greek-American professionals should be studied and compared with other ethnic/racial group professionals in a more systematic way both in terms of diachronic and synchronic levels of analysis. For unless Greek-Americans establish a genuine base of professional, scientific, and scholarly tradition in the U.S., their political influence in American society will be inconsequential.

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Appendix I
Greek-American Professionals in the 19th Century

<i>Name, Place, and Year of Birth and Death</i>	<i>Type of Immigrant and Year of Arrival</i>	<i>Higher Education</i>	<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Institutional Affiliation</i>
1. John K. Zahos; Constantinople; 1820-	Brought by the great American Philhellene, Dr. Howe; 1828	Amherst, Mass.; Kenyon College, Ohio; Miami University, Ohio	English Literature, Rhetorics, Theology, Medicine (never practiced the latter)	In 1853, he was invited by Horace Mann to become an English professor at Antioch College, Ohio. Later he was appointed Professor of Rhetorics and English literature where he taught until 1871. He also studied Protestant theology and was ordained as pastor of the unitary church and taught at a theological seminary in conjunction with his appointment as a professor at the famous progressive school of Antioch College.
2. Evaggelinos Apostolides Sophocles; Pelion, Greece; 1804-1883.	Not known; 1828.	Amherst, Mass.	Classics, Byzantine and Roman History. Received his M.A. from Harvard and Yale and LL.D. from Western Reserve and Harvard Universities	Taught Classics at Harvard for a number of years. He wrote many books on classics and Byzantine/Roman History.
3. Michael Anagnos (Anagnostopoulos); Epirus, Greece (1837). Died in Rumania in 1906.	Brought by Dr. Howe who made him his assistant at the Perkins Institute for the Blind.	University of Athens.	Philology, classics and law; spoke French and English also.	Associated with the Perkins Institute for the Blind. He succeeded Dr. Howe after his death. Helen Keller was a student of Anagnos.

Appendix I (continued)

<i>Name, Place, and Year of Birth and Death</i>	<i>Type of Immigrant and Year of Arrival</i>	<i>Higher Education</i>	<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Institutional Affiliation</i>
4. George A. Perdikaris (father of the Greek-American John Perdikaris who became an ambassador to Morocco); Greece, 1803.	Not known; 1823.	Not known.	Professor of classics (spoke English, French, and Modern Greek). In 1837 was appointed consul of the U.S. to Athens.	Professor of classics and Modern Greek at the Mount Pleasant Classical Institute, Amherst, Mass.
5. Loukas Miltiades Miller; Livadia, Greece, 1820; died in 1902.	Brought and adopted by Colonel Miller as an orphan. His father was a chieftain of the Greek Revolution who died in battle. Colonel Miller was an American who fought on the side of the Greek during their struggle for liberty.	Studied Law.	Lawyer in 1891 was elected Congressman from Wisconsin. Participated in the Mexican-American War as Colonel.	
6. Captain George Mousalios Colvocoreses; Chios, Greece; died in 1872.	Survived the Massacre of Chios and was brought as an orphan by Americans and sponsored by Captain Alder Partridge, head of a military academy in Norwich, Vermont. Came to U.S. together with 9 other children from Chios.	West Point (Navy).	U.S. Navy officer.	U.S. Navy; retired with rank of captain in 1865.
7. Rear Admiral George Partridge Colvocoreses; born in the U.S. Son of no. 6.	Second generation.	Annapolis.	U.S. Navy officer, retired with the rank of Rear Admiral.	Executive Officer at Admiral's Dewey's flagship; Commandant and instructor of midshipmen in the Naval Academy at Annapolis from 1888-1890 and 1893-1896.

Appendix I (continued)

<i>Name, Place, and Year of Birth and Death</i>	<i>Type of Immigrant and Year of Arrival</i>	<i>Higher Education</i>	<i>Specialization/ Profession</i>	<i>Institutional Affiliation</i>
8. Andrew C. Zenos; Constantinople, 1855.	Not known.	Not known.	Theology, D.D., LL.D.	Professor of Biblical Theology, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago and former Professor at Lake Forest University and at Hartford Theological Seminary.
9. Alexander Paspatis; Chios, 1814; died in Athens 1891.	Sold by Turks in Smyrna with other children to Americans (orphan).	Graduated in 1831 from Amherst, Mass. in medicine and received LL.D in 1886 from the same college; also in Rome and Paris.	Medicine and Law, Byzantine History and Archaeology.	Practiced medicine in Constantinople; wrote many literary treatises in Greek, French, and English, and knew at least 16 languages.

These aforementioned nine Greek-American professionals can be considered among the most famous Greek-Americans in the nineteenth century. Some additional less well-known Greek-American professionals were:

1. Fotios Kavasalis; Ydra, Greece.	Orphan (1823).	School for missionaries.	Theology.	Chaplain of American Navy (1842-1864).
2. Anastasios Karavelis; Zante, Greece.	Sent by his father who was a priest in the Greek community of Malta.	Mount Pleasant Classical Institute, Amherst College, Athens University.	Classics/Law; graduated in 1829.	
3. Stephanos Galatis; Chios, Greece.	Escaped the Chios massacre; brought to America by missionaries at age 16.	Amherst College, Mass.	Classics/Law; graduated in 1829.	Judge in Syros, Greece.
4. Pantelis Galatis (brother of Stephanos); Chios, Greece.	Escaped the Chios massacre; brought to America by missionaries at age 12.	Amherst College.	Banking, Business; graduated in 1830.	Established business in Greece, Constantinople, and Massalia.
5. Constantinos Rallis; Chios.	Escaped the Massacre at age 16.	Attended Monson Academy; Amherst College and Yale (1829).	Business.	Returned to Europe and then to India and engaged in business.

Appendix I (continued)

<i>Name, Place, and Year of Birth and Death</i>	<i>Type of Immigrant and Year of Arrival</i>	<i>Higher Education</i>	<i>Specialization/Profession</i>	<i>Institutional Affiliation</i>
6. Pantios Rallis (brother of Constantinos); Chios.	Escaped the massacre at age 14.	Amherst and Yale (1830).	Business.	Returned to Europe and then to India and engaged in business.
7. Nicholasos Petrokokkinos; Chios.	Escaped the massacre at age 16.	Monson Academy and Amherst College.	Theology.	Worked with American missionaries. In 1884 established himself in Chios and became consul of the U.S. in 1867.
8. Nicholasos Prassis; Thessaly, Greece.	At age 16 came on his own and returned to Greece after his studies in 1830.	Monson Academy and Amherst College.	Not known.	Not known.
9. Nicholasos Vlassopoulos; Ithaca, Greece; became sick and died in 1827.	Came at the age of 22 on his own.	Monson Academy.	Not known.	Not known.
10. John M. Rodokanakis; Smyrna, Asia Minor.	Came to America in 1850 at age 19 with his uncle.	Studied at Smyrna and the U.S.	Merchant and prominent mason in Boston.	Appointed consul of Greece in Boston and consul to Greece (1866) for 26 years.
11. Christ A. Dereveis; Proussa, Asia Minor 1857.		Amherst College and Hartford and Andover Seminars; graduated in 1883.	Theology and later attended medical school at Northwestern and stayed in Chicago.	Ordained Protestant minister in the state of Maine.

Appendix I (continued)

<i>Name, Place, and Year of Birth and Death</i>	<i>Type of Immigrant and Year of Arrival</i>	<i>Higher Education</i>	<i>Specialization Profession</i>	<i>Institutional Affiliation</i>
12. George Constantinou; Athens, 1833.	Came to America in 1850.	Amherst College and Andover Seminary. Graduated in 1862.	Theology.	Ordained archimandrite of the Protestant church in 1862 and returned to Athens as missionary from 1864 until 1874 served as ambassador of the U.S. at Piraeus.
13. Gabriel B. Kambouropoulos.		Andover Theological Seminary. Graduated in 1889.	Theology.	Ordained Protestant minister in New England,
14. Michael Kalapothakis; Crete, Greece.	1825.	Union Theological Seminary.	Theology.	A Protestant missionary to Greece. Helped Dr. Howe to assist refugees during the Cretan Revolution 1866-68. Established the Greek Evangelical Church in Athens in 1874.
15. Demetrios Kalapothakis; son of Michael Kalapothakis.	Second generation.	Graduate of Harvard, Ph.D. of Berlin.	Journalism and medicine.	Returned to Greece and worked as a reporter of the <i>London Times, Nation</i> , and founder of <i>Empros</i> .
16. Athanasios Colovelonis; Messolonghi, Greece; 1815-1907 (lived to 92 years of age).	As an orphan, both of his parents were slain. Brought to the U.S. by an American Captain Nicholson.	Educated in Brooklyn.	A prominent mason.	

Appendix I (continued)

<i>Name, Place, and Year of Birth and Death</i>	<i>Type of Immigrant and Year of Arrival</i>	<i>Higher Education</i>	<i>Specialization/ Profession</i>	<i>Institutional Affiliation</i>
17. Christopher Castanis; Chios, Greece.	Came about 1828 along with Zahos; brought by Dr. Howe.	Mount Classical Institute of Amherst.		Returned to Greece, wrote many books including the Massacre of Chios.
18. Vasilios Argyras; Epirus, Greece; died in 1866	Arrived 1844.	Yale graduate in 1840.	Successful businessman.	
19. Fotios Fisk.	War orphan.			Served as chaplain in U.S. Navy.
20. George Syrian; Chios.	War orphan.		Warrant officer.	U.S. Navy gunner.
21. George Marshall; Chios.	War orphan.			Gunner in U.S. Navy; first to write the naval manual of gunnery.
22. Christos Evangelidis; Syros, Greece.		Amherst, Mass. College.		Returned to Syros and opened up a school.
23. Alexandros Evangelidis (son of Christos).	Second generation.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Journalism.	In 1895 was elected Democratic representative of the town. Worked for two newspapers <i>Citizen</i> and <i>Eagle</i> in Brooklyn, N.Y.

In addition Burgess (1913) mentions at least six famous Greek-American professionals in the nineteenth century: one diplomat, one professor of law, and four writers (of whom three were women).

Also Malafouris (1948) mentions a distinguished family of Drakos-Dimitri whose father Drakos came to the U.S. in the eighteenth century and settled in Louisiana. From the family came diplomats, authors, and educators. In addition to the ones already mentioned there were four more students and one Greek girl registered at the Classical Institute of Amherst from 1827-1831.

Sources: Canoutas (1918); Burgess (1913); Malafouris (1948); Dendias (1919).