

Training the “Community Servant”: The Greek Orthodox Church of America and the Teachers College of St. Basil’s Academy, 1959-1973

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Introduction

The history of Greek educational institutions and Greek American women’s participation and experiences in their development in the United States remains largely absent from the scholarly literature.¹ Despite the emphasis of the vital importance of Hellenic-Christian *paideia* found in official church documents, the press, and other sources, the Greek Orthodox Church community’s expansive educational efforts, as well as the role of Greek American and Greek born women who staffed the expanding community day and afternoon schools throughout the twentieth century have yet to be the subjects of comprehensive studies.² As Greek women in America were actively supporting the expanding Greek Orthodox educational system as teachers, secretaries, choir directors, and fundraisers, it was the church hierarchy which articulated the needs of the Greek immigrant community and constructed a physical and ideological space for women to fulfill those needs. In

¹ One reason for this gap is that scholars of Greek American studies have only recently begun to address issues that move beyond sociologist’s Charles Moskos’ perspectives on the socioeconomic “struggles and successes” of Greeks as ethnic Americans. See Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggles and Success* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989). Notable recent scholarship includes the work of Yiorgos Anagnostou, *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009). The work of scholars on Greek America is highlighted on the Modern Greek Studies Association’s website at <http://www.mgsa.org>.

² Research on the women’s church philanthropic organization known as the Philoptochos Society (derived from the Greek meaning “love for the poor”) also needs to be done. Through their fundraising, the Philoptochos Society fulfilled the religious, philanthropic, and educational needs of the Orthodox faithful in America and abroad. Their efforts included raising funds to purchase the property that would house the orphanage and teacher training school at St. Basil’s Academy in Garrison, New York, raising funds for Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological Seminary in Brookline, Massachusetts, supporting the day and afternoon schools, establishing scholarships, and engaging in much needed social work.

doing so, the hierarchy ultimately directed their resources and efforts and defined their position within the community.

In this essay, I examine the role of the Greek Orthodox Church of America in shaping the trajectory of St. Basil's Academy Teachers College during the period 1959-1973.^{3,4} Although the College was established in 1944, I focus on the time period when Archbishop Iakovos assumed his position and turned his attention towards expanding Greek education. This study ends in 1973 when the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America (hereafter Archdiocese) along with community leaders decided to merge the Teachers College with the newly established Hellenic College in Brookline, Massachusetts.⁵ To that end, three questions guide this paper: What was the purpose of the Teachers College and how did it change over time? Who defined this purpose and why? Who was the college designed for?

The establishment of St. Basil's Academy Teachers College can best be understood within the context of immigration patterns and the broader efforts of the Archdiocese to build a comprehensive system of education that would accommodate the needs of the Greek immigrant community. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the arrival of Greeks primarily from southern Greece coincided with the industrialization and urbanization period of American cities. The first large wave of mostly unskilled and uneducated male Greek immigrants arrived in the United States as a result of Greece's poor economic and agricultural conditions. They settled in large urban centers, such as New York and Chicago, New England mill towns, and in the western states. The new immigrants found employment in various industries such as food service, factories, railroads, mines, and textiles mills. Although the passage of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act severely restricted Greek immigration, the Greek immigrants who managed to settle established communities, churches, schools, Greek-language presses, and fraternal associations. The passage of the 1965 Immigration Act witnessed

³ I use the term Teachers College throughout this paper to describe the post-secondary teacher training institution at Saint Basil's Academy. Although it was not accredited as a college (offering a B.A. degree) by the New York State Education Department, this is the term that is most widely employed in the archives of the Archdiocese's collection.

⁴ This essay is part of my ongoing research for my dissertation which examines how the Greek Orthodox Church shaped parochial school education in New York during the period 1950-1980.

⁵ During this time period, the official name for the Archdiocese was the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Due to administrative reorganization in 1996, the name was changed to the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America. Also, the terms Archdiocese and Greek Orthodox Church are synonymous and are used interchangeably throughout this paper.

approximately 15,000 Greek immigrants entering the United States per year during the period 1966-1971.⁶ This new generation of immigrants included just as many women as men, a number of whom came from an urban educated middle class. Unlike earlier immigrants, many Greek women entered the labor force and many students arrived seeking higher education.⁷ Thus, the Archdiocese, community parishes, and schools had to grapple with educating and ministering to first, second, and third generation children and their families.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the early church hierarchy consolidated the financial contributions of the community churches to oversee the development of numerous educational projects. The women's church philanthropic organization, the Philoptochos Society (derived from the Greek meaning "love for the poor") raised funds towards the establishment of Holy Cross Theological Seminary in 1937 for the purpose of training an American born clergy. While the churches served as "vehicles for the transmission of Greek national values," it was the community day and afternoon schools that were responsible for educating Greek children in their Orthodox faith and Greek language. Each parish created an afternoon school to instruct students in the Greek language after attending a full day of public school. By 1970, there were 450 afternoon schools offering six to eight years of instruction. By 1973, there were also thirteen full-time day schools in operation. Hellenic College served the higher educational needs of the Greek community in America beginning in 1968.⁸ At the onset of the expanding afternoon and day schools, the church hierarchy recognized the need for a school to train teachers.

Training the "Community Servant"

In 1944, the Philoptochos Society purchased a large estate in Garrison, New York and helped to establish the Greek Archdiocese Institute of St. Basil. According to the charter, the purpose of the Institute was "to train young women of the Greek Orthodox faith to serve the educational, cultural, and philanthropic programs of the Greek Archdiocese and to offer instruction in the subjects of the elementary

⁶ Charles Moskos, "Greek American Studies," in *Reading Greek America: Studies in the Experience of Greeks in the United States*, ed. Spyros D. Orfanos (New York: Pella Publishing Co., 2002), 23-62.

⁷ Spyros D. Orfanos, ed., *Reading Greek America: Studies in the Experience of Greeks in the United States* (New York: Pella Publishing Co., 2002), 173-174.

⁸ Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggles and Success* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 83.

grades to pupils of the Greek Orthodox faith.”⁹ The Institute was located on the grounds of St. Basil’s Academy, an orphanage that also included an elementary school and high school for destitute Greek Orthodox children. By 1959, when Archbishop Iakovos assumed his position, 118 women graduated from the Institute.¹⁰

Early in his tenure, Archbishop Iakovos expressed his wish to transform the Institute into an accredited three-year Junior College for Girls granting the Associate of Arts (A.A.) degree. In an effort to attract students, the purpose of expanding the Institute into a college was to offer training equal to that offered in American junior colleges. The Archdiocese hoped that women trained at the accredited Junior College would command salaries equivalent to those of their American counterparts. Artemis Emmanuel, whom the Archbishop appointed Dean of Studies in 1960, prepared a report that reflected efforts in this direction. Emmanuel designed a program that would provide students the necessary background for further studies toward a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) degree at another institution. She carefully articulated the new school as one which

...trains young women of Greek descent and of the Greek Orthodox faith to teach at the schools of the educational system of the Greek Archdiocese, and in a more general way, to take a *leading* role in the spiritual, educational, and cultural pursuits and endeavors of their community and church (emphasis added). The Institute offers a three-year program combining liberal arts and professional education. The students are equipped with an understanding of children. They are also acquainted with the educational problems of the Hellenic-American community as these problems are related to American education. Moreover, the students are given a foundation in the humanities and in the social and natural sciences, and they are guided to know and appreciate the spiritual, cultural, and aesthetic values of the Hellenic-Christian civilization and tradition as our cultural

⁹ Artemis Emmanuel, “Tentative Program of the Prospective Three-Year Junior College of the Greek Archdiocese Institute of Saint Basil,” 25 November 1962, Teachers College of Saint Basil’s Academy Collection, Archives Department, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, NY (hereafter cited as TC Collection of GOA).

¹⁰ “St. Basil’s Academy Teachers College Yearbook 1964,” 1964, Box B8, TC Collection of GOA.

heritage and as the foundation on which American institutions and ideals rely.¹¹

While focusing on teaching in the community schools, Emmanuel's plan offered women the option of pursuing further education. Significantly, Emmanuel pursued a doctoral degree in sociology at Columbia University at the same time.

Emmanuel held a different vision for students of the proposed Junior College. Her 31-page report was comprehensive; she based her research on the education laws of New York State, on recent books and scholarly studies on higher education, women's education, teacher training, and other documents pertaining to American colleges. She prepared a course of studies that included 70 credits in liberal arts education, 25 credits in professional education or teacher training, and 15 credits in general electives. Her program included offering continuing education for teachers through Summer Seminars, which would "acquaint them with the current trends in American education." In line with raising the standards towards accreditation, Emmanuel also made the Archdiocese aware of the need for increased funding to update buildings, purchase new furniture, and expand the library. She directed the church hierarchy's attention to the matter of "preserving the right tone in student life."¹² Advocating on behalf of the students, Emmanuel requested additional caretaking staff since students cleaned the main academic buildings themselves "at the expense of the time that should be given to study and regular student activities."¹³ Clearly Emmanuel's purpose for the proposed Junior College offered an expanded vision of educational opportunities for Greek women. The program Emmanuel proposed, however, was not the one the church hierarchy would follow.

Another vision for staffing the Greek community day and afternoon schools with women educated at the proposed Junior College was echoed in a report prepared in 1965 by Father Demetrios Frangos, who replaced Emmanuel as Dean of Studies in 1963. Frangos expanded upon the objectives of the school: not only would the students' education be based on the foundations of a Christian and Hellenic tradition but such an education would "provide for the acquisition of those sciences and

¹¹ Artemis Emmanuel, "Tentative Program of the Prospective Three-Year Junior College of the Greek Archdiocese Institute of Saint Basil," 25 November 1962, TC Collection of GOA.

¹² Artemis Emmanuel to Archbishop Iakovos, 12 September 1961, Box 5, Folder CC, TC Collection of GOA.

¹³ Artemis Emmanuel to Archbishop Iakovos, 12 September 1961, Box 5, Folder CC, TC Collection of GOA.

skills that will enable the student to enter the specific professions needed by the Greek-American community, i.e., teaching and supervising the Greek language schools, teaching and supervising the Sunday School, or conducting the business of the community office.”¹⁴ Greek women were sanctioned to serve as teachers because, according to Frangos, “the Church has entrusted the task of educating the child to young ladies; this, because women are by nature the bearers of tradition and have a greater affinity to the world of the child.”¹⁵ This argument, which rationalizes a woman’s “natural” role as teacher was not new. It was articulated by the church hierarchy as well as community lay leaders to justify the need for Greek American women to perform certain functions within the scope of the church.

In the same 1968 report, Frangos explained that since the Greek teacher had “free time at her disposal, the teacher could and did extend her services to the community office, the Sunday school, and the Church choir.”¹⁶ He viewed the teacher as a “community servant” and the most important assistant of the priest in his manifold duties.”¹⁷ Unlike Emmanuel’s program of studies, which gave students the option of choosing classes in secretarial skills and typing through an electives system, Frangos incorporated it as part of the prescribed curriculum. Furthermore, when he replaced Emmanuel, he expanded the purpose of the proposed curriculum to explicitly emphasize the training of secretaries in addition to teachers. The “community servant” would be subordinate to the parish priest who would direct her in her duties. While Frangos and Emmanuel held competing visions regarding the purpose of education for Greek women, the question of what functions the college was supposed to fulfill was also tied into its name.

The “Conflicting Demands” of the Multipurpose School

One of the important issues that the Archdiocese needed to resolve was the name of the institution that trained teachers. The Archdiocese, church hierarchy, and faculty used different terms, interchangeably, throughout its existence: Institute, College, Junior

¹⁴ Reverend Demetrios Frangos, “Objectives of Junior College,” January 1963, Box 5, Folder CC, TC Collection of GOA.

¹⁵ Reverend Demetrios Frangos, “Objectives of Junior College,” January 1963, Box 5, Folder CC, TC Collection of GOA.

¹⁶ Reverend Demetrios Frangos, “Objectives of Junior College,” January 1963, Box 5, Folder CC, TC Collection of GOA.

¹⁷ Reverend Demetrios Frangos, “Objectives of Junior College,” January 1963, Box 5, Folder CC, TC Collection of GOA.

College, Junior College for Women, Junior College for Girls, Teacher Training Department of St. Basil's Academy, and Saint Basil's Teachers College. These various forms represent different, and to some extent, conflicting notions of what purpose this post secondary institution was supposed to meet. Was it a school for women or girls? Was it a college that provided a liberal arts education? The New York State Education Department attempted to correct this confusion. In response to Dean Emmanuel's inquiries regarding accreditation, Frank Hobson, Jr., the Associate in Higher Education, replied, "the recent use of the word 'college' on your transcripts was in error, and that until such time as you attain official collegiate status, this term will not further be employed."¹⁸ The law firm representing the Archdiocese also cautioned against using the terms "college," "junior college," and "higher education" as it violated state laws. Despite these warnings, the Archdiocese and faculty continued to utilize these different forms. They hoped to attract more students by changing the name first and instituting plans towards accreditation later.

As soon as he assumed his new position in 1959, Archbishop Iakovos sought assistance for his new project from academic professionals. He wrote to Hollis Caswell, the President of Teachers College of Columbia University, requesting "one or two members of your staff who could make a study of the academic program and the administration of St. Basil's Academy and submit a report to us, for which we are prepared to pay remuneration and expenses."¹⁹ He contacted deans at the City University of New York, Mount St. Joseph Teachers College, and Marymount College, among others, to gain insight into curriculum and accreditation. The Archbishop hired Professor James Steve Counelis, Instructor in History and Social Science of the Chicago City Junior College, to submit a report on the Teachers College. His observations were highly critical of the institution, faculty, and curriculum.

In his 1959 report, Counelis recommended that the Archdiocese shut down the Teachers College and transfer the education department to Hellenic College, the new college that was in its initial stages of organization in Brookline, Massachusetts. His recommendation came to pass in 1973 when the Teachers College was merged with the newly

¹⁸ Frank E. Hobson to Director of St. Basil's Academy, 11 June 1962, Box B5, Folder CC, TC Collection of GOA.

¹⁹ Archbishop Iakovos to Hollis Caswell, 5 October 1961, Box 5, Folder CC, TC Collection of GOA.

established Hellenic College. Counelis identified and expanded upon several key issues that merit further exploration.

Counelis asked whether or not the educational task of the academy was clearly defined. Like Frangos, he identified the purpose of the Teachers College as one that trained Greek-American women to teach in the Greek schools and Sunday Schools, to direct choirs, and to serve as secretaries in the Greek parishes. He observed that the “threefold goal of the Teachers College is not a unified one by its very nature.”²⁰ In other words, training for secretarial work, music director, or elementary school teacher required a distinct set of skills, and hence, a different course of studies aimed at professional preparation. It was this “set of conflicting demands” that led to an inefficient curriculum where there was a preponderance of one and two credit courses. Counelis noted the absence of a professional library and an inadequate teaching staff. Adding that the program of studies is more “European in structure...one other reason for the lack of attractiveness for St. Basil Academy Teachers College is the curriculum; it is conceived in cultural terms foreign to American education.”²¹

Counelis placed the blame, albeit directly, squarely on the Archdiocese. To a large extent, the multitude of names the school acquired reflected the multipurpose objectives of the church hierarchy. The Archdiocese’s efforts were haphazard and incomplete; they wished to educate Greek women on their terms, while limiting the positions they could occupy within the community. Greek Orthodox women could engage in teaching, secretarial, and social service work under the auspices of the parish priest. Yet, according to Counelis, the professional training they were receiving was so poor, he felt it was better to close down the school altogether.

Another critic of the Teachers College was Nicholas L. Zouras, a physician whom the Archdiocese hired to conduct a study on the Greek Orthodox population in the United States. In 1960, however, Zouras took it upon himself to report on the conditions of the orphanage and the Teachers College. Zouras called upon the Archdiocese to expand the Teachers College, to make it “more attractive to our Greek-American high school graduates, not to become just church secretaries, choirmasters, or Greek school teachers but to be able to earn degrees in

²⁰ James Steve Counelis, “Observational Report on St. Basil’s Academy,” Box 5, Folder GL, TC Collection of GOA.

²¹ James Steve Counelis, “Observational Report on St. Basil’s Academy,” Box 5, Folder GL, TC Collection of GOA.

the field of education just as in any other teachers' college in America."²² Zouras offered a vision of education that expanded women's opportunities beyond the sphere of the Greek community and the Orthodox Church. In another letter to the Archdiocese, he recommended that "serious consideration be given to the development of a co-educational Junior College...not only for the American-born girl or boy of Greek descent but also for the other Orthodox youth of Russian, Syrian, and Serbian descent...for a more broader perspective of Orthodoxy."²³ He expanded the Orthodox sphere to include all Orthodox youth for a more inclusive vision of Orthodox education. Needless to say, the church hierarchy did not respond to Zouras' suggestions about expanding the Teachers College.

Who attended?

Emmanuel, Counelis, and Zouras each identified a crucial issue that undermined the objectives of the Teachers College. The school did not attract a significant number of American born women of Greek descent. Rather, more Greek born women, having graduated from the gymnasia of Greece, chose to attend the Teachers College. In the 1959 graduating class, only one of seven girls was America born, while in 1967, six of the eighteen first year students were American born. This pattern was consistent throughout the 1960s and up until the 1973 merger. Emmanuel alerted the Archdiocese to the decreased enrollment among American born students. Counelis argued in his report that the Academy did not live up to its "real goal" of attracting Greek-American girls. He criticized the school for not trying to educate the Greek born students in American culture and values. Attributing the higher attrition rate among the few American born girls to the schools' reproduction of a Greek cultural and educational environment, he further ascertained "the Greek-born girl found a familiar and loving atmosphere which cherished 'Greekness' and that did not require her to accommodate or acclimate herself to an 'alien' life."²⁴ Zouras, too, cited this problem as a deficiency in the Archdiocese's efforts. He denounced the Archdiocese's "gross misrepresentation of the Junior College being for American-born youth

²² Nicholas Zouras, "Our Indigent and Deficient St. Basil's," 1960, Box 5, Folder GZ, TC Collection of GOA.

²³ Nicholas Zouras to Archbishop Iakovos and St. Basil's Academy Board of Trustees, 10 January 1964, Box 5, Folder GZ, TC Collection of GOA.

²⁴ James Steve Counelis, "Observational Report on St. Basil's Academy," Box 5, Folder GL, TC Collection of GOA.

of Greek descent as in practice it has been and remains predominantly an overseas school for girls from Greece (directly or via Canada).”²⁵

Emmanuel made concerted efforts to advertise the seemingly revamped Teachers College by sending brochures to parishes, placing advertisements and articles in newspapers, and making radio announcements. Archbishop Iakovos circulated recruitment letters to the parishes, conveying the advantages to parishioners of sending their daughters to the school. The advantages included free room, board, and tuition, including a \$200 yearly stipend, as well as guaranteed employment in a school and parish. The Archdiocese advertised the Teachers College in Greece too. For Greek born women, especially those who might have had limited prospects for further education or employment in Greece, the Teachers College would have had great appeal. In addition to employment upon completion of a three-year curriculum, Greek women might also find a permanent home in the United States.

A perusal of the Teachers College 1964 Yearbook shows how campus life complemented the academic life. It offers a snapshot of the intersection of American and Greek cultural traditions and how they complicated the multipurpose objectives of the church hierarchy. True to their roots, the women chose to adorn the front cover of the yearbook with a photo of the Acropolis. They chose to dedicate the yearbook to an American woman, “Mrs. Jackie Kennedy for her interest in Hellenism.” Students created a page in memory of the deaths of President John F. Kennedy and King Paul of the Hellenes. Photos of the students highlighting their trips to New York City, visiting museums, putting on plays, celebrating Greek and American holidays, enjoying the outdoors on the Hudson, hiking, and horseback riding, reveal a rich extracurricular life. It is evident that for the predominantly Greek born student body, American cultural values and activities enriched their insular Greek Orthodox environment.

The Merger with Hellenic College

On May 31, 1967, the State Education Department denied the Archdiocese’s request for a provisional charter as a junior college based on deficiencies Chief Edward F. Carr found in the areas of faculty,

²⁵ Nicholas Zouras, “Our Indigent and Deficient St. Basil’s,” 1960, Box 5, Folder GZ, TC Collection of GOA.

library, curriculum, and admissions.²⁶ Echoing Counelis' report eight years earlier, Carr observed that St. Basil's teachers were not teaching in areas of their professional expertise, which was a requirement for accreditation. He noted the predominance of part-time faculty and low student enrollment as an impediment, as well. The understaffed library, with its 6,900 volumes, fell far short of the 20,000 volumes needed for a junior college library. Carr indirectly addressed the problems of the multipurpose nature of the school when he questioned the large number of courses scheduled per semester. Finally, he cautioned the administration against using the term "college" until accreditation was achieved.²⁷

Given the resources the Archdiocese needed to establish an accredited junior college, the church hierarchy, in conjunction with community leaders and faculty from Saint Basil's and Hellenic College, decided to merge the Teachers College with Hellenic College.²⁸ They did not base the merger on economy alone but as a way to upgrade the training of the teachers, according to a report prepared by Reverend Stanley H. Harakas, Dean of Hellenic College.²⁹ He explained in detail how the course of studies would have to be expanded to accommodate the training of teachers, choir directors, and secretaries. The merger would affect housing facilities, classroom and dormitory space, library facilities, and the hiring of faculty. Harakas contemplated how the "ethos" of Hellenic College with its pervasive ecclesiastical "mood," might be affected with the transfer of approximately forty-eight women students.³⁰ He admitted that the "Halki tradition" would become obsolete, but was positive that a "new ethos" would be forged.

²⁶ Edward F. Carr to Reverend Demetrios Frangos, 31 May 1967, Box 5, Folder ME, TC Collection of GOA.

²⁷ Edward F. Carr to Reverend Demetrios Frangos, 31 May 1967, Box 5, Folder ME, TC Collection of GOA.

²⁸ Hellenic College was made up of two institutions at that time: an undergraduate four year college and a three year professional school of theology (Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology). Hellenic College was a candidate for accreditation with the New England Association of Schools and Colleges in 1973, and as such, offered three specialized programs leading to the B.A. degree: Philosophy-Religion, Greek Studies, and Humanities. According to Stanley Harakas, the "major purpose" of Hellenic College was to "provide specialized undergraduate education for candidates for admission to the School of Theology." Reverend Stanley Harakas, "Report on the Merger of Hellenic College and Saint Basil's Academy," 15 March 1973, Box 5, Folder ME, TC Collection of GOA.

²⁹ Reverend Stanley Harakas, "Report on the Merger of Hellenic College and Saint Basil's Academy," 15 March 1973, Box 5, Folder ME, TC Collection of GOA.

³⁰ Reverend Stanley Harakas, "Report on the Merger of Hellenic College and Saint Basil's Academy," 15 March 1973, Box 5, Folder ME, TC Collection of GOA.

Nonetheless, twenty-nine theology students expressed their dissatisfaction in a letter to Harakas. The seminarians disapproved of the merger because they felt the school lacked personnel and was insufficiently funded. Significantly, they opposed it because they believed there was too much transition occurring with their school, “which forces constant questioning and redefinition of the purpose of our school.”³¹ Yet, the purpose of the theological school (i.e., to train young men for the priesthood of the Greek Orthodox Church in America) had not changed since its inception in 1937. At the heart of the students’ dissatisfaction were the issues of tuition and expenses. Interestingly enough, Harakas reported that in the academic year 1972-3, the per student tuition cost for Hellenic College was \$5,700, while it was less than half that amount, \$2,500 per student, at the Teachers College. Hellenic College covered room and board for the theology students while the remainder of their expenses was covered through government loans, grants, or scholarships. The seminarians feared competition for limited financial resources with the Teachers College students, as well as the intrusion into their unique way of living.

The enormous disparity in per student tuition cost between Hellenic College and the Teachers College draws attention to notions of access and power within the Greek Orthodox Church in America and the Greek American community during this time period. The Archdiocese articulated an ambitious system of higher education to serve the needs of the Orthodox faithful. In doing so, the church hierarchy along with prominent men from the community, defined who was going to be educated, how they were going to be educated, and whom the resources would serve. Clearly, the Holy Cross Theological Seminary and the establishment of Hellenic College commanded a greater share of the resources. Prominent women educators or professionals were excluded from the efforts towards accreditation of the proposed Junior College. Artemis Emmanuel was one such individual who was fired from her position as Dean of the Teachers College. While the reasons for her dismissal are unclear, her exasperation at the “continuous harassment, intimidation, and humiliation,” which she was subjected to by empowered male colleagues, sheds light on how educated women were excluded.³²

³¹ Hellenic College students to Reverend Stanley S. Harakas, March 1973, Box 5, Folder ME, TC Collection of GOA.

³² Artemis Emmanuel to Archbishop Iakovos, 12 September 1962, Box 6, Folder AM, TC Collection of GOA.

The church hierarchy defined the education of women within the limits of the community parish. This was rationalized in practical terms because the schools needed teachers, and the parishes needed secretaries and choir directors. Hence, the Teachers College could successfully train the flexible “community servant.” This myopic view of women’s education resulted in an incoherent course of studies that, in the end, failed to achieve accreditation. It did not attract the American born high school students of Greek descent because other, more lucrative options were available to them such as teaching in the public schools. It also did not appear to satisfy the educational aspirations of its graduates who wished to further their education. A letter to Archbishop Iakovos from Artemis Emmanuel speaks to this issue:

A number of our graduates of last year and of previous years applied, this last summer, for enrollment in various American colleges. This has required that we send these colleges transcripts of our students’ records and information as to the type of our school, its objectives, the courses offered, etc. In absolutely all the cases, the colleges with which we communicated acknowledged our program of study granting our graduates transfer credit and accepting them to advanced standing.³³

The graduates clearly had educational aspirations beyond what was offered at the Teachers College. This letter is also a testament to the strength of the program of study at the school despite the deficiencies outlined by the education authorities. It is also something the church hierarchy could have and perhaps should have built upon.

Conclusion

The Greek Orthodox Church’s role in education during this time period requires more research as well as a critical perspective. The voices of the women who worked as teachers, choirmasters, and secretaries also need to be uncovered and brought to the fore. Their work was vitally important to the community and further studies should examine the teachers themselves for the ways they negotiated and interpreted their own agency within the parish sphere. Finally more research needs to be done on the schools for the value and meaning they held to their teachers,

³³ Artemis Emmanuel to Archbishop Iakovos and Board of Trustees of St. Basil’s Academy, 12 September 1961, Box 6, Folder AM, TC Collection of GOA.

students, and respective communities. Despite Archbishop Iakovos' call to the graduates of 1961 to approach their teaching as they would approach the "holy altar,"³⁴ what the church hierarchy overlooked was that for some teachers, teaching was not centered on religious or ethnic loyalties, rather "it was the opportunity to give to a child the best that is in you, that he or she might become a better person tomorrow."³⁵

³⁴ Archbishop Iakovos, Commencement Address, 18 June 1961, Box B7, Folder ME, TC Collection of GOA.

³⁵ Bess Vieron, "A Saint Basil Graduate Reminisces, 1948-1964," undated, Box B7, Folder AZ, TC Collection of GOA.