



GREEK COMMUNITIES IN AUSTRALIA

M. P. TSOUNIS

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This is my original work.

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S U M M A R Y

The thesis analyses the history of Greek ethnic communities in Australia from the 1890's to the present. During the intervening period important changes took place: Australia's Greek population increased from approximately six-seven hundred to over a quarter of a million; each of the Greek communities of Sydney and Melbourne grew from two-three hundred members to tens of thousands; and most of Australia's cities experienced Greek community formation though on a smaller scale than in Sydney and Melbourne.

The process of Greek community formation was born of many forces which are to be found in both the country of origin and settlement. Some of these are outlined in Chapter I which gives the background of Greek immigrants and defines the field to be investigated. Greek migration occurs largely through the process of chain migration, a movement of relatives and friends towards their successful sponsors in Australia. Under favourable conditions the consequent chain settlements may grow rapidly and coalesce into ethnic communities. When communities grow sufficiently large the settlers combine formally into social organisations because of the need to practice and preserve their native culture, to help one another, and to assist their cherished former fatherland. This has always been the way of the Greeks who lived abroad.

The Greek communities which had formed by 1923 (and which are traced in Chapter II) grew slowly and were small: The main chain settlements derived from the three small islands of Kythera, Ithaca and Kastellorizo. Most immigrants were males and many had taken readily to the catering trades. Despite their small size each of the four main ethnic communities of Sydney, Melbourne, Perth and Brisbane was assuming the normal structural form. This included a Greek Orthodox Community (the principal immigrant organisation) embodying and practising through its church school and other agencies much of the national culture; one or more chain settlements and the formation of district, island or regional fraternities; pan-Hellenic societies to satisfy a variety of needs; numerous coffeehouses, representing a favourite pastime and domain of males; a consulate and even a Greek newspaper.

After 1924 the fragmentation of ethnic communities into organised groups increased, due to a greater influx of immigrants, resulting in new chain settlements, and because of the institution of a Greek Orthodox Church diocese, at the head of which was an uninvited bishop. Earlier the elected councils of Communities decided questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority over their churches. After 1924 this right was assumed and enforced

by the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople, Turkey, though not without considerable opposition particularly from the dominant groups, the Kytherans in Sydney and the Ithacans in Melbourne. The consequent religious schism, analysed in Chapter III, plagued ethnic communities for a whole decade.

The 1930's, discussed in Chapter IV, witnessed a comparatively settled period: there was no great influx of Greek immigrants; a new bishop did much to restore faith in the church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and Greek Orthodox Communities grew in size, prestige and authority, uniting ethnic communities and immigrant organisations along pan-Hellenic lines.

The 1940's, discussed in Chapter V, saw some important changes. The united and proud communities of the war period became divided politically after the war. The entry of Greeks into factories and other unionised industries from which they had been noticeably absent in the pre-war period was also significant as it paved the way for the post-war immigrants from Cyprus and Greece to enter industry and contributed to the growth and diversification of communities.

Much more significant were the changes wrought by the new and larger migration chains unleashed by Common-

wealth assistance to Greek immigration after 1952 and which are dealt with in Chapter VI. With the rapid growth of existing communities and the formation of new ones came a new church system which undermined the power of the old Greek Orthodox Communities. Post-war migration also brought some important changes in the structure of the larger ethnic communities, an intensification of ethnic community organisational fragmentation and further political, cultural and social divisions.

All of these changes culminated into a great schism among Australia's Greeks which is the subject of Chapter VII. Although the schism took a religious form the issues were more pragmatic: the rights and prerogatives of the Community institution and those of the Orthodox Church and clergymen; the ideological division of post-war Greeks which also reflected those of the world at large, and the conflicting interests of organised groups and social classes.

Somewhat similar schisms and conflicts though on a smaller scale had occurred in previous decades. These, too, stemmed from numerous causes not least of which was the effect of the forces of Australianisation on Greek immigrants. Although the study of ethnic communities was simultaneously a study of Greek immigrant assimilation these two interrelated questions are discussed more specifically in Chapter VIII.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Greek migration to Australia, like any other migration movement of peoples, has naturally exhibited its own peculiar features. This ~~has~~^{been} true of the reasons why Greeks emigrated, how they travelled, where they settled in Australia, what occupations they entered and what type of settlements they formed. Several factors operated to create these peculiarities including economic and political conditions in the country or countries from which Greeks emigrated, as well as conditions in Australia. Also important in shaping the features of Greek immigration and settlement in Australia was the diverse cultural background of Greeks - a background to which Greeks abroad throughout the ages have contributed - and one vastly different from Australia's cultural and social environment. But, being part of a larger movement of peoples from the Old to New world, Greeks have also shared much in common with other migrants. Settling in a new country, remote from their own, with no language and few skills, they experienced all the problems of strangers in a strange land.

It ~~is~~^{was} to be expected that Greeks, like other non-Britishers, would, upon settlement in Australia, enter into various kinds of associations with their own compatriots. Initially, this was necessary because of the difficulty in communicating with members of the host society; subsequently, because complete assimilation of those who arrived as adults was a feat rarely accomplished in their own life-times. These associations, necessary in the daily life of immigrants, naturally assumed different forms for each group, and individual, with time and place. The inevitable tendency is always for closer association with one's own type, while under certain conditions such associations may materialise into what are sometimes called ethnic communities or Folk settlements.¹ This response by immigrants to their new social and cultural environment is no unique phenomenon however different this response may be.

¹ In this research the term ethnic community rather than Folk settlement will be used though the former is not substantially different from the latter term which is used by C. A. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, Sydney, 1963, pp.5-7 and passim.

The communities Greeks have been fashioning in Australia, have not been homogeneous, united, and closely knit social organisations. Their structure, varying considerably with time and place, has been determined largely by the number of Greeks in each settlement. If the settlement is small, say between 30 - 40 Greeks, the community as such can hardly be said to exist. To be sure, Greeks will meet together informally on all sorts of occasions, but there is little formal organisation. A community of this size is different from one of say 300 - 400 members. In the latter case the numbers are sufficient to combine more formally and found and administer such typically Greek institutions as a Greek church and a Greek school - sufficient in that their combined efforts and resources can, without being over-taxed, pay for the services of a church and a school which require the employment of a Greek priest and a part-time school teacher. If the community has grown to between 3,000--4,000, a number of other institutions and organisations may have eventuated. Apart from a church and school, or more than one of each, the community by this stage may contain several formal organisations, several coffeehouses, a Greek consul (if the community is situated in a capital city) and possibly a Greek newspaper. If again the community has grown to ten times this size (30,000 - 40,000) a corresponding increase in the number of institutions and organisations might be expected, and still with one Greek consul employing one or two assistants. As the Greek communities in Australia have grown numerically, their tendency

has been to become more and more fragmented into numerous institutions and formal and informal organisations. But whatever their particular structure the tendency of Greeks to form ethnic communities in Australia is most marked; the forces impelling them to do so are quite powerful.

① In the first place, for a number of reasons, adult Greek immigrants rarely master the English language as well as those immigrants from northern and western Europe. ② Second, being newcomers they had to rely on earlier Greek immigrants for assistance and guidance. ③ Third, Greeks, unlike the Dutch, Italians, Germans and Poles, had no prior church in Australia to receive them. Invariably, Greeks have had to build and conduct their own churches and such activities bound Greek settlements together. ④ Fourth, Greek civilization and culture are much older than those of ^{most} other Europeans - even older than those of immigrants from east and south-eastern Europe with most of whom Greeks share a common religion. The awareness of this age-old cultural heritage is a powerful stimulus to ethnic community formation. ⑤ Fifth, as Greek settlement in Australia has become largely concentrated in urban centres, it has made possible the frequent contact necessary for the founding and administering of numerous institutions and societies which are all more or less integral parts of a Greek community of any size. ⑥ Sixth, the exclusion of Greeks from the higher rungs of the Australian socio-economic ladder forces them to look for an alternative social environment which they find in their own communities.

In short, Greek ethnic communities in Australia have arisen primarily because of the wide linguistic, religious, and, in general, cultural gulf, separating Greeks from the rest of the population.

Two more important factors have contributed to strengthen the bonds of Greek ethnic communities in Australia: one was the awareness that there were always Greeks abroad who had survived long periods of time by founding and living in actual communities; the other was the strong nationalist sentiment resulting from the emergence of the modern Greek state. Both of these will now be examined before continuing with a more detailed analysis of the structure and functions of Greek communities in Australia. A consideration of Greeks abroad and Greece will also supply some of the keys to understanding Greek communities in Australia as well as their more general background.

* Greece and Greeks Abroad.

Greek emigration and settlement abroad, outside prescribed Greek national boundaries, or outside regions considered Greek from the point of view of long settlement, have been recurring events since ancient times. Migration movements were frequent as Greek city-states founded daughter colonies overseas and as Greek merchants traversed the length and breadth of the regions bordering the Mediterranean and Black Sea going as far as India.¹ The conquests

¹ For the early Greek colonies abroad see John Boardman, The Greeks Overseas, Penguin Books, 1964.

of Alexander the Great further dispersed Greeks but the movement was in an easterly direction again bringing Greeks as far as India though in much greater numbers than before.¹ The Roman conquests and subsequently the rise and fall of the Byzantine Empire, similarly dispersed Greeks to the four corners of the earth: there is probably some truth in the claim that 'at no time since the third century before Christ have the majority of Greeks lived in Greece itself'.²

Few comparisons can be drawn between Greek communities in Australia and the more ancient Greek settlements overseas. These older settlements arose under entirely different conditions: they were in fact colonies which were fashioned along prescribed lines resembling the mother city-state at home³ and, more importantly,

¹ For Greeks in India and other adjacent regions to the west of India see: W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, C.U.P., 1951; S. K. Narain, Indo-Greeks, Oxford, 1957; G. Woodcock, The Greeks in India, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1966. Narain (pp.10-11) rejects Tarn's (pp.5-10, p.358 and passim) claim that the history of Indo-Greeks was essentially part of Hellenistic civilisation. Woodcock on the other hand attempts to reconcile the opposing views of these two authors. There were, of course, other settlements abroad in the Hellenistic period, such as in Asia Minor, Egypt, and in the regions formerly making up the Persian Empire.

² Anthony Bryer "The Great Idea", History Today, March, 1965, p.166.

³ As at home in the city-state, polis, abroad, the Greek population was settled according to tribes, with an assembly, elective council and magistrates, rotating prytanies, a gymnasium, etc., while the polis enjoyed considerable autonomy. See W. W. Tarn, op.cit., pp. 5-10.

unlike modern settlements abroad, they enjoyed actual territorial possession. Similarly Greek settlements abroad in the course of the expansion of the Byzantine Empire are hardly comparable with those of recent times. A more fruitful era to consider is the post-fifteenth century period when the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire left the Greeks completely stateless, forcing large numbers of them to settle abroad and found communities not unlike those currently existing in Australia and elsewhere. The dissolution of the Byzantine Empire was a lengthy process but it came to an end officially when its capital, Constantinople, fell to the Turks in 1453. Henceforth, Greeks entered the so-called '400 years of Turkish captivity', Turkokratia, while those outside the Ottoman Empire, took the 'long bitter road to estrangement', xeniteia, both important themes in modern Greek history relevant to this study.

Turkish conquest itself left its indelible marks on the Greeks though they managed to retain their identity largely through the Greek Orthodox Church. The 'Sublime Porte' recognised the existence of Greeks through their church, which was officially termed the Rum Millet, the Roman Nation or the Community of Greeks. Through the church's large and hierarchical organisation the Sultan ruled rather effectively its Christian subjects.¹ The head of the Greek church was the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople and at the time of the Byzantine Empire it had gained pre-eminence over the more

¹ For the Greek Orthodox Church under Islam see Timothy Ware, The Orthodox Church, Penguin Books, 1963, pp.96-111.

ancient Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. Under the Turks the Ecumenical Patriarchate itself became an important branch of the government and as such, often reflected many of the vicissitudes of the Ottoman Empire.¹ From the early part of the sixteenth century its headquarters became situated in the Phanar quarter of Constantinople where much of the financial, political and intellectual activity of Greeks became centred. From this quarter arose the powerful and wealthy Greek Phanariot class on which the Sultan became increasingly dependent for the functioning of his government after the seventeenth century.² Also important were the Greek merchant classes, especially those situated in the island communities of Chios, Psara, Spetsai and Hydra, acquiring as they did, more and more autonomy and freedom, especially as the

¹ "Out of 159 Patriarchs who held office between the 15th and 20th centuries, the Turks have on 105 occasions driven Patriarchs from their throne; there have been 27 abdications, often involuntary; 6 Patriarchs have suffered violent deaths by hanging, poisoning or drowning; and only 21 have died natural deaths while in office." Quoted from B. J. Kidd, The Churches of Eastern Christendom, London, 1927, p.304, by Timothy Ware, op.cit., p.99.

² S. M. Sophocles, History of Greece, Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1961, p.176, places the year of the Patriarchate's transfer to the Phanar quarter at 1601, though some time lapsed before the Phanariotes acquired power. The four great Phanariote officers were those of dragoman (interpreter) of the Porte, dragoman of the fleet, prince of Moldavia and prince of Wallachia. Around these great ones were crowds of minor Greek officials. W. A. Heurtley and others, A Short History of Greece, O.U.P., 1967, p.85.

nineteenth century approached.¹ Despite Turkish conquest and consequent conversion to Islam of many Greeks, there were then a number of factors operating which helped Greeks retain their identity. But Turkish conquest was enslavement for most Greeks, many of whom escaped by fleeing and settling abroad.

Greek settlement abroad, after the fifteenth century, falls into two main periods. One generally followed the Turkish conquest and became concentrated in Christian southern and south-eastern Europe and Russia away from the Islamic east. In the second period, the latter half of the nineteenth century, Greek emigration, brought about largely by unfavourable economic conditions at home, resulted in settlement in the New World as well as in parts of Africa and latterly in Western Europe, that is, in regions formerly unknown to Greeks.² But there was also some overlapping of the two periods. Of the actual number of Greeks abroad at any one time little is known and only rough estimates can be given. Before the emergence of the modern Greek nation early in the nineteenth century it is probable that over 300,000 Greeks lived in Europe outside Greece's 'natural boundaries'. At the present time the

¹ John B. Walf, The Emergence of the Great Powers, New York, 1962. The author notes (pp.167-8) that Greek merchants and bankers formed an elite community within the Ottoman Empire. Their sons, educated in Italy, France and England, understood Western and Levantine languages and through their business enterprises they became accustomed to large affairs, unlike the Slavs and Bulgars, and, therefore (like the Phanariots) their interests were better served by rejuvenating the Ottoman Empire than by encouraging its disintegration. The interests of Greek merchants were threatened more by the monopolistic forms of western capitalism than by the Sultan's government whose bureaucracy they began to control after the second half of the seventeenth century.

² These two periods are generally accepted by Greek sources including The Great Greek Encyclopaedia (Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia), Vol. X. Athens, C.1963, p. 842.

number of Greeks abroad is placed in the two-three million range. This wide range of estimates indicates the extreme difficulty in attempting to ascertain even the approximate number of Greeks abroad or the population of any individual Greek settlement.¹ Immediately after 1453 the movement of Greeks making their way to the west was increased as former Byzantine officials, soldiers, merchants, clergymen and scholars, fled from the Turks. Many of these settled in the southern parts of Greece, long under the rule of Crusaders, Venetians and Genoese, while others completed their journey and settled in the cities of the Italian peninsula. The movement to the west was sustained until the eighteenth century, corresponding to the progressive expulsion of the westerners from

¹ The term "Greek" as used in Greek sources includes everyone who is of Greek extraction - the first, second and third generation Greeks and offspring of mixed marriages. Hence Greek sources, the only ones available, greatly inflate the number of Greeks abroad: they also give a rather distorted picture of other features of Greek communities throughout the ages, with a strong tendency to stress the achievements of Greeks abroad and their supposedly inherent ability to survive as Greeks however difficult the conditions. Still, Greek sources are sufficiently reliable to indicate the main patterns of Greek settlements abroad. But to illustrate how Greek sources inflate the number of Greeks abroad the following are typical examples. The Australian correspondent of Krikos, September, 1952, places Australia's Greek population at 60,000 while the Commonwealth Census records that Australia's Greek-born residents stood at 12,291 in 1947 and 25,862 in 1954. Even if allowance is made for the fact that the Commonwealth censuses exclude categories like Greek Cypriots, Greeks born outside of Greece, and the Australian-born, Greeks in Australia in 1952 would be much below the 60,000 mark. Also The Great Greek Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, pp.850-851, op.cit., places the number of Greeks in Russia early this century between 700,000 - 800,000. These estimates fall below official Russian government figures (quoted by the same source) which placed the number of Greeks as low as 62,470 in 1896 and at 213,000 in 1926.

their Greek possessions.¹ Greek settlement became concentrated in Venice itself because of long Venetian involvement in Greek and Turkish affairs.² After the seventeenth century Greeks began to move into the precincts of the Austrian and Russian Empires as these two powers became the protagonists in the struggle to check the forward thrust of the Turks. The movement into Russia became especially pronounced after the eighteenth century and co-incided

¹ The Turkish conquest was a lengthy process for many parts of Greece were still held by Venetians, Genoese and Crusaders for another two hundred years or so after 1453. The last important region to fall to the Turks from the Venetians was Crete in 1669. The seven Ionian Islands lying off the west coast of Greece remained Venetian possessions until the Napoleonic Wars: these islands went to France in 1797, to Russia in 1799, to Turkey in 1800, back to France in 1807, to Great Britain in 1814, and were finally ceded to Greece in 1864. For a brief account of Turkish conquest after 1453 see Encyclopaedia Britannica (1961 Edition), Vol. 10, pp. 780-782, and W. A. Heurtley and others, op.cit., pp. 77-90.

² Venice, it may be noted, attempted a re-conquest of southern Greece and between 1685 to 1715 she captured and for some time held the Peloponnese and Athens. S. M. Sophocles, op.cit., pp. 261-271. A brief account of Venetian involvement in Greek affairs, the territories she intermittently held and lost to the Turks, is given in W. A. Heurtley and others, op.cit., pp. 66-68 and pp. 82-85.

with Russian expansion in south-eastern Europe.¹ Rumania, or what were then the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, also experienced large-scale Greek settlement after the seventeenth century. The settlements in these two wealthy provinces, though within the Ottoman Empire, may still be considered as Greek communities abroad because they were outside traditional Greek habitat. Greek settlement in Rumania came about largely as a result of the permeation (1634 - 1711) and subsequently the control (1711 - 1821) of the principalities by the Greek Phanariot class

¹ Russia began to interfere more and more frequently with the Ottoman Empire after Peter the Great (1689 - 1725) - a policy which reached fruition by the Kutchuk-Kainardji Treaty in 1774. By this Treaty, Greeks, implicated in the 1770 abortive anti-Turkish revolt (instigated by the Russians), were allowed to migrate freely to Russia - at least for one year. By the same Treaty Greek ships were given the right to fly the Russian flag: this further stimulated the growth of Greek merchant communities in southern Russia. But traditionally Russia attracted Greeks. The Russian Empire itself claimed to have been the successor of the Byzantine Empire while after the sixteenth century Moscow began to be referred to as 'Third Rome' - Constantinople having been 'Second Rome' - while a dynastic link between the two empires was affected by the grand duke Ivan III of Muscovy who married Sophia, the niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Paleologos XI. For the many privileges accorded to Greeks in Russia, first under Peter the Great and later under Catherine the Great, see G. I. Zoidis, Traditional Friendship (between) Greece and Russia, Athens, 1958, pp. 63-66 and pp. 82-87. For the link between the Byzantine Empire and Russia see Dimitri Obolensky, Byzantine Heritage, (abridged), Readings in Russian Civilization, Vol. I, Chicago, pp. 201-215.

acting on behalf of the 'Sublime Porte'.¹ Elsewhere in Europe Greek settlement was decidedly smaller.

In the post-1453 period Greeks settling abroad were on the whole those with skills which enabled them to reside in urban communities. Except for Rumanian Greeks, most were emigres, but included a large number of merchants whose legitimate business often took them outside the limits of the Ottoman Empire. Few whose interests lay in land emigrated. Hence very few Greek communities abroad developed with actual territorial possession. The only exceptions were the rural communities in South Italy which were really remnants of former Byzantine possessions, and those in Corsica founded by Greeks from Mani (in Peloponnesos) after 1676.² Consequently Greeks congregated in cities; Venice, Genoa, Padua, Livorno, Vienna, Trieste, Bucharest, Jassy, Odessa, Sevastopol, Yalta, Kerch, Rostov, Kiev, and Moscow, and to a lesser degree in

¹ For Greeks in Rumania in the period of Phanariot ascendancy see Encyclopaedia Britannica (1961 Edition), Vol. 19, pp. 638-639; and R. W. Seton-Watson, The History of Roumanians, C.U.P., 1934, pp. 126-143.

² By all accounts these old Greek rural settlements managed to preserve much of their culture including the Greek language to later times. The same was also true of the Maniat settlement(s) of Corsica. Two interesting accounts of the latter are given by George Finlay, History of Greece, Vol. V, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1887, pp. 116-118, and by P. L. Fermor, Mani, London, 1967, pp. 99-111. Rather than bow to the Turks, 700 or so Maniats, led by the Stephanopli (Stephanopoulaioi), left Vitylo in Mani, lock, stock and barrel (including the town's church bell), and set off to Italy. Arrangements were made with the Genoese who settled most of them in their colony, Corsica, near Ajaccio, and later in Cargese. The exploits of the Maniats, how they created a typical Greek settlement and their war with the native Corsicans who rose against the Genoese in 1731, and what happened to the Maniats subsequently, form a rather romantic tale, especially as it is related by Fermor.

Marseilles, London and Munich, among others.¹

A number of institutions, notably churches and schools, indicating Greek ethnic identity and some social organisation, arose in most Greek communities abroad. But the extent to which Greeks retained their identity depended on a number of factors, the most important of which were the geographical location of each settlement and its population density. In Italy, Greeks were by and large converted to Catholicism through the Uniat Church and were subsequently absorbed by the local population.² The only viable community was that in Venice, always the largest numerically, where Greeks were able to build their own church, retain their own clergy, and for some time after 1577 were even permitted to place their church under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.³

¹ For a complete list of Greek communities abroad and a short history of each after 1453 see The Great Greek Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, op.cit., pp. 842-861.

² The Uniat Church retains the Greek Orthodox Church practice and liturgy but recognises the Pope as head of the church. A large number of disputes are recorded as having taken place in the course of conversion in Italy. The Great Greek Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, op.cit., pp.847-849.

³ A brief but valuable history of the Greek community in Venice is supplied by D. J. Geanakoplos, Greek Scholars in Venice, Harvard University Press, 1962, pp. 53-70. Geanakoplos asserts (pp. 68-69) that religious toleration of Greeks in Venice was accorded because of Venice's increasing dependence on the Greek estradiotti (the republic's cavalry) in the wars against the Turks.

Greeks encountered religious intolerance in most Catholic countries in Europe except in Austria. Some religious restrictions were also imposed on the Greek church in London for a short period after 1682.¹ In Russia and Rumania there was complete religious freedom, a fact which partly explains the flourishing Greek settlements there. Greek schools, or what were generally called 'Academies' (which taught several subjects including Greek), were founded in a number of settlements; the most famous of these institutions were situated in Venice, Vienna, Bucharest and Odessa.² The learning of Greek was in any case in great demand by Greek clergymen, merchants, scholars and Phanariots, both within and outside of the Ottoman Empire. The development of the Greek printing press after the fifteenth century, again operating at home and abroad, further helped retain and spread Greek learning.

¹ "Henry Compton, the Anglican Bishop of London, forbade the Greeks to have a single icon in the church, and demanded that their clergy omit all prayers to the saints, disown the Council of Jerusalem (1672), and repudiate the doctrine of Transubstantiation." Timothy Ware, op. cit., p.180. The first Greek community in London, it is claimed, was founded by the Metropolitan of Samos (an island in the Aegean Sea) who fled from the Turks taking with him 100 families from Samos and nearby Leros island and settled in the then fashionable quarter of Soho, London. The Great Greek Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, p.842-843, op.cit., and Krikos, July-August, 1952.

² Greek schools or Academies are recorded by a number of sources and their role in preserving Greek learning and the identity of Greeks within and outside the Ottoman Empire was matched by the role of the Greek Orthodox Church with which the Greek School system was usually connected. See Sophocles, op.cit., pp. 218-229. The Great Greek Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, op.cit., pp. 842-861

There is evidence of other institutions and of actual organisations within many Greek settlements abroad although their precise structure, activities and functions are not always clear. A Greek Brotherhood, Scuola, founded in Venice in 1494, was a 'corporate body before the law' with restricted membership.¹ After the second half of the eighteenth century, Communities as corporate bodies sprang up in most cities of south Russia as well as a Greek magistracy and a military academy.² The position of the social organisation among Greeks abroad becomes clearer as the nineteenth century approached, after which most settlements generally underwent considerable formal combination. The most usual organisations were Communities such as the Greek Community of Trieste which was formed in 1782 by Greek merchants.³ Although this Community was

¹ D. J. Geanakoplos, op.cit., p. 63. The Greek Scuola's membership was limited to 250 males.

² The Great Greek Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, op.cit., pp. 850-851. W. A. Heurtley and others, op.cit., p. 87.

³ A short history of the Greek community in Trieste is given by N. Mantas in Krikos, April, 1959. In writing its history N. Mantas claims to have studied the Community's records. The account given approximates that appearing in Ho Hellenismos tou Exoterikou, December, 1967. The community in Trieste was made up entirely of merchants, and was never a large settlement.

ruled by a hierarchy of officials they were elected by members so that the organisation was essentially a democratic one.¹ The principal aim of the Community was to maintain a church and a school. This places the Greek Community of Trieste in the category of a Greek Orthodox Community - the basic organisation of Greeks abroad in later times. From the late eighteenth century onwards a number of 'Friendly Societies' also emerged from the Greek communities in Russia, Austria, and Rumania.² One of these, Philike Hetairia, founded in

¹ The hierarchy was comprised of a president, and going down the scale, vice-presidents, councillors, bouleutai, (which in modern Greek means members of parliament), and syndikoi, (advocates, not members of a syndicate as the name may suggest). Priests and teachers were employed who were accountable to officers: the priest was even constitutionally obliged to consult them on what section of the scripture was to be read at Sunday service. The Community's treasury was enriched by contributions (undisclosed) from merchants but it is recorded that every Greek merchant in Trieste was obliged to pay one-thousandth part of his merchandise for the upkeep of the church. *ibid.*

² The number of these 'Friendly Societies' is not certain, but with the rise of Greek national awareness, especially after the 1789 French Revolution, their number (and their activity) increased. They became active in Bucharest and Vienna where the foremost Greek revolutionary, Rhexas Pheraios or Velestinles, operated in the 1790's. Velestinles, it may be noted, was in collusion with Napoleon whose plans of attacking the Ottoman Empire in 1797-1798 (later to be abandoned) co-incided with his (Velestinles's) plan of a combined revolt against the Turks by Greeks and other Balkan peoples. Velestinles and his closest collaborators were caught by Austrian authorities and handed over to the Turks who executed them in 1798. For details see, G. I. Zoidis, Rhexas Velestinles, Athens, 1957. It may perhaps be noted that there was no organic connection between the Philike Hetairia founded in Odessa in 1814 and those founded by Rhexas Velestinles among others in the late eighteenth century as claimed by the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1961 Edition); Vol. 22, p.600.

Odessa in 1814, evolved into the main secret revolutionary organisation which soon permeated the entire Greek world and became largely instrumental in preparing the 1821 revolt against the Turks. Again, the Philike Hetairia had its hierarchy of officials and like the other Greek organisations abroad it was essentially a democratic body, though great care was exercised in initiating and recruiting members from within the Ottoman Empire so that its secret revolutionary intentions could be safeguarded.

The structure of Greek communities abroad between 1453 - 1821, therefore, varied considerably. But in all settlements the tendency to communal life, manifested by the rise of churches, schools, and some social organisation, (all more or less functioning to preserve the national consciousness of Greeks), was quite evident. In this period Greeks abroad were in a similar position to the Jews¹ who had lost their state, were condemned to live in dispersion, make their peace as guests in the host societies in which they lived, and perhaps dream of the day of home-coming when their nation would be re-born.

In addition to these features, Greek communities greatly contributed to national awakening and to the liberation of Greece from the Turks. Throughout the period after 1451 they became havens for Greek rebels fleeing from Turkish authorities.² As the nineteenth

¹ For the striking similarities in Greek and Jewish communities abroad see Israel Cohen, Contemporary Jewry, London, 1950, pp. 18-31.

² S. M. Sophocles, op.cit., p. 169, notes that between 1453-1821 no less than fifteen Greek insurrections against the Turks had occurred.

century approached, from their vantage point they became centres for the dissemination of modern Greek literature associated with national awakening, of considerable national revolutionary agitation and finally, of actual preparation of rebellion against the Ottoman Empire.¹ These activities were widespread among the communities of Russia, Austria and Rumania, particularly in Russia where Greek revolutionaries enjoyed much support, often from government officials.² In the course of the Greek War of Independence Greek communities also acted as places of refuge for large numbers who fled from the war and Turkish reprisals.³

¹ The activities of Rhexas Velestinles have already been noted. In Vienna itself a large number of modern Greek literature was published and distributed including the first Greek newspaper Ephemeris, 1791 - 1797, though three more other newspapers were published in Vienna between 1811 - 1821. The Great Greek Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, op.cit., p.844.

² The actual revolt in 1821 started oddly enough and quite prematurely among the Greeks in Bucharest a little before 25th March. It was started by Alexander Ypsilantis (a son of a former Phanariot Hospadar of Moldavia) who was at the time in Russian service. But in raising the revolt Ypsilantis did not receive the Russian assistance he anticipated and his failure to solicit native Rumanian support brought about his ignoble defeat. R. W. Seton-Watson, op.cit., pp. 192-199.

³ According to W. Miller, The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801 - 1927, C.U.P., 1936, p. 28, the island of Chios alone had its christian (Greek) population reduced from 113,000 in April, 1822 to 1,800 in August, 1822, as a result of one of these Turkish reprisals: 23,000 were slain, 47,000 were sold as slaves and the remaining 51,200 became scattered to every part of the Hellenic world - including the overseas Greek settlements.

Two important precedents were set by Greeks abroad in the post-1453 period which were more or less followed by the subsequent Greek dispersion: one was that they acted to preserve their hellenicity; the other was that they responded to the call of their fatherland (patrida) when the need arose. The degree to which Greeks abroad in the post-nineteenth century acted upon these precedents naturally varied but they remained powerful forces binding the Greek communities together and fashioning a strong link with the nation they left behind.

Greek emigration in the modern period has generally followed the trends of European emigration and settlement abroad.¹ The largest recipient of Greek migrants has been America, especially the United States.² Otherwise Greeks preferred to settle in the British spheres of influence, namely, Africa, the Middle East and Australia,

¹ Unless otherwise stated the general survey of Greeks abroad comes from an analysis of the material in Krikos, 1950 - 1968 and The Great Greek Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, op.cit.

² The best available account of Greek communities in the United States is Theodore Saloutos, Greeks in the United States, Harvard, 1964.

and latterly in Western Europe. Greek communities also sprang up in the communist countries of Europe after 1949.¹ On the whole unfavourable economic conditions coupled with the demand for labour and the existence of economic opportunities in the country of settlement has been the basis of modern Greek emigration and settlement abroad. Political factors also operated to dislodge Greeks and set them on the migration movements. The most important of these were: the upheavals associated with the two world wars and the wars Greece fought in the struggle to expand her national boundaries; the Graeco-Turkish war of the early 1920's which resulted in the expulsion of 1½ million Greeks from Asia Minor; the Greek civil war 1945 - 1949; the Arab nationalist movements in the post-war period which disrupted the otherwise large and flourishing Greek communities in Egypt. Whatever the underlying causes of Greek emigration, the movement was largely a chain-migration process about which more will be said later.

¹ The communities in eastern Europe resulted largely from the retreat of the rebellious Greek communist armies defeated in 1949. The largest of these communities was founded in the city of Tashkent, the capital of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Its size is claimed to be about 17,000 and occupies a certain quarter of the city. By one account it is a typical Greek ethnic community, less, perhaps, the church. Interview: T. Kaldis, Sydney, 1967, who visited this community among others in eastern Europe; and Oleg Dobrovolsky and Kostas Sarafidis, These are thy Children, Hellas, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1969, which deals with several facets of the Greek community in Tashkent. This latter account indicates that much has been done to help Greeks retain their language and culture, all in preparation for a return to Greece for which these political refugees have been campaigning.

Because of the different types of societies in which Greek communities became planted, their structure varied considerably, as did the degree to which Greeks were able to preserve their identity and culture. In Western societies where settlement was permanent, such as North America and Australia, the forces of assimilation at work greatly undermined the solidity of Greek ethnic communities. In the United States assimilation was also facilitated by the early entry of the Greek Orthodox Church, 'the natural mother and protector of the Greek people abroad'.¹ The church's entry was necessitated by large-scale Greek immigration which commenced in the 1890's and, although it was an ethnic church, it also affected the structure of ethnic communities in ways that conduced Greek immigrant assimilation into American society. The church system in America after the troublous early period became based on parishes. The parish was nothing more than a church situated wherever the number of faithfuls warranted it. This meant that in large communities like Chicago and New York there were several such parishes. Other immigrant organisations and institutions in such large settlements functioned to give some semblance of ethnic community existence and identity, but these communities were not structured to ensure that all Greeks were organised as a community. Membership of and participation in

¹ Theodore Saloutos, op.cit., p. 308. The sketchy outline of Greek communities in the United States that follows in the text comes from Theodore Saloutos's work.

parishes was generally and usually limited to the more established Greeks. Participation by Greeks in such associations as AHEPA, GAPA, and the numerous regional fraternities was greater but most of these were federations whose local lodges or chapters were not actively engaged in ethnic community affairs. Nationally, through their conventions and federal officers, these federations did sometimes assist the church and generally expressed their support, in various ways, for Greece's national aspirations or the needs of their place of birth if they were regional bodies. In such activities they did involve Greeks at ethnic community level, but it was not the type of activity that looked to building permanent community institutions which could ensure each community's viability and survival in American society. Indeed, most of what has survived of the activities of 'America's one and a half million Greeks' is about 400 churches which also have been gradually adopting the use of English in their services,¹ thus removing a very important condition for the survival of a Greek ethnic community.

¹ The degree of the assimilation of Greeks (and the associated conflict) in the United States by all accounts, has been considerable. The position is perhaps illustrated, and in a rather dramatic way, by the following incident reported in Krikos, January, 1959. In July, 1958, the Clergy-Laity Conference of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America met in Salt Lake City and discussed, among other things, the position of the Greek language at church service. In one of the sessions a youthful lay delegate at conference turned to the church dignitaries and reportedly said "All of you are not Americans! You are agents of a foreign government and of a foreign power, Greece!"

As will be seen, rapid assimilation of Greeks in Australia in the same period was arrested somewhat by the emergence of ethnic community structures different from those in America. One difference was that the role of the church in Australia, was, until the 1960's, assumed by Greek Orthodox Communities, one of whose functions was to bind the ethnic community closer together. Other factors contributed to more closely knit communities in Australia, especially before the war, the most important of which were: their small numerical size; the fact that they were being constantly replenished by new arrivals; and because of the exclusiveness and anti-southern European sentiment of Australian society. In Western Europe, Greek communities seemed to have averted absorption by their host societies but chiefly because settlements there have been of a less permanent nature, they have been closer to home and they, too, have been constantly revived by new arrivals. But in Africa and other economically underdeveloped societies the superior commercial and other skills of Greeks, compared to those of the native population, have placed Greeks at a great advantage.¹ As absorption into the host societies, such as through inter-marriage, was a remote possibility,

¹ C. P. Harris, Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt, United States, 1964, notes (p. 20) that Greeks were greatly favoured by Mahemet Ali who gave them valuable land grants in 1846 enabling Greeks to become important landowners, tax-farmers and government officials. Subsequently Great Britain similarly (pp. 114-115) protected foreign minorities.

Greeks set about fashioning typically ethnic and quite viable communities. The best example was the Greek community in Alexandria, which, until its disruption in the 1950's, contained a complete Greek primary and secondary school system, hospitals, churches, newspapers, large Greek-owned commercial and industrial enterprises employing large numbers of Greeks and a host of other institutions, all of which made the community almost self-sufficient.¹

But all Greek communities abroad instituted measures aimed at preserving their national traditions and culture and almost every settlement instituted some type of social organisation: almost invariably the first and the most important of such organisations were Greek Orthodox Communities. In founding these institutions and in their willing response to help their country, Greeks abroad were acting not unlike those of the pre-1821 period. The assistance rendered by Greeks abroad to Greece and her national aspirations varied from time to time but was quite appreciable. It included money and men for Greece's many wars;² relief needed in a number of

¹ The history of the Greek communities in Egypt is covered amply in Krikos. A brief but valuable survey is also given by Dino Koutsoumis in Ho Hellenismos tou Exoterikou, pp. 1-23, February, 1968. Most sources place Egypt's Greek population at about 100,000 soon after World War II when it reached the maximum number with Alexandria possibly containing half the number.

² About 25,000 Greeks are reported to have left the United States and actually reached Greece in 1913 to take part in the Balkan wars. Theodore Saloutos, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

calamities, particularly those arising from earthquakes;¹ continuous financial support to improve town and village amenities, especially schools;² moral support often involving political agitation and campaigning to uphold Greece's national causes.³

Greeks abroad have been an important part of Greek history and civilisation if one is to judge by the amount of literature dealing with the subject. The Greeks, of course, have a word for it. The most general term used to designate Greeks abroad is diaspora, the dispersion, but other more specific terms are now used just as often.⁴ A Greek settlement or community abroad is called a paroikia, which literally means a place close to home.

¹ Greece is the most earthquake-prone country in Europe. Between 1841 - 1959 not less than 1,573 earthquakes occurred of which 12 were considered to have been of great magnitude resulting in enormous destruction. See Angeliki Damigou's informative article on the earthquakes in Greece, Neos Kosmos, 26 February, 1968.

² The financial assistance generally comes from the former inhabitants of these towns and villages either as individual contributions or from local or regional societies formed by these inhabitants wherever they settle abroad.

³ There was, for example, considerable campaigning among Greeks in Australia and elsewhere, for the 'Enosis' and 'self-determination' movements of Greek Cypriots in the 1950's.

⁴ These terms are: Apodemos Hellenismos, Greeks away from the demoi (an administrative unit in Greece roughly corresponding to a municipal corporation); Hellenes tou Exoterikou, which literally means Greeks Abroad; Exo-Hellenismos, Outside-Greeks; and Xenitevmenci Hellenes, Estranged Greeks.

Greeks of the dispersion, it should be stressed, are not only those living outside the precincts of Greek Church authorities,¹ but outside the Greek national borders or the regions considered Greek usually on historical grounds. Latterly, as Greece's national boundaries have become established, Greeks of the dispersion has come to mean those outside the Greek state with whom the Greek Orthodox Church is intertwined.

Because of the large number of Greeks who have settled abroad, especially in recent times, concern has often been shown by Greeks and Greek authorities about how close the link should be between Greeks abroad and Greece. A number of problems have also arisen from time to time concerning the extent to which Greeks abroad are bound by Greek law, particularly since Greece generally continues to recognise her nationals even after they have acquired foreign nationality. In regard to forging closer ties between Greeks abroad and Greece, a number of schemes have been suggested, including attempts to form a centralised world organisation of Greeks abroad, the setting up of Greek government agencies charged with the herculean tasks of studying and solving the problems of

¹ Timothy Ware, *op.cit.*, pp. 180-199, uses the term diaspora to mean the Orthodox people throughout the modern world who are outside the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the ancient Patriarchates and the national Orthodox churches of Eastern Europe and Greece.

Greeks abroad, and proposals to give Greeks abroad a voice in Greek parliament.¹ But none of these rather impractical measures have reached fruition. The link between Greece and Greeks abroad has been through Greek consular representatives and Greek Church authorities operating in each Greek community abroad, and whatever ties Greeks abroad have wished to affect themselves. On the whole, official communication, such as requests for Greek primary school books supplied by the Ministry of Education and Religion free of charge to Greeks abroad, has been through Greek consulates. Still, concern for the 'fate of the diaspora' has been quite evident throughout the whole period; this concern comes from all quarters for it reflects the 'bleeding' through continuous emigration from a relatively

¹ The first known proposal for a centralised world organisation of Greeks abroad was made by the Mayor of Athens in 1934, and it was to eventuate from a conference at Athens in the following year. Nothing materialised from the Mayor's proposals which appeared in D. A. Metropoulos, Greece and Greeks Abroad (Hellas kai Exo-Hellenismos), (Second Edition), Athens, 1951, p. 5. A proposal was made in Greek parliament in 1954 to create a 'Supreme Council of Greeks Abroad', with some representation of Greeks abroad, while the Council itself was to be under the chairmanship of the Greek Minister of External Affairs or his deputy. This proposal too was soon shelved. See Krikos, November-December, 1954, for a discussion on these proposals and the Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1956, which raised the query "What happened to the 'Supreme Council of Greeks Abroad'?" A similar proposal was again made in 1960, (Krikos, September, 1960), and again in 1968, (Ethnikon Vema, 10 July, 1968), as well as suggestions for a say in Greek parliament by Greeks abroad. Finally a suggestion that Greeks abroad give their opinion on Greece's new constitution proposed by Greece's military regime in 1968 (Ethnikon Vema, 3 July, 1968).

new, intensely nationalistic, proud but poverty-stricken country.¹ Once Greeks have settled abroad there is little Greek authorities can do in affecting their closer union with Greece by legal compulsion.

Modern Greece, the ~~first~~^{second} nation to emerge from the Ottoman Empire has had a rather turbulent history. The state that materialised after the long and protracted War of Independence commencing on 25th March, 1821, comprised the southern regions of mainland Greece and several adjacent islands. The nation officially came into being with the enthronement in 1833 of King Otto, formerly a princeling from Bavaria.² Greece was then a small nation, economically undeveloped, torn with internal dissension, and very much under the control of the protecting powers, Great Britain, France and Russia, who had conflicting interests. A number of campaigns, often involving costly wars, had to be waged before Greece realised

¹ The concern, and the associated literature that manifests it, has frequently precipitated several interesting concepts by Greeks about themselves. The sort of arguments expounded in Krikos and Greek publications dealing with Greeks abroad, usually run as follows: Greeks possess certain superior qualities compared with other people; they have 'given the lights to civilisation'; because Greece is a poor country, Greeks have to emigrate and settle abroad; in doing so they achieve wonders especially in commerce, but are also engaged in spreading civilisation farther; although they live abroad they remain Greeks and never forget the country which originally nurtured them; Greece herself must never forget her children in the dispersion. Failure to live up to these expectations is lamented and not infrequently chastised by the 'national apostles' active in Greece and abroad.

² Encyclopaedia Britannica (1961 Edition), Vol. 10, pp. 780-788.

her national aspirations, which were to free and incorporate into the nation the 'unredeemed' regions of Greece. These territorial incorporations were: The Ionian Islands from Great Britain in 1864; Thessaly and part of Epirus 1878 - 1881; Crete, several Aegean Sea islands and finally Macedonia 1897 - 1913; Thrace from Turkey in 1920; and the Dodecanese Islands from Italy in 1947.¹ Although attempts continue to be made, Greece failed to take Cyprus,² which passed from Turkey to Great Britain^{in 1878} and which, in 1960, became a republic, choosing to remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Greece, furthermore, has experienced two World Wars, an ill-fated venture to conquer Anatolia or western Asia Minor in the early 1920's, the Civil War 1945 - 1949, and economic backwardness.³ All of Greece's problems have been reflected in her internal politics which have been marked by bitter party conflicts and intrigues, often involving the royal family, the armed forces and foreign powers.⁴ These conflicts have also been exacerbated by

¹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, (1961 Edition), Vol. 10, pp. 780-788.

² Great Britain occupied Cyprus in 1878 and formally annexed and turned it into a crown colony in 1914. *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

⁴ This would not be an exaggeration of Greece's political history if it can be summed up in one statement. Witness, for example, the political upheavals resulting from Greece's entry into World War I with a pro-German King and a pro-Entente Prime Minister. See W. A. Heurtley and others, *op.cit.*, pp. 113-116.

opposing localist and family interests and loyalties, and as such they too have contributed to Greece's continuous political instability.¹ Greece's physical environment itself, the numerous islands and waterways, the many deep valleys and the few plains all separated by steep hills and mountain ranges in which different peoples lived in the course of thousands of years, have all contributed to considerable economic, social, cultural, and political divisions.

Alongside the national state came the Greek national church. It is an established church enjoying considerable privileges and protection from the State as well as some State supervision. The State generally upholds canon law, punishes proselytisation by alien religions, but must approve important church policies and appointments.² State regulation of church affairs is affected through the Ministry of Education and Religion, which works closely with the

¹ Adamantia Polis, "Political Implication of the Modern Greek Concept of Self", The British Journal of Sociology, March, 1959, argues that Greek society today, despite considerable urbanisation, is very much group-orientated, and that strong group and family loyalties have greatly undermined the stability of Greece's political parties and therefore have contributed to Greece's political instability.

It is not really certain whether political parties as such have ever existed in Greece. At best they have been alliances of politicians bidding for power to enjoy the spoils of victory as instanced by frequent grouping and re-grouping into political parties or alliances, and by the continuous dismissal of public servants to make way for appointees of the group winning the elections.

² Articles 1 and 2 of the 1952 Greek constitution state that "...the Eastern Orthodox Church is the established religion of Greece: that the exercise of other religions is tolerated, with the limitation that there shall be no proselytism directed against the established church; and that the Church of Greece is autocephalous". Encyclopaedia Britannica, (1961 Edition), Vol. 10, p. 790.

Holy Synod of the Church of Greece. Otherwise the Church of Greece is an autocephalus church (like the Church of Cyprus) and administratively independent of the Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople. Its growth has generally corresponded with the expansion of Greece's national boundaries and in regions formerly under the Ecumenical Patriarchate;¹ the Patriarchate has begrudgingly given up its dioceses and between 1833 - 1850 the Church of Greece was even pronounced a schismatic body. Subsequently the two church authorities managed to conduct their affairs amicably including the conclusion of agreements in respect to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the churches in the New World.

In settling abroad, Greeks naturally take with them their own Old World mores. What happens when these become planted in Australia's predominantly Anglo-Saxon environment will be seen in the course of this research. But as has been indicated, standards governing the structure of Greek communities abroad were set long before Greeks came to Australia. Greeks settling in Australia, therefore, had some sign-posts to guide them.

¹ For a complete list of Orthodox Church authorities in Greece and the world see the Calendar of the Church of Greece, 1968.

Greek Communities in Australia.

The process of growth of many ethnic communities or Folk settlements in Australia up to World War II, their structure and the role they play in assimilation has already been traced by C. A. Price in his pioneering work, South Europeans in Australia. Price relied greatly on information from official government records, especially naturalization papers of immigrants, as well as using supplementary information from field work and other sources. Consequently he was able to plot the location of Southern Europeans in Australia and to reveal, on the basis of his data, much of the structure of their settlement. Although much of this research will be based on the work of C. A. Price, it is intended to depart in several ways from the course Price pursued. Apart from the research being concerned with just one of the many ethnic communities Price investigated, it will be a study of a community from within. This has entailed the use of additional and different sorts of data, namely, the records of some of the Greek immigrant organisations and institutions, as well as Greek language newspapers, which, having been published in Australia, have described much of the life of Greeks. This approach not only reveals a fuller picture of the structure of Greek communities but also unfolds much of the complexity of life within such structures. Another point of departure from Price is that a much more detailed examination will be undertaken of the post-war years - a period during which several communities grew enormously in size,

approaching as they did more and more the structure Price imputed to the Sydney community, 'a federation of district and regional groups'.¹

This somewhat different approach to the study of Greeks does not mean that less value will be placed on data from censuses and the like. Data recording the demographic features of the people, their places of residence, their occupations and their socio-economic position in society, has its place in any study. But the statistical behaviour of people tells a limited story and practically nothing of life in ethnic communities. The study of Greek ethnic communities using Greek records therefore becomes imperative for their fuller understanding. More so is this necessary if one remembers the forces at work that persistently draw Greeks together in communities, where their language, religion, customs, culture - in short, their hellenicity - can be fostered and sustained. This approach to the study of Greeks also casts some light on the opposite but related question of the assimilation of Greeks in Australian society.

During the period of over seventy years the structure of Greek communities underwent considerable changes. Partly, this relates to changing conditions in the countries of origin and settlement; partly to the unsystematic pattern in the volume of Greek immigration to Australia - a mere trickle before Federation;

¹ C. A. Price, op.cit., p. 247.

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a steady increase to World War II, though interrupted by World War I and the economic depression of the early 1930's; then a great inundation in the post-war era particularly after the early 1950's.¹

But despite the changes wrought on Greek communities such as massive post-war Greek immigration, their foundations were laid in the pre-war period.

The picture that emerges from Price's work is that Greek settlement in the pre-war period was largely the result of a chain-migration movement.² The very first immigrants came by chance and roamed widely within Australia before finally settling down. Those who followed, sponsored as they were by the successfully established earlier settlers, were relatives and friends who came from the same place of birth as their sponsors. Consequently, immigrants from the same place of birth, a village, a district, an island or a larger region, settled in certain places in Australia ^{in Australia} and, not in others. What was more, the newcomers generally entered the same occupations as their sponsors who tended towards the catering trades. The Greek communities that arose were not therefore representative in membership of Greece as a whole but were comprised of Greeks from certain places in Greece, especially from Greek islands. Thus late in the nineteenth century, there occurred a relatively high

¹ See Appendix "B".

² I am here summarising the relevant parts in C. A. Price's work and there is no point in citing page references.

concentration of Kytherans in Sydney and Ithacans in Melbourne. Later, but especially after 1912, Kastellorizans began settling in Perth from where many subsequently moved to other capital cities as well as to Darwin and Innisfail in North Queensland. After settlement the various groups merged into the larger ethnic community but at the same time they retained much of their identity and autonomy. Unlike the southern Slavs whose mergence sometimes tended towards a supra-Folk settlement¹ which encompassed several distinct ethnic groups, a Greek ethnic community embraced only Greeks. Unlike most other immigrant communities Greek communities were also largely communities of shopkeepers.

The history of Greek communities in Australia starts at an advanced stage of chain-migration and settlement: what Price calls the 'third stage'.² This is the stage at which immigrants eventually settle down and begin to raise families. Such a settlement assumes that economic conditions are sufficiently favourable to ensure the settlement's permanenc~~e~~ and growth. One more condition is necessary in terms of Greek ethnic community, namely, that the settlement is sufficiently large for its members to afford to maintain at least a Greek church and a school. Both institutions bind the settlement for they necessitate considerable co-operation among the settlers and apart from ensuring the settlement's permanenc~~e~~ also give it some purpose. Both church and school,

¹ C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 239-241, and passim.

² C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 179-180.

moreover, necessitate the formation of an organisation or authority to administer them - an authority which more often than not has come in the form of a Greek Orthodox Community. The history of each Greek ethnic community thus commences at its institutionalised stage and the most important institution is the Greek Orthodox Community.

Admittedly the first two Australian Greek Orthodox Communities which functioned in Melbourne and Sydney as early as 1898 catered for no more than 200 - 300 Greeks, most of whom were males. This partly explains why in founding their Communities and in erecting their two respective churches Greeks took as partners Orthodox Syrians: the latter, however, proved to be very much the junior partners and were soon displaced from or relinquished their rights in both the Community and the church. The exit of Syrians also co-incided with a greater influx of Greeks so that Communities survived to assume their normal role of becoming the most important and most basic Greek immigrant organisation in Australia. Similar bodies formed in Brisbane, Perth and Port Pirie by the mid-1920's, Adelaide in 1930 and Innisfail in 1934. What prevented Communities forming in other settlements was their small numerical size, especially the small number of Greek families.

The principal feature of large Greek settlements in the pre-war period was the existence of Greek Orthodox Communities in their midst. As not more than one Community was necessary or tolerated

in any one settlement, Greek Orthodox Communities grew into large and influential bodies. The power of Communities also stemmed from their aims, activities and composition. Apart from their task of erecting and maintaining churches and schools, Communities were responsible for those in need, organising the observation of national anniversaries, and wherever possible supporting Greece's national aspirations. All Greeks, especially the heads of families, were allowed and were expected to become members of Communities: very likely they were at one time or another members. The fact that Communities were essentially lay organisations open to all settlers, gave them considerable authority. This authority was explicit in their constitutions or charters and was exercised by elected officers. Implicit in the Community institution also were the powers and the rights of the commune, koinotis,¹ the smallest and yet the most widespread local administrative unit in rural Greece from which most Greeks emigrated. It was this Community authority and power which such authorities as the Greek Church and consulates, Australian Government, public bodies and Greeks, as a whole, had come to recognise, and with which they had to contend.

¹ I. T. Sanders, Rainbow in the Rock (The People of Rural Greece), Harvard University Press, 1962. The author (p.218-219) notes that traditionally the commune was a small democracy of Christians ruled by an elective council, charged with many responsibilities, including tax-collecting used to pay the many services such as church, education relief for the poor, road building and field policemen. In modern times the administration of communes is co-ordinated through the demarch (a deme is made up of several communes whose combined population is over 10,000), and a nomarch or prefect (a nomarchy or prefecture is made up of several demes). Yet communes, their councils and presidents, have retained some powers and autonomy.

When a Greek Orthodox Church diocese was instituted in 1924, Communities had in the meantime established a number of important precedents that were to guide their relations with the church. Among these were the right to own churches, dispose of church takings and 'hire and fire' priests. The failure by church leaders to respect these rights often caused fierce disputes. In the absence of acceptable arbitrators and Greek law these disputes were difficult to settle, usually split ethnic communities into warring factions and sometimes ended in costly and unresolved litigations at Australian courts. More often than not Communities in the pre-war period won the battles against the church so that church authorities were forced to act within prescribed limits.

The other principal feature of ethnic communities was their fragmentation into organisations as their numerical size increased. These organisations arose in response not only to regional groupings but to social and political divisions or to cater for the special needs of such groups as women and youth. Also important in terms of ethnic community structure were: numerous coffee-houses of varying types but in all of which the Greek males spent most of their leisure time; Greek language newspapers all of which were decidedly partisan in community politics; and Greek consular and church authorities. Despite the specialised function of the last two authorities both became intertwined in the structure of communities. The structure of ethnic communities varied with time and place, being dependent for the most part on their population

density, but the tendency was to construct settlements whose institutions were concerned with the more common pan-Hellenic aspirations and needs while allowing for the sectional or group interests to be represented.

The interrelationship and interaction of the different organised groups comprising each ethnic community will be seen in due course. Suffice it to say here that with the organisational fragmentation and diversification of communities, group activity and role constitute much of the history of Greek communities in Australia. As has been indicated, what in the pre-war period held the structure together and gave it considerable identity and purpose was the peculiar position of the Greek Orthodox Community in each ethnic community. The Communities moreover, were based on the more settled and affluent section of ethnic communities, the shopkeeper class, which founded, financed and controlled them, not the 'birds of passage' or the itinerant seasonal workers. Regional group solidarity, radical and leftist agitation, the dynamism or otherwise of important individuals such as the bishop, priests, consuls, newspaper owners and group leaders, did affect the structure of ethnic communities and determine the course of events in them, but none more so than shopkeepers. It was the shopkeeper class which also was largely involved in the social mobility in each ethnic community - a mobility which tended upwards to the Community council and finally to the presidency

of the Community. Because in the eyes of many people a Greek Orthodox Community was synonymous with the Greek ethnic community, Community president~~y~~ was the ultimate office open to Greeks in Australia.

In the post-war period ethnic communities underwent important changes. The communities in Sydney and Melbourne, each of which contained no more than about two-three thousand members in 1940, could reckon their members in tens of thousands by the 1960's. Just as enormous was the increase in size of the Adelaide community among other industrial centres in the Commonwealth. Commonwealth assistance to immigration, one effect of which was to initiate new and larger migration chains, radically changed the composition of ethnic communities in terms of regional groups and of class and occupational groupings. Unlike the position in 1947 when most Greeks in the labor force were shopkeepers and caterers, or people pursuing an independent livelihood, most Greeks were by 1961 wage-earners working in industries other than the traditional catering trades. Apart from these regional, occupational and social divisions, Greeks also became divided politically, largely as a result of the Greek Civil War. All of these changes profoundly affected the structure and politics of ethnic communities, yet none more so than the implementation of the new church system after 1959. The aim of the new system was, in the light of the growing importance of Greek settlements, to enable the church, as in America, to play a bigger role and assert its authority

more - particularly in view of the power over religious matters that Communities had been exercising. Accordingly the diocese sanctioned the setting up of churches wherever these were warranted outside the auspices of existing Communities. The diocese also called upon the clergy to play a more active role in administering its churches, and obliged them to be accountable to the head of the church rather than to church or Community councils, thus ensuring the essential elements of the hierarchical church. The associated religious schism stemming from a number of causes but mainly from what was a conflict of interest between church and Communities will be dealt with in due time. Here it is important to see that in the large settlements of Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, where the authorities confronted each other, the classical pre-war structure of ethnic communities was shattered. The old Communities did exist and grow but this growth was slowed down considerably being limited or undermined by the emergence of numerous diocesan churches which themselves grew into organisations not unlike Greek Orthodox Communities. Otherwise, the new church system, alongside other post-war changes, further intensified the fragmentation of ethnic communities into parties and factions, and above all, into organisations, a process which was in any case occurring as communities were growing in size.

While Greek ethnic communities in Australia have undergone considerable fragmentation and diversification as they grew in size, it is still possible to define a sufficient number of common characteristics to justify the continued use of the term community. Admittedly, the term community gives the notion of a collection of people inhabiting a particular area of land or city, who are bound together to foster, among other things, an authority responsible to and having certain powers over the members of the community. This term clearly cannot apply to Greek communities in Australia, because of the interspersion of Greeks among Australia's population, the apparent fragmentation of each Greek community, and also because Greeks' loyalty and participation in the affairs of the community were, after all, expressed voluntarily. The term 'Greek community' will be used to describe collectively the people in a given area who are, or who consider themselves to be Greek and who are considered as such by others. Greek communities will therefore also include Greeks settling in Australia from places such as Cyprus and Egypt not listed as Greeks in official government records but who merge into each community and are accepted as Greeks. But the Slav-Macedonians born in Greece and officially listed as Greek nationals will generally be excluded as members of Greek communities save those who have been 'hellenised'. Slav-Macedonians in Australia have on the whole remained apart from Greeks, founded their own communities and as such constitute a separate entity.¹ A further

¹ For Slav-Macedonians see C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 310-324, and below.

provision should be added, namely, that members of a Greek community are those who chose to become engaged in, or who are at least affected by, the affairs of the community. These provisions are necessary if the term ethnic community is to have any meaning and they do allow for varying degrees of identification with, and participation in the affairs of the community by people of Greek origin, including those born in Australia: they allow, moreover, for the existence of all sorts of organisations and institutions. Lastly, it should be made clear that as yet no precise definition of a Greek community has been attempted: this, if indeed it is one of the aims of this project, may become clear at the very end.

CHAPTER II.THE FORMATIVE YEARS.

In the pre-1923 period Greek migration to Australia was a slow and desultory movement and exhibited all the features of chain migration and settlement. A high departure rate from Australia and considerable movement of Greeks within Australia were also evident in this period indicating that some migration chains were in search of permanent settlement.

By 1923 Greek communities had coalesced in Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, and Brisbane: all four settlements had undergone the process of formal combination into organisations and ethnic institutions.¹ In founding and managing these bodies important precedents and standards were established in organisational structure, aims, activities and policies, all of which set the pattern of subsequent Greek immigrant social organisation. In the absence of effective consular and Greek Orthodox Church authorities, Greeks made and implemented their own decisions on most questions pertaining to their communities.

¹ Throughout the period attention will be focussed on the Greek community in Melbourne, though, wherever possible, comparisons with communities in other capital cities will be made. The reason for selecting the Melbourne community is that it lends itself to closer analysis through the records of the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne - a body with which the life of Melbourne's Greeks was closely interwoven.

Formal combination among Greeks occurred in both Sydney and Melbourne during the 1890's: in Perth and Brisbane it came after 1912. The bodies resulting from such combinations indicated substantial and permanent Greek settlements as distinct from the earlier period during which Greeks in Australia were few and far between and concerning whom information is scanty. Before examining the post-1890 picture it is worth considering the earlier period, partly by way of explaining what happened later.

Uncertainty shrouds the story of the very first Greeks in Australia. It is, for example, doubtful whether Greeks were working in the vineyards of New South Wales in the 1830's as claimed by the Australian Encyclopaedia.¹ James Bushby² does mention a Greek islander who in 1830 was entrusted with the cultivation of vines on John Macarthur's property in Camden near Sydney. At the same place in 1831, Thomas Mitchell, the explorer records that he saw 'Greek pirates at work training vines to trellises which had just been erected according to the method of their own country'.³ Yet John Macarthur's biographer has apparently found no record of 'Greek vine-dressers' among Macarthur's papers.⁴

¹ Australian Encyclopaedia, Vol. IV, p.381

² James Bushby, A Manual of Plain Directive for Planting and Cultivating Vineyards and for Making Wine in N.S.W., Sydney, 1830, p. 21.

³ Sir Thomas L. Mitchell Papers, Vol. 8, (A295), Part 3, p. 273.

⁴ This was said of Malcolm Ellis by C. A. Price, op.cit., p. 128, and footnote.

Details of the first Greeks in Australia must therefore remain uncertain, tantalising Greeks¹ and others, especially with the suggestion, (implicit in Mitchell's observation), that there may have been Greek convicts in the antipodes.

A little more is known of Greeks who came with the gold-rushes.² The number entering in the 1850's was small while the brief life-story of several individuals suggests that the life of Greeks in Australia in this early period was not much different from that of many other immigrants. A few were seamen who jumped ship to take part in the gold-rushes and one of them at least

¹ Two Greek sources give the following interesting though implausible accounts of Greek convicts in Australia. Angelo Gooma of Sydney (writing in Krikos, July-August, 1957) asserts that according to the Sydney Gazette, 1818 (no date supplied) 'it was unsafe to have children in the streets after dark because of the presence of Irish, English and Greek convicts'. An anonymous writer in another Greek magazine, Pantheon, 6 June, 1962, (Athens), says that the first Greek in Australia was Damianos Gkikas, a native of Hydra Island. Gkikas, together with a number of his compatriots were allegedly rescued by the British from enslavement on board a Barbary pirate ship only to be transported (with the pirates) to Sydney as convicts. Gkikas, so the account goes, returned like a good Odysseus to his island but not before he had earned 106 gold pounds from his five years' Australian captivity. These events are claimed to have taken place before 'liberation', that is, before 1821.

² Greek gold diggers are mentioned by Vance Palmer, The Legend of the Nineties, M.U.P., 1954, p. 37.

followed a general trend and became a selector.¹ After the 1850's Greeks were arriving intermittently but again Greek seamen accounted for a number of them. One notable exception was Diamantina Roma, wife of Queensland's first Governor.² Greek migration to Australia did not really start until the migration chains got under way from Kythera and Ithaca, two of the seven Ionian Islands which were British possessions between 1815 - 1864. No doubt the British nationality of Kytherans and Ithacans partly explains their early entry into Australia but it was the forces endemic to chain

¹ Information on two Greeks, one a seaman, is now available. The seaman was Michael Manusu, from the island of Mytilene, who arrived in Australia in 1852. Although second mate, he abandoned his ship to take part in the gold rush in Araluen, New South Wales. After the gold rushes he met and married Sarah Baldwin of 'English yeoman stock', became a selector and raised a family of eleven children each of whom was given a Greek and an English name. (Source: Typescript life story of Michael Manusu written by his grand-daughter. Copy procured from Mr. Angelo Gooma, Sydney, 1966.) The other Greek immigrant's brief story is given in George Kentavros, et al, Life in Australia, Melbourne, 1916, pp. 179-180, (forthwith this book will be referred to as Life in Australia). His name was Constantinos Argyropoulos and he came from the island of Sikinos. He was on his way to Australia in 1854 on a sailing ship 'to become rich' but on voyage met and married an English girl on her way 'in search of a husband'. The couple eventually settled in Parkes, New South Wales, raised a family but Argyropoulos changed his name to C. Fisher.

² Before his appointment as Governor of Queensland (1859) G. F. Bowen served in the Ionian Islands, first as rector of the Ionian University at Corfu, and then as political secretary to the government of the Ionian Islands. Diamantina Roma, whom he married in 1856, was the daughter of Count Candiano di Roma, president of the Senate of the Ionian Islands. Australian Dictionary of Biography, A.N.U., Vol. 3, 1969, p. 203.

migration that account for their preponderance in the early period of settlement. One phase of chain migration is the rapidity with which immigrants arrive once their relatives and friends have become successful settlers. The presence of 482 Greek-born residents in the Australian colonies in 1891 indicates that the entry of Kytherans and Ithacans had increased considerably in the preceding two decades.¹ The communities that were gradually forming as Federation approached were thus dominated by these two groups: the Ithacans preferring Melbourne and the Kytherans, Sydney, from where they began to move into the country towns of New South Wales eventually going as far as Queensland. Other migration chains, such as those from Peloponnesos, were slow in forming and yielded few permanent settlers before Federation.

But apart from this not much more is known of Greeks in this early period. Their history as a social group comes after the 1890's when the number of Greeks began increasing steadily, more Greek families began entering the scene, and combination into formal organisations occurred.

¹ C. A. Price traces (p. 131) the origin of the Ithacan chain settlement in Melbourne to Andreas Lekatsas' visit in the 1850's and of the Kytherans in Sydney and New South Wales to Jack Melitas who also came out during the gold-rushes (p.166). In both cases the chain commenced after the first pioneers returned home and told compatriots of Australia, and certainly not before some prospects of a livelihood were discernible.

The growth of Australia's Greek population from the 1890's to the early 1920's is seen in Table I.

TABLE I.

RESIDENTS IN AUSTRALIA WHOSE BIRTHPLACE WAS GREECE, 1891-1921

Year of Census.	Sex	N.S.W.	Vic.	Q'ld.	W.A.	S.A.	Tas.	N.T.	Total for Cwlth.
1891	Males	241	185	-	15	-	5	-	446
	Females	14	17	-	2	-	3	-	36
	Total:	255	202	-	17	-	8	-	482
1901	Males	357	171	85	146	52	4	-	815
	Females	35	10	6	2	7	3	-	63
	Total:	392	181	91	148	59	7	-	878
1911	Males	764	279	248	323	75	2	-	1691
	Females	58	18	14	12	1	2	-	105
	Total:	822	297	262	335	76	4	-	1796
1921	Males	1393	505	637	428	125	11	48	3147
	Females	186	53	64	148	27	1	28	507
	Total:	1579	558	701	576	152	12	76	3654

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. The censuses 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921.

These census figures, how ever, do not include the number of Greeks born outside Greece's national boundaries such as in Turkey, Cyprus and Egypt: nor do they include the Australian-born children of Greek parents. Apart from Turkish-born Greeks the other categories did not account for a large number of Greeks in this early period.¹ As it is ~~impossible~~ ^{difficult} to estimate the total number

¹ C. A. Price, op.cit., p.172 and footnote 30.

of Greeks in these categories and thus arrive at an accurate total of Greeks in Australia, it is necessary, for the purposes of further analysis, to accept these census figures as they stand.¹

While the statistics show the progressive growth of Australia's Greek residents in the long run, they do not show the movement in the intercensal periods. During the periods 1906 - 1911 and 1915 - 1923 for which figures are readily available, 4,945 Greeks arrived and 1,916 or 38.7 per cent. departed.² The numbers arriving and departing fluctuated considerably throughout the period and no clear-cut 'push' and 'pull' forces operated to assure a steady increase in Greek settlement in Australia. The relatively high departure rate (for the years 1919 and 1920 the departures exceeded arrivals by 274) clearly illustrates the failure of many migration chains to take root, no less than a failure of established chains to keep their members in Australia. In this period Greeks

¹ A number of problems are associated in estimating the number of Greeks in Australia or for any single community. As has been noted Greek sources tend to greatly inflate the numbers of Greeks, a category into which they usually include anyone of Greek origin or of 'Greek blood'. Australian government records naturally give a different picture, deflating the numbers somewhat, though this would not be the case of the Turkish-born Greek category. It is probable for example, that in this early period a Turkish-born Greek emigrating from a Turkish-held Greek region would have said in stating his birth-place on the census form, that he was actually born in Greece. If this is so, and if Turkish-born Greeks accounted for a large number of the non-Greek born, then the number of Greek-born residents recorded in the censuses would be fairly close to the true figure.

² Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. Demography. Bulletin, 1906 - 1924.

were involved in a large-scale migration movement into a number of other countries, especially the United States, so that Australia was really receiving the peripheral elements of this great movement. The movement of Greeks over a large part of the globe is also shown by the fact that by 1920 no less than 22.2 per cent. of Greeks in Australia had previously lived in countries other than Greece.¹ The groups less prone to wander widely before settling in Australia were Ithacans, Kytherans, and to a smaller degree, Kastellorizans, that is, the groups with established chain settlements in Australia.² However, despite the long and costly journey to Australia and uncertain employment opportunities on arrival, Greeks were arriving outside migration chains, again demonstrating their tendency to wander. At this time few restrictions³ were imposed upon Greeks who wanted to enter Australia. All that seemed necessary for a person with passage money was to board a ship headed for Australia and hope for the best.⁴

¹ C. A. Price, op.cit., p.106, Table IV.

² ibid.

³ The only notable restriction on Greeks (and Maltese) was in 1916, on the eve of the referendum on conscription. C. A. Price, op.cit., p.87.

⁴ This is how it was put to the writer by many of the old Greek immigrants who were interviewed. It is difficult to ascertain what proportion of Greeks entered Australia on chance, that is, outside the chain process. According to C. A. Price, op.cit., p.112, the proportion of southern Europeans who arrived outside the chain process was 6.8 per cent. of the total number of arrivals. The proportion of 'chance' Greek immigrants was probably much higher than 6.8 per cent. of the total number of arrivals.

Among all settlements in Australia there was a clear preponderance of Greek males. This was to be expected in these pioneering years but the imbalanced male:female ratio resulted in considerable inter-marriage between Greek males and British-Australian females. Between 1911 and 1923, for example, about 53 per cent. of Greek-born males contracting marriages in Australia (excluding Western Australia), married Australian-born brides; by contrast barely 31 per cent. married Greek-born brides.¹ The number thus marrying was only 504 which did not greatly off-set the male:female imbalance which for the whole of Australia in 1921 stood at approximately 6:1. Clearly a large number of Greeks either postponed marriage, or remained bachelors: others refrained from bringing their families from Greece. On the whole the absence of Greek families undermined Greek community solidification. A Greek observer in 1916 lamented the small number of Greek families which, he says, stood at 170, of which a third were mixed-marriages; he further lamented the absence of Greek schools, a result of which was that 'children were not brought up the Greek way'.²

¹ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Demography. Bulletin, 1911 - 1924. Similar marriage trends are also given in the 1921 census, Vol. II, pp. 1910-1925, and pp. 2166-2167.

² Life in Australia, op.cit. pp. 93-94

The movement of Greeks to and from Australia in the inter-censal periods was matched by their mobility within Australia. Censuses again could not record these movements but Table II below shows some of the trends.

TABLE II

Year of Census	Location	N.S.W.	Vic.	Q'ld.	W.A.	S.A.
1911	Metropolitan	419	234	83	136	48
	Non-Metropolitan	403	63	179	199	28
	Total:	822	297	262	335	76
1921	Metropolitan	950	498	205	355	79
	Non-Metropolitan	629	60	496	221	73
	Total:	1,579	558	701	576	152

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.
The censuses of 1911 and 1921.

Throughout the pre-1923 period the movement of Greeks within Australia was considerable. Much of this mobility, traced by Price, was part of chain settlement processes arising in response to employment and economic opportunities. As Greeks preferred the catering trades, settlement was becoming concentrated in urban centres, particularly in the inner suburbs of capitals, thus initiating future trends. As was noted this movement brought Ithacans into Melbourne and Kytherans into Sydney: the latter group began its movement to the north to open more restaurants and shops.¹ Other groups began the chain settlement process,

¹ By 1911 half the Kytherans had moved out of Sydney into the country towns of New South Wales and Queensland. C. A. Price, op.cit., pp.166-168.

notably the Kastellorizans, who from their base in Perth commenced to embrace the greater part of the continent.¹ Settlements outside the capitals were numerically much smaller while the numbers in several of them fluctuated. In all cases these settlements were too small to undergo formal combinations: Newcastle, which attracted as many as sixty-one Greeks in 1901 did not grow into a much larger community until well after 1921; the two most populous settlements of Cairns and Townsville in Queensland could not claim more than sixty Greeks each by 1921; Coolgardie in the west had its seventy-five Greeks of 1911 reduced to eleven souls by 1921.² But compared to later years, this period is marked by considerable dispersion of Greeks over wide areas of New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia: only in Victoria did Greeks consistently prefer the metropolitan area.³

The movement of Greeks throughout Australia noted above, might suggest that there also ^{were} ~~was~~ continuous occupational changes. Such residential and occupational shifts, however, mainly concerned

¹ For the movement of the Kastellorizans see C. A. Price, op.cit., pp.176-179.

² See census for the years mentioned. One reason for exodus from Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie was the hostility of British-Australian miners. C. A. Price, op.cit., pp.207-209.

³ The dispersion in these three States is indicated by the large number of rural statistical divisions containing at least one Greek. See especially the Censuses of 1911 and 1921.

new migration chains falling outside established chain settlements. Eventually these newcomers similarly drifted into the urban catering trades as did the Kytherans and Ithacans. There were, of course, limits to the entry of newcomers into the catering trades, particularly in small country towns where the unwritten law was that 'there shall not be more than one Greek shop'.¹

Several factors encouraged the entry of Greeks into the catering trades: 'a traditional peasant desire for independence and... the anxiety... to establish themselves in positions of security and proprietorship'; the fact that catering enterprises made possible the employment of kinsman and compatriots; a traditional Greek trait to enter commercial activities; the growth of ethnic institutions such as Greek churches drawing Greeks into urban communities where such trades existed; and the fact that such trades were generally free from government and trade union interference.² Otherwise, the entry of Greeks in the catering trades was due to their inability to procure permanent employment in other industries, because of lack of skills or capital or both, or because of their exclusion by unionised labor. In all cases and alongside most

¹ This was how Nicholas Lourantos (interviewed in Sydney, November, 1967), put it to the writer. The wide dispersion of Greeks shown by the censuses substantiates Lourantos's observation.

² C. A. Price, op.cit., pp.156 and 160-169.

non-Britishers, Greeks entered what may be termed niche occupations which were discovered and often developed by earlier pioneers, thus paving the way for the entry of their relatives and compatriots. Price notes that the choice of a particular trade by a certain group was sometimes the result of the accidental discovery of a profitable trade by one of the group's early pioneers. One well-known example was the discovery by Athanasios Comino (a Kytheran) in Sydney in 1878 that fish-shops and later oyster-bars were easily obtainable and manageable and what was more, quite lucrative trades.¹ The profitable business he built was inherited by his brother John Comino who extended it and accumulated a fortune.² A more important sequel was the large-scale entry of Kytherans, and subsequently of other Greeks, into the same trades. Similar examples of occupational groups can be cited, all part of chain migration and settlement. Here it is sufficient to note that even in this early period Greek communities became based on the shop-keeper class: the ideal ardently pursued was to become a shop-owner, katastematarchis, and although large numbers began by roughing it in the bush, on the gold fields of Western Australia, railway and other construction works, the sugar-cane fields of Queensland, or in industrial centres like Broken Hill or Port Pirie,³ large numbers also served their apprenticeship as shop assistants and kitchen hands.

¹ C.A. Price, op.cit., pp.166-168.

² Life in Australia, op.cit., pp.88 and 121-124.

³ C. A. Price, op.cit., pp.176-179 and passim.

The economic life of Greeks in this period is amply demonstrated by Life in Australia, (1916). This Greek-language book, printed in 10,000 copies, 'most of which were to be freely distributed to Greek authorities at home and abroad', was published under the care (and probably at the expense) of Sydney's "oyster king", John Comino. The author(s) set out and listed some 250 of the alleged 625 Greek shops in Australia in 1916. In fact only 124 shops were actually described and most of these (67 in number) were owned by Kytherans.¹ Most Greek shops described were cafes, oyster-saloons and mixed businesses (still in the catering trade), many occupied two-storey buildings thus supplying living quarters for an average staff of three to four people which most shops employed: most enterprises ranged between £1,000 to £4,000 in value. Apart from five shops owned by Cominos, ten others owned by different individuals, traded under the name of "Comino" and it is probable that in some of these John Comino owned a share.²

¹ According to Life in Australia, the distribution of Greek shops throughout Australia was as follows: New South Wales, 300 (of which 130 were in Metropolitan Sydney and 20 in Newcastle); Victoria, 120 (of which 70 were in Metropolitan Melbourne); Queensland, 120 (but only 20 of these were in Brisbane); Western Australia, 80 (most of which were in Perth, Fremantle and Kalgoorlie); Adelaide, 4; Hobart, 1. This distribution, it may be noted, corresponded both with the size and nature of each settlement. Shops were more numerous in the older and more established settlements of New South Wales, Victoria, and the countryside of Queensland (where the Kytherans had moved) and less numerous elsewhere. (pp.90-93.) The distribution of the shops actually described among the various groups were as follows: Kytherans 67; Peloponnesians 21; Ithacans 14; Samiots 8; Kretans 3; others, 11. (pp.93-94 and passim.)

² Life in Australia, op.cit., pp.265-271 and pp.121-124.

Two other chain restaurants were also operating at this time: one by the Cordato Bros. in Tenterfield, Dubbo, Casino and Coonamble of New South Wales, the other by Anthony J. J. Lucas in Melbourne.¹ Otherwise most shops were individual, family or partnership concerns. Several enterprises were quite large and capable of offering considerable employment. One of these in Brisbane owned by the Freeleagus family employed no less than thirty-seven Greeks in 1916.² The large number of shops, and the fact that some of them employed labour, convinced the author(s) of this book to assert that all Greeks without shops worked for Greek shop-owners 'rarely for English shop-owners'. Further, that Greeks preferred to work for Greek shop-owners because they could work 'longer than the usual fifty-four hours' and were thus able to earn more money. Greek shop assistants accordingly contributed to the profitability of Greek shops as much as did the untiring efforts of their owners. The total value of Greek property in 1916 was reckoned to be £1,690,000. Lastly, the author(s) advised all Greeks not to come to Australia without a purpose, and not to waste their time in coffeehouses, nor come, grab and leave without paying their debts like hawks, nor 'yell and bang (their) hands on the table while conversing', all of which were offensive to the civil, hospitable and modest Australians.³

¹ Life in Australia, pp.139-140 and pp.125-127.

² ibid., p. 101 and pp. 153-154.

³ ibid., pp. 93-108.

It is interesting to speculate on the reasons that prompted the publication of Life in Australia, the first and last book of its kind. As there were only about 2,000 Greek readers in Australia at that time, a large number of the 10,000 copies was very likely sent to 'Greek authorities at home and abroad', probably in order to impress on them the vulnerable position of Greek shopkeepers in view of the pro-German policies of King Constantine - policies which divided Greece and prevented her from throwing in her lot on the side of the Allies. One sequel of this was the smashing of Greek shops in Sydney in 1915 by Australian soldiers sensitive and hostile to a pro-German Greek king.¹ These attacks, it appears, were sufficiently serious for several Greek shop-owners to attach their name to a statement pledging themselves, should Greece go to war against England and the Allies, to surrender their shops to the Red Cross for the duration of the war - a declaration which, it is claimed, found its way to the press, thus staving off further attacks and ugly scenes.² Whatever the motives of the

¹ Krikos, July-August, 1957; C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 207-209 and passim.

² The statement itself ran as follows: "In the event of Greece going against England and the Allies we, the undersigned, hereby agree to contribute the whole of our profits to the Red Cross Society as long as the war lasts, or even the whole business concern on the understanding that they will be handed back to us at the end of the war." This timely action was largely undertaken by Emanuel Andronicus who told the writer that 'quite a few from Sydney, and twelve from the country towns of New South Wales, signed it'. A copy of the petition and the twelve names, but not those from Sydney, are in his papers. Source: Andronicus Papers. Interview with Emanuel Andronicus, Sydney, November, 1967.

author(s) of Life in Australia, it was clear that Greek shopkeepers were conspicuous as individuals and as a group and that their welfare often depended on public relations other than those they were able to cultivate as caterers. This was as true in 1915 as it was in the 1920's and 1930's when there was considerable anti-southern-European sentiment among Australians.¹ Partly because of their occupations, partly because of their other conspicuous features, Greeks were not insensitive to the moods of their host society. Community leaders frequently admonished their compatriots to cultivate good public relations, reminding them that they were 'guests in a hospitable land', and that any wrong behaviour would be detrimental to all Greeks and to Hellenism.

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The concentration of Greeks within relatively small areas facilitated the creation of churches, especially since all Greeks were nominally members of the Greek Orthodox Church. Before examining the rise of Greek churches in Australia, the religion of Greeks as recorded in censuses needs some elaboration. Colonial (and, subsequently, Commonwealth) censuses have generally placed Greeks in the 'Greek Catholic' denominational category. This is peculiar because no such denomination, as an organised church, has been known to exist. The Greek Catholic category came into use as early as 1854 in Victoria and was retained by the Commonwealth

¹ For Australian attitudes to Greeks and other immigrants and for the consequences of these attitudes, see C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 207-216 and Chapter III below.

as late as 1947 - long after the institution of a Greek Orthodox Church authority in 1924.¹ In censuses, however, Greeks insisted on being included in categories more in line with Orthodoxy. In 1881 in Victoria, for example, 103 indicated that they belonged to the 'Greek Church'; 8 others, to the 'Orthodox Church'.² In 1891 in New South Wales, 153 claimed they were members of the 'Greek Church (and) Russian Church'.³ To add to the confusion, in 1911 no less than ten different categories of Orthodox religious sects were listed in the census for the whole of Australia: some of these sects were confined to one or more States; others claimed adherents throughout the Commonwealth.⁴ No doubt the presence of other ethnic groups professing Orthodoxy - Syrians, Russians,

¹ From the census of Victoria the number of Greek Catholics resident in Victoria was as follows: 1854, 65; 1857, 127; 1861, 239; 1871, 332; 1881, 103; 1891, 247.

² These figures appear in the 1881 Victorian Census and the Victorian Year Book, 1881-1882, pp. 20-24.

³ The N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1892, (based on the 1891 census figures), p. 539.

⁴ These sects, recorded by the Commonwealth Census, Vol. II, pp. 751-777, were as follows with the number of adherents in brackets: Greek Orthodox Church (1,464); Greek Church (533); Greek Catholic (516); Greek Church of Russia (26); Greek (25); Russian Church (23); Greek Universal Catholic Church (16); Orthodox Christian (33); Orthodox Church (23); Orthodox (194); Others (43); yielding a general Greek Catholic category of 2,936. The first three groups claimed members in all States. (1,881 of the total were over 20 years of age; only 774 were married and 1,295 lived in metropolitan areas.)

Serbian, and Rumanian - accounted for the large number of Orthodox sects as did the absence of a properly organised and recognised Orthodox Church authority or authorities. The unorganised nature of the Orthodox Church in Australia probably convinced census authorities that the 'Greek Catholic' category into which all the Orthodox groups were placed was perhaps not an inconvenient one. The Greek-born, moreover, showed a slight preference for the Anglican and Catholic Churches - a preference shown in subsequent censuses though the number being lost to these and other denominations was by comparison very small.¹ Greeks on the whole adhered to their national religion and demonstrated their loyalty by building the first Orthodox churches in Australia. This was to be expected in view of their predominance among Australia's Orthodox people or 'Greek Catholics', clearly shown in censuses summarised in Table III below.

TABLE III²

	<u>Year of Census</u>			
	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>
Greek-born	482	878	1,796	3,654
Greek Catholics	622	1,314	2,936	5,372

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.
The censuses of 1891, 1901, 1911, and 1921.

As will be seen shortly, in founding churches, Greeks met with the enthusiastic support of Syrians who similarly felt the same religious needs.

¹ In 1911, 63 Greeks declared their affiliation to the Church of England, 93 to the Roman Catholic Church and 140 to other denominations. Subsequently the Church of England claimed more Greek adherents than any other denomination in Australia.

² The number of Greek Catholics also include the Australian-born.

Many of the features exhibited by Greek immigrants in Australia in the pre-1923 period were not substantially different from those shown by other non-Britishers especially southern Europeans. Where Greeks appeared to differ more than most other foreign groups was in their propensity to combine at an early stage of settlement.

As each community differed in the number of Greeks and groupings it contained, the structure of each, as this emerged by 1923, also differed: there were also certain important features common to all settlements. The Melbourne community remained predominantly Ithacan and the only other clear local grouping consisted of a few Greeks from the Aegean island of Samos. Because most of Victoria's Greeks were averse to leaving Melbourne, combination set in early, yielding the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne which officially marks its foundation from 1897. It will be seen later that this body was at first a joint venture with the Syrians and there is evidence that the organisation had an earlier beginning. Despite its small numerical size the Melbourne community began to fragment rather early. Not much is known of the Greek Society supposedly in existence in 1912, nor of the informal Greek Women's Society after 1916, but in 1916 the Orpheus

Club, a pan-Hellenic society, came into being.¹ Its activities included the managing of a lesche,² charity, organising social and cultural gatherings and assisting national causes and the work of the Orthodox Greek Community. In the same year the Ulysses Club followed:³ it was a fraternity of Ithacans but its role in the community was not markedly different from that of Orpheus. Greeks often showed concern at this organisational division though attempts to unify under the aegis of the Community failed.⁴ Apart from these formal organisations Melbourne contained several coffee-houses, the newspaper Australis between 1914 and 1921, a Greek Consul and, for some time, the Greek Consul General.

¹ The Greek Society (Hellenikos Syllogos) appeared as a donor in a finance drive the Community undertook to support Greece during the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913. The Orpheus Club has been known by several names: Greek or Hellenic Amateur and Philanthropic Society (1916 - 1923); then invariably as Hellenic Cultural and Philanthropic Society. Otherwise it was usually referred to as the Orpheus Club or simply Orpheus, a name which was always added as a suffix whenever its other longer titles were used.

² A lesche serves the same purposes as a coffeehouse, but it is usually owned and managed by a formal organisation, unlike the privately owned coffeehouse.

³ As in the case of Orpheus, the Ulysses Club had more precise names which were: The Philanthropic Society of Ithacans 'Odysseus'; Ithacan Brotherhood or Society 'Odysseus'.

⁴ See pp. 104 - 113 below.

The Greek community in Sydney was traditionally the largest. But its single largest grouping, the Kytherans, began their outward movement early so that unlike Melbourne and Perth, the community was not dominated by a single regional group. As in Melbourne a Greek Orthodox Community was founded early (c.1898) yet not until the Kytherian Association was founded in 1922 did organisational fragmentation set in: a Greek Music Lovers' Society founded after 1915 had a rather short and ephemeral existence.¹ Sydney, however, had its coffeehouses, the newspaper Oceanis, 1912 - 1914, and Australis after 1921, a Greek Consul, and when he was not in Melbourne, the Greek Consul General.²

Officially the Greek Orthodox Community in Sydney (more commonly known as the Greek Orthodox Community of N.S.W.), dates its origin on 29 May, 1898. But on this date the foundation stone for the Community's Holy Trinity church was laid on the corner of Bourke and Ridge Streets. Such an important undertaking assumes considerable prior organization, so that the Community in Sydney

¹ The Kytheran fraternity is known as the 'Kytherian Association of Australia' in English, but has always been referred to as the Kytheran Brotherhood of Australia in Greek. The Greek Music Lovers' Society is mentioned in Life in Australia, op.cit., p. 113. One of its members, George Paizis interviewed (November, 1967, in Sydney) informed the writer that this society was a cultural one, given to producing plays and concerts but the organisation did not become too formalised.

² The Australis transferred to Sydney from Melbourne some time in 1921 or early in 1922. According to the minutes book of the Orthodox Greek Community, 24 August, 1921, Australis was not then in Melbourne.

too, probably originated earlier - possibly earlier than its Melbourne counterpart.¹ The ceremony associated with laying Holy Trinity's foundation stone was performed by Archimandrite Dorotheos Bacaliaros who 'as if by act of God' suddenly appeared in Australia but just as suddenly disappeared after an alleged quarrel with the Community soon after May, 1898.² No more is known of this roving cleric with 'his gown, long hair and his patriarchal beard' other than that no church authority sent him to Australia, that before coming to Sydney he had a brief stay in Melbourne and that before May, 1898, he was conducting services in St. James (Anglican) Church in King Street, Sydney.³ His presence in Sydney, however, was an important factor in eventually instituting the Greek Orthodox Community even though he left before Holy Trinity was completed.

As in Melbourne, Syrians were also drawn into the Community and church in Sydney. Yet apart from two Syrians listed⁴ among the Community's nine founders, their number and precise position in the Community organisation are not known. It is probable that

¹ K. I. Kassimatis (Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928), states that one of the Community's founders was Athanasios Comino, who, it may be noted, was dead by 1897. This is supported Life in Australia, op. cit., p. 88.

² Ibid. See also Christopher Knetes "The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia", International Directory of 1927, Adelaide, p. 402, who, unlike Kassimatis, does not mention the quarrel but notes that the Archimandrite appeared and disappeared unexpectedly.

³ Ibid., p. 401-402.

⁴ They are listed on the Community's foundation charter.

Syrians were given associate membership defined by the Community's 1912 constitution as those of 'foreign nationality' who paid their ten shillings annual fees but who could not 'vote or be elected to office'.¹ Yet a Syrian, Abraham Aboud, became one of the seven trustees of the Community's church in 1909, a position he held at least until 1928.² Syrians in 1898, however, were sufficiently numerous to decide that Sydney's first resident Greek priest, Reverend Serafeim Phocas, was versed in Arabic and was despatched to serve a mixed Greek-Syrian Orthodox congregation. Although the point is disputed, this priest was sent by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, (as was his counterpart in Melbourne), under whose

¹ The 1912 constitution was superseded in 1914 by another which did not provide for associate members and which restricted membership to those claiming Greek descent.

² A brief sketch of Abraham Aboud's life story is given by Hellenic Herald, 23 May, 1935, though frequent references in other editions are also made. Aboud came to Australia in 1893, spent several years in the Darling Downs before settling in Sydney. His association with Greeks began before his elevation to a Community trustee in 1909. In 1924 he visited the Lebanese Republic and returned to Australia as its 'representative'. (It is not clear whether this means that he was Lebanon's Consul in Sydney.) Abraham Aboud was by all accounts very energetic and active in public affairs as shown by the following positions he held: President of the United Lebanese Association; President of the Greek Orthodox Syrian Community of New South Wales; Life Governor of the Women's Hospital; Life Governor of the Benevolent Society of New South Wales. In addition he was by 1935 proprietor of Pioneer Softgoods Industries Ltd., valued at £80,000 and the father of ten children.

ecclesiastical jurisdiction the Greek church (and Community) fell.¹ Otherwise, and with time, the Greek Orthodox Community in Sydney became transformed into a Greek immigrant organisation. There are no available records to see how this transformation took place, but according to the Community's constitution of 1914, (which has survived), and which was to be in force for ten years, the Community had transferred its ecclesiastical dependence to the Church of Greece, and membership was restricted to those who could claim Greek descent. Although Syrians were thus excluded they continued to patronise Holy Trinity until 1920 when they managed to erect their own 'St. George' church in Redfern. The close religious link forged in 1898, moreover, was maintained by Abraham Aboud's role as one of the Community's trustees as already noted.

According to the Community's 1914 constitution all Greeks residing in New South Wales and Queensland were entitled to be members: few could be expected to join from the far north and almost certainly none did after the Greek Orthodox Community of Queensland was founded in 1922. But only Greeks resident in Sydney enjoyed the right to be elected to office so that constitutionally, and in practice, the Community became based in Sydney

¹ Christopher Knetes, "The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia", op.cit., p. 402, asserts that Reverend Serafeim Phocas was sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1898 while Life in Australia, op.cit., p. 115, records that the priest came from Port Said in 1899 where he was serving under the Patriarchate of Alexandria. This source, however, states that Reverend Serafeim attended Jerusalem's Theological School originally so that it is possible that he went from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem to that of Alexandria then back to Jerusalem before being finally appointed to serve in Sydney. Lastly, K. I. Kassimatis, Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928) holds that the Community applied and procured Reverend Serafeim from the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

Greeks. Its affairs were administered by a fourteen-member committee elected for a three-year term. The seven trustees, in office for life, and an elected Supervisory Council, did not become significantly involved in administrative work. The Community's revenue and expenditure items apparently did not differ appreciably from those of the Melbourne Community except in membership fees which ranged from £1 to £5 for shop-owners and ten shillings for others, and in that after 1914 not more than one quarter of the Community's annual surplus was to be allocated to charity.¹

Where the Community in Sydney differed from that in Melbourne was that until 1923 it was free of dispute with the priests it employed. There was certainly no discord during the time of Reverend Serafeim Phocas (1898 - 1913), who managed to marry off his seven daughters and two sons into Sydney's leading Greek families. One of the daughters married John Comino who was also honorary president of the Community.²

In Perth the Kastellorizans maintained their strong numerical position throughout the entire history of that community. An attempt to institute a Greek Orthodox Community at a meeting in 1911 proved abortive. According to an eye witness, 'at this

¹ The constitution of the Greek Orthodox Community of New South Wales, 1914.

² Life in Australia, op.cit., p. 115, notes that by 1915 the Reverend Phocas had married off five daughters. K. I. Kassimatis (Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928) says that all of the priest's children had married Sydney Greeks.

meeting instead of tongues of fire descending on the congregation, the tables and chairs became magnetised and were flying in the air'.¹ Precisely what disrupted this important meeting is not known. It is possible that there was disagreement between the priest, Chrysanthos Constantinides,² and part of the congregation on questions that usually divided Communities and priests. Conflict also developed between one section of the Kastellorizans and the next priest, Archimandrite Germanos Eliou (from Mytilene Island, in

¹ George Mavromatis writing in Ethniki Salpinx, 25 February, 1925.

² Little is known of this priest. Con Berbatis mentions him in his brief history of the 'Hellenic Community of Western Australia' which appears in the Souvenir Programme published on the occasion of the opening of the Hellenic Community Centre in July, 1969. (Forthwith this document will be referred to as Souvenir Programme Perth Community, 1969.) Berbatis maintains that Father Chrysanthos Constantinides left Perth in 1912 and there is no reason to believe that he had been in Perth for long. The Statistical Register of Western Australia records two Greek priests in 1910 and three in 1911. Assuming that the two priests recorded in 1910 and 1911 were those from Sydney and Melbourne who had to be registered as celebrants in Perth in case they were required there, one can conclude that Chrysanthos Constantinides settled in Perth some time between 1910 and 1911.

the Aegean Sea) after he settled in Perth in 1913.¹ Even though the number of Perth Greeks in the mid-1910's warranted a Community this project had to wait for nearly a decade. The cause of pan-Hellenism was served in the form of a more secular body, the Hellenic Union, which was founded in 1918. But this body, too, proved powerless to unite the ethnic community along the normal national-religious lines. The group which acted towards this end was the Kastellorizans who as early as 1912 had combined into a formal fraternity, subsequently raised sufficient money and purchased a land site which they set aside on which to build a church in the future.² Early in 1923 a committee headed by the priest was set up and began fund raising to build a church and institute a Community, but again their efforts were frustrated partly by Kastellorizan intransigence and partly by the entry of the Metropolitan in the following year.³ So long as Archimandrite Germanos was in Perth there were few prospects of achieving unity and co-operation in the ethnic community. But the fact that the Archimandrite

¹ The quarrel between Archimandrite Germanos and a section of the Kastellorizons appears to have resulted from personal reasons. As will be seen (in Chapters III and IV) this quarrel lasted for almost a generation and was carried over to Adelaide where the Archimandrite settled in 1925. Concerning Archimandrite's arrival in Perth, Con Berbatis (Souvenir Programme, Perth Community, 1969, op.cit., p. 2) says it was in 1913 though Alex Grivas (Hellenic Herald, 7 March, 1939) puts the priest's arrival to 1914.

² Souvenir Programme Booklet, Perth Community, 1969, op.cit., p.2, notes that from 1912 onwards a 6d. per week levy on each family was imposed (by the Castellorizian Committee with the aim of eventually building a church and that a property was actually bought in the name of the Castellorizian Association on 28 March, 1922.

³ See Chapter III below.

stayed in Perth until 1924 indicates that he commanded some followers, while his religious tasks were made easier by the willingness of the Anglican Church to let him its premises. The Archimandrite was also instrumental in founding at least as early as 1923 the Greek evening school, 'Pittakos'.¹ At least two lesches were reportedly operating in 1923 as well as a cultural society.²

Of the four communities, that of Brisbane remained the smallest. As in Sydney, it was a mixed settlement with the Kytherans constituting the largest single group but never the majority. The first organisation founded in 1913 was called the Greek Society of Queensland. It was a pan-Hellenic body, based in Brisbane, with members throughout Queensland. Also reported in existence in 1916 were the Greek Community of Queensland and the Society of Young Greeks of Queensland, yet no trace of these bodies remained: it is even possible that all three were really

¹ The Archimandrite was given full credit for 'Pittakos' and for his untiring efforts in Greek education. School books were procured from the Greek (Orthodox) Community in Chicago. Ethniki Salpinx, 2 May, 1923.

² For the lesches and the cultural society see Ethniki Salpinx, 30 May, 1923.

one and the same organisation.¹ The Greek Society of Queensland seemed to have enjoyed perpetual life, managing a lesche in Adelaide Street. In 1921 this organisation was renamed the Hellenic Club,² which in the same year purchased an old building on Charlotte Street which it named and registered as Hellenic House Limited. Members of the Club decided to found the Greek Orthodox Community of Queensland in 1922, whose headquarters henceforth became situated in Hellenic House.³ The Community eventually bought shares in Hellenic House Limited so that the affairs of both organisations

¹ The information on the Community in Brisbane comes from The White Paper (Lefkoma) of the Greek Orthodox Community of Brisbane, "St. George", 1960. (Adprint Pty. Ltd., Melbourne, 1960.) Henceforth this document will be referred to as: White Paper, G.O.C. Brisbane. (This document gives a brief history of the Community since 1922 and was published in 1960 in conjunction with the completion of the Community's new St. George Church.) On p. 15 it is stated that the Greek Society of Queensland was founded in 1913 by thirty Greeks, half of whom were Kytherans. This Society's inception in 1913 is also supported by Ethniki Salpinx, 18 April, 1923, but neither source mentions the existence of other organisations before 1922. Life in Australia, op.cit., p. 109 and passim, however, assert that in 1916 the Society of Young Greeks and the Greek Community of Queensland were functioning, the latter for some time. The same source states that the Society of Young Greeks also acted as a Greek Community. The probability that all three organisations were one and the same cannot therefore be excluded.

² White Paper, G.O.C. Brisbane, op.cit., pp. 15-16.

³ Although the Community is claimed to have been founded in 1922 (p. 15), its history (p. 21) officially started from 1921 onwards though the document says nothing of this history between 1921 and 1922. Ibid.

became even more inextricably connected.¹ Brisbane did not procure a resident priest until 1923, while the church, erected next to Hellenic House, came after 1929.² Before 1923 the religious needs of Brisbane's Greeks were served by occasional visits from the priest in Sydney - an arrangement which explains why the Sydney Community accorded membership to Greeks in Queensland. Also founded in 1923 in Brisbane were the Cultural Society, the Music Lovers' Society, and a Greek school: not one of these proved viable bodies, partly because the settlement was small, and partly because of the warring factions that emerged soon after 1923.³

The Adelaide community did not contain many more than one hundred members by 1923 and although Greek migration into South Australia was increasing rapidly most Greeks were settling in Port Pirie. Like Brisbane, it was a mixed community free from domination by one regional group. By 1923 the only thing Adelaide could claim

¹ See Chapter III below.

² The priest was Archimandrite Daniel Maravelis, formerly with the Community in Melbourne.

³ As will be seen the two factions were the 'Freeleagus clique' which controlled Hellenic House and the Music Lovers' Society, and their opponents whose leader in 1923 was I. Strategakis who was also president of the Cultural Society. The main battleground of the two factions was the Community. See Ethniki Salpinx, 4 April and 17 October, 1923, and Chapter III below.

by way of institutions was four coffeehouses.¹ One of these, 'Omonioia' (Concord) situated like most others in Hindley Street, was managed by George Nikolaidis, the leader of the Hellenic Association which functioned for several years after 1923.

With this outline structure of Greek ethnic communities the position in Melbourne will now be examined more closely. Much of the history of the Melbourne community in this period is based on the minute book records of some of the meetings of the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne.² Yet the material, however fragmentary, is enough to reveal the structure, function and role of this body as well as to suggest much that happened within Melbourne's Greek community.

The first recorded meeting of the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne took place on Sunday, 7 March, 1898, in a Greek shop. It was a joint meeting of Greeks and Syrians who elected an eight-

¹ Ethniki Salpinx, 27 December, 1922, records that 'although Adelaide contained only fifty Greeks, the doors of the fourth coffeehouse is about to open'.

² Minutes Book of the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne hereafter designated as M.B.M. The dates referred to are those at which the meetings of the Community's officers and members took place. I have found this a better method of referencing than using the minutes book's page numbers, not all of which were kept in strict sequence. The dates, wherever possible are those of the new calendar, not the old (Julian) calendar still in use by the Greek Orthodox Church until 1923 and by the officers of the Community: usually, however, both old and new calendar dates appeared in the minutes book. The new Gregorian calendar officially came into use early in 1923. Ethniki Salpinx, 11 April, 1923.

member committee instructing it to communicate with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Damianos, and request a priest.¹ In writing to the Patriarch the committee asked him on behalf of the Orthodox Community to make available Reverend Athanasios Kontopoulos and direct him to Melbourne as soon as possible as 'there are two hundred members of the Orthodox faith without spiritual guidance' as well as 'many children who are awaiting baptism'. In the letter, the Patriarch was reminded that a member of the committee, Souliman Karme (a Syrian), had met the same priest in Jerusalem in 1897 and understood that he was intended for Melbourne. The Patriarch was, furthermore, reminded that on 5 August, 1895, a bank draft of £30 had been sent to the former Patriarch of Jerusalem, the late Gerasimos, for a priest who never came, but the committee assured the Patriarch that it would pay the priest's and his wife's fare to Australia: it would also guarantee the priest an annual stipend of £100.² In May, 1898, the Patriarch replied that he was meeting his flock's request and added that Reverend Athanasios was well versed in both Greek and Arabic and that he was ready to depart for Australia.³

¹ M.B.M., 7 March, 1898.

² M.B.M., 8 March, 1898.

³ M.B.M., 5 June, 1898.

The fact that these negotiations appear to have originated in 1895 suggests that some organisation existed earlier than 1898 and earlier again than 1897, the official foundation date of the Community. Syrian participation in the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne is shown by the 1897 Jerusalem visit of Souliman Karme, who first contacted Reverend Athanasios; by the election of two Syrians on the Community's committee on 7 March, 1898; and by the choice to become spiritually dependent on the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, despite the fact that ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Greek churches in Australia before 1908 should have been under the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Yet the Community was essentially a Greek body: the majority of the members were Greeks, as were its officers. The latter included A. V. Maniachi,¹ Australia's Greek Consul General, and the wealthy Ithacan Anthony J. J. Lucas. Also active in these early negotiations and counter-signing the correspondence to the Patriarch was Melbourne's Greek Consul, W. Curtin.² At this time, however, the number of Greeks in Melbourne was small - certainly no more than two hundred - a fact which explains the

¹ A. V. Maniachi has also been known as M. V. Maniachi. In the foundation charter of the Greek Orthodox Community of N.S.W. with its headquarters in Sydney, the name recorded was Mark V. Maniachi. In most other records his name is A. (Alexandros) V. Maniachi. The writer cannot account for the difference in his initials.

² M.B.M., 7 March, 1898 and 8 March, 1898.

eagerness of Greeks to draw Syrians into their organisation and help procure a priest from a church authority not particularly interested before 1898. It is not known what arrangements were made between the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and that of Constantinople before the former decided to invade the latter's territory in 1898, but no doubt some consideration was given to the presence of Syrians. It is perhaps significant that the request for a priest purportedly came from the Orthodox Community rather than from the Orthodox Greek Community, the name appearing in the organisation's official seal and which was very likely deleted from correspondence to Jerusalem. In any case the Patriarchate addressed himself to the Orthodox Community of Melbourne, so that he was possibly not fully aware that he was dealing with a predominantly Greek organisation. Lastly, the small and mixed Greek-Syrian congregation probably explains the rather brief visit of Archimandrite Dorotheos Bacaliaros some time early in 1898 - brief, indeed, in view of the unbaptised children of Melbourne and in view of the absence of the priest's name from the Community's records.¹

The Reverend Athanasios duly arrived in June, 1898, bringing with him his credentials and numerous church objects such as icons, service books and Holy Myron.² His credentials included a letter

¹ Christopher Knetes, op.cit., p. 401-402, mentions that before coming to Sydney, archimandrite Dorotheos was in Melbourne. K. I. Kassimatis, Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928, reports the same.

² Holy Myron, is a liquid used at baptisms and it is composed of forty different substances. It is prepared by Orthodox Church authorities and distributed to the churches under their jurisdiction.

from Jerusalem's English Consul to the Chief Secretary of Victoria, one from Jerusalem's Greek Consul to his counterpart in Melbourne, and another from Jerusalem's English episcopate to the Anglican Bishop in Melbourne. A letter from the Patriarch to the committee of the Orthodox Community was also presented: it stated that Reverend Athanasios was a fully qualified and pious priest and that he was especially ordained to serve in Melbourne. The Patriarch, moreover, exhorted his flock to build a holy temple 'rich in decoration and richer in prayer', but pointed out that the priest's fare cost three times the amount sent to him by the Community!¹ In replying to the Patriarch the Community pledged itself 'to follow the priest's teaching and obey his guidance in all things holy' and expressed much gratitude especially for the church articles which 'would adorn our little church which was so bare before'.² The last statement further adds to the enigma of whether or not a priest was active in Melbourne some time before June, 1898.

For unknown reasons five committee-men resigned soon after the priest's arrival. The remaining three, Lucas, Maniachi and G. Matorikos (or Matoorekes), together with the priest, proceeded quite unperturbed, with their important tasks; the priest was duly registered with the local authorities as 'head of the Greek Orthodox Church' and was thus empowered to conduct marriage

¹ M.B.M., 22 June, 1898.

² M.B.M., 6 July, 1898.

ceremonies; and a fund to erect a church was initiated and for the time being church services were held at Chalmes Church, Gipps Street, East Melbourne.¹ In December, 1899, the Community held enough funds in donations and loans to purchase a site on Victoria Parade, and in January, 1900, a general meeting was called where the three ardent pioneers and priest appealed for support to erect a church in order to 'elevate the prestige of Hellenism'. Fifty-three Greeks answered the call and the appeal netted £251 for the Community's treasury.² Apart from this consultation the Community throughout the period was managed by the three officers and the priest. Support from members was growing, however, and by 19 December, 1900, there were enough funds at hand to lay the foundation stone of 'Evangelismos' church at an estimated cost of £816.³

Laying the foundation stone was a ceremonial occasion, attended by the Governor's wife (the Governor was reportedly ill), the Lord Mayor, Consuls of several European nations, and a large section of the Greek and Syrian communities. Officiating at the ceremony, Reverend Athanasios stressed that 'without the church it is not possible for a community bearing the name Christian to exist'.

¹ M.B.M., 11 October, 1898.

² M.B.M., 8 January, 1900.

³ M.B.M., 19 December, 1900.

The Lord Mayor also spoke and said: 'In the British Dominions all professing the Christian faith are welcome, and none more so than the adherents of this church who number amongst them some of the most industrious and law-abiding citizens in the community'. The Russian Consul also paid a brief complementary tribute. The ceremony ended by the circulation of two collection trays which yielded a total of £155. 17s. 6d. A list of Greek and Syrian donors from Melbourne and elsewhere gave a further £137. 14s. 6d. to the building fund.¹

The building of 'Evangelismos' naturally created more interest among Greeks, placed the Community on a firmer basis and gave the organisation a purpose. In June, 1901, by which time the church building neared completion, over fifty members met to elect a new committee on which Lucas, Maniachi and Matorikos were returned. Thereafter the new committee, headed by the president, Maniachi, who presumably was still Greek Consul General for Australia, managed the affairs of the Community more independently of the priest.² Records do not show what the duties of the priest were before June, 1901, other than that he was very much involved in the church building fund and that he worked closely with the three officers, in which case he must have taken part in decision-making. But after June,

¹ M.B.M., 19 December, 1900.

² M.B.M., 30 June, 1901.

1901, he was reduced to a mere employee, accountable to the committee for all of his church activities and of his whereabouts during the day. The committee made all the decisions including what fees were to be charged for the various sacraments performed in the church, and how these and other church takings were to be appropriated. The committee, interestingly enough, even regulated that there should be two classes of sacraments each carrying a different fee - the first and last of such church regulations in Australia - and gave permission to the priest to accept tips, tychera, unspecified amounts of money voluntarily donated to the priest after every marriage and baptism ceremony according to a universally accepted custom in Greek churches against which there can hardly be any regulation.¹

Records do not show what transpired soon after these regulations came into force, but by August, 1902, priest and Community were in open conflict. The dispute, the first of its kind for which there is much information, is noted here in some detail because it throws considerable light on Church-Community relations, while the

¹ Though these decisions did not delineate all the duties of the priest, they were enough to make his status a mere employee. All monies collected by the priest were to be remitted to the committee whom he was obliged to consult in most things. The sacramental fees enforced by the committee were as follows:-

<u>Sacrament</u>	<u>First Class</u>	<u>Second Class</u>
Marriage	£3. 0s. 0d.	£1. 0s. 0d.
Memorial Service(requiem)	1. 10s. 0d.	1. 0s. 0d.
Burial	2. 0s. 0d.	1. 0s. 0d.
Baptism	1. 0s. 0d.	in all cases.

way in which the dispute was resolved set an important precedent in these relations by which this and other Greek Orthodox Communities were to be guided in later years.

The dispute itself appeared suddenly on 24 August, 1902, when the committee met to reply to a letter from the priest. The contents of the letter were not recorded but in reply the committee viewed these as 'unconvincing and unbecoming' and warned the priest that he stood to be dismissed unless he stopped 'meddling in the Community's administrative matters'. The dispute, it appears, started some time earlier, as by 31 August, 1902, the committee had already convened a general meeting to adopt the Community's new rules and to elect new officers, all of which indicate previous preparation. The general meeting attended by 105 members unanimously approved the new constitution and rules: these included the Apostles Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the rules designating how the Community was to be administered. These decisions again indicated members' preparedness for confrontation. Several innovations in constitutions normally applicable to Greek Orthodox Communities were introduced, but these did not greatly affect the organisation's structure. As in Sydney after 1914, the Community was transformed entirely into a Greek body, confining membership to those of Greek origin and who could speak Greek, while power was vested in a seven-member council elected periodically and responsible

¹ M.B.M., 24 August, 1902.

to members: no constitutional clause defined membership fees.¹

The general meeting also elected a seven-member committee on which Lucas, Maniachi and Matorikos were again returned, and these three were further elected trustees of the Community's church property.

Armed with constitutional powers and enjoying considerable support the new committee met the same night and resolved to deal with the priest: it gave the priest twenty-four hours to conform to and 'recognise and abide by the decisions of the legal administrative council or face instant dismissal';² the committee also decided to change the church doors' locks and keys. No written reply came from the priest by post (none could within twenty-four hours), but several days later the committee met again and decided to write to the Patriarch requesting him to recall the priest as 'he has completely lost the goodwill of his flock and as a

¹ M.B.M., 31 August, 1902. The innovations in the constitution were: no more than eleven but not less than five church wardens were to be elected to hold office for four years - two of these were to retire every two years; successful candidates had to score a majority of votes during elections; the president and two church wardens were obliged to investigate a person and establish his fitness before admitting him as a member; children could be members but could vote only after their eighteenth birthday. It is to be noted that by church wardens was meant councillors or committeemen. These clauses, except those defining membership, were not put into practice. The more usual procedure was to elect a seven-member committee to hold office for a year. Some of the elections were conducted immediately after Sunday morning service.

² Ibid. ;

consequence his stay in Melbourne is scandalous'.¹ The priest's dismissal came on 23 October, 1902, after he was reported to have failed to arrive to conduct church service - an act viewed as unprecedented by the committee.² The committee at once wrote to the Metropolitan of Athens asking him to despatch Archimandrite Mikandros Betines and subsequently informed him that 'the Greek Orthodox Church of Melbourne which has been recognised by the authorities here' wished to come under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church of Greece.³ The reply from the Church of Greece came four months later (February, 1903); it accepted the request and shortly after it also acknowledged receipt of £40 for the Archimandrite's fare to Melbourne. Correspondence also came from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and although the contents of his letters are again not fully revealed, he undoubtedly expressed his displeasure. The Community's quarrel, however, was with Reverend Athanasios Kontopoulos. Again it is not clear what happened between the time of his dismissal and the arrival of Archimandrite Mikandros nearly a year later. It seems there was constant bickering and possibly a split in the congregation occurred, though in view of the support of at least one hundred and five members given to the committee, the priest could not claim too many followers:

¹ M.B.M., 3 September, 1902.

² M.B.M., 21 September, 1902, and 23 October, 1902.

³ M.B.M., 9 April, 1903.

the dispute may even have reached the law courts.¹ The intensity of the conflict was expressed by the committee's unanimous decision in September, 1903, to erase Reverend Athanasios Kontopoulos's name from the inscription on the foundation stone of 'Evangelismos' - an act which at that time also symbolised the Community's severing of spiritual allegiance to Jerusalem.²

This was an important stage in Church-Community relations. As was seen the Ecumenical Patriarchate which in theory held ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the churches in Australia, conceded this right to Jerusalem in 1898. In 1902 the Church of Greece was

¹ The only other reference to the dispute appeared in the minutes book on 12 April, 1925. At this meeting an accusation was made against the officers of the Community at the time of Reverend Athanasios Kontopoulos, that they were responsible for dragging the Community to court 'for the sake of one book', - a court case, it is claimed, that cost the Community £300. As will be seen later the Community in 1925 was split and the accusers had quite an axe to grind against the officers in 1902, particularly against A. J. J. Lucas. A court case, however, could easily have eventuated over claims to the many church articles the priest brought from Jerusalem in 1898. The book in question could refer to the large service book often containing the complete account of the liturgies: it may also refer to the register of marriages and other sacraments usually in the priest's possession, in which case the Community may have resorted to legal action to retrieve it. Reverend Athanasios, it may be noted, remained in Australia until 1908 when he is recorded as a donor to a national cause. M.B.M., 30 September, 1908. Ethniki Salpinx, 2 April, 1924, notes that two of Kontopoulos's sons returned to Australia after seventeen years' absence. This puts the Reverend's departure from Australia back to 1907. But there is no doubt about his presence in 1908 according to the M.B.M., 30 September, 1908.

² M.B.M., 22 September, 1903. The battered inscription can still be seen today at 'Evangelismos' church.

invited, and it agreed, to assume this right - a right to which it was not canonically entitled until 1908. It was unlikely that these three Orthodox Church authorities viewed their claims to Australia seriously but the Community became convinced that it could determine its relationship with the Orthodox Church on its own terms. In both 1898 and 1902 the Community simply earmarked a priest, made sure he was available, then declared its spiritual allegiance to his church authority. As will be shown later the decision taken in 1922 by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and implemented in 1924 to assume jurisdiction over the churches in Australia, was vehemently resisted on the grounds that it invaded the rights of the Community: the Ecumenical Patriarchate's decision was also opposed on the grounds that the Community wished to remain under the Church of Greece according to its decision in 1902 - a wish which also expressed the strong national sentiment of Greeks early this century. This decision was subsequently inscribed as an important clause in the Community's constitution, but as will be seen this clause in no way guaranteed permanent spiritual dependence on the Church of Greece.

By 1902 the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne had evolved into an important Greek ethnic institution. Syrian names henceforth disappeared from the Community's records, though, as in Sydney, they probably continued to use the Community's church until

they, too, founded their own church.¹ From 1902 onwards the Community embarked on its normal tasks of maintaining a church around which much of the life of Greeks revolved. The non-religious activity of the Community similarly attracted the attention of most Greeks in Melbourne so that by and large the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne also became the Greek community in Melbourne.

That the Community was able to involve a large number of Melbourne's Greeks in its activities can be seen by the number of active members. Active members are taken to be those who were willing to attend general meetings or voted for the Community's officers. This meant that such members had also fulfilled their financial responsibilities to the Community. Membership recorded at general meeting and election time was as follows: 1902, 105;

¹ The erection of the Syrian church in Victoria Parade, East Melbourne, commenced in 1932 (Hellenic Herald, 11 and 25 September, 1932), but a Syrian Orthodox congregation existed earlier. Ethniki Salpinx, 8 August, 1923, lauds the initiative of Syrians, who had just founded their Community and who had decided to build a church and to invite an Arab-speaking priest from the Patriarchate of Antioch. The writer of this article also proudly asserts that Greeks and Syrians are bound by common religion and blood, 'for according to most reputable historians, Syrians are descendants of the Greek colonists of Syria and Palestine (planted) there by Alexander the Great'.

1903, 70; 1905, 80; 1915, 194; 1916, 171; 1918, 218; 1921, 137; 1923, 135.¹ A number of factors operated to give this varying degree of interest but compared with later years the degree of active participation of Greeks in the affairs of the Community in the pre-1923 period was high: it is even likely that all of Melbourne's Greeks were, at one time or another, members, who for various reasons could not always attend meetings, church, and elections. On all occasions considerable support from Greeks came when the Community acted for their wider and especially for their nationalist interests: during the 'Extraordinary National Finance Drive' undertaken by the Community in support of Greece during the Balkan Wars in 1912, no less than 250 Greeks are listed as having made their contribution; this figure lies close to Victoria's 297 Greek-born residents recorded by the 1911 census.²

¹ M.B.M., 31 August, 1902, 18 October, 1903, 30 July, 1905, 4 July, 1915, 18 July, 1916, January 1918, 13 January, 1921, and Ethniki Salpinx, 5 May, 1924. The number of members noted in the text for the years 1903 and 1905 is the number stated to have attended the general meetings on the dates cited. In 1902 the names of members in attendance were actually recorded. For the years 1915, 1916, 1918 and 1921 membership is deduced from the elections results which are shown in the records. The following method was used: the number of votes cast for each candidate was added and the total divided by the number to be elected on the council. For example in the 4 July, 1915, election, 27 candidates received a total of 2,134 votes (the votes received ranging from 125 the highest, to 27 the lowest). The figure 2,134 was divided by 11, being the number constituting the council. This gave the figure of 194 which must have been the number of members recording their vote on that day. This method of deducing membership from election results assumes of course that each member voted for no more and no less than 11 candidates and that there were no invalid ballot papers.

² M.B.M., October, 1912. The amount collected was £2,472. 17s. 9d. Other similar activities also met with much response by Greeks in Melbourne. One contributor to the National drive in 1912 was the Greek Society which gave £50.

The membership of the Orthodox Greek Community generally reflected the composition of the whole community of Melbourne. In the lists of members and of contributors to the various appeals, the largest single grouping, if not the majority, was always Ithacans: in 1902 no less than 48 of the 105 members at the general meeting have been certified as Ithacans: in another list of 135 financial members in 1923, 75 were also Ithacans.¹ The other groupings, members of the Orpheus Club, and the small number of Samiots were also enthusiastic members and donors of the Community. But nowhere is there evidence of groups deliberately combining to contest elections and thus capture control of the Community or assert their influence in Community activity and policy making. Parties or groupings possibly did crystallize because of the disputes with priests but the opponents of those in control of the Community are not mentioned in the records. The distribution of votes cast at elections for the Community's committee did not indicate clear-cut contesting parties. For example, in the 1915 election 27 candidates stood for the eleven-member Community Council. The votes cast ranged between 127 and 27 and while the majority of successful candidates were Ithacans so were the majority of those who polled the least number of votes.² Community leadership generally fell to the most successful businessmen. Between 1897 - 1923 the presidency alternated frequently between A. V. Maniachi (the

¹ M.B.M., 31 August, 1902, and Ethniki Salpinx, 5 March, 1924.

² M.B.M., 4 July, 1915.

Greek Consul) and Anthony J. J. Lucas, both wealthy, especially Lucas. Between 1900 - 1915 the position of secretary was filled by Constantine Raftopoulos (or Balatzikos) also a wealthy Ithacan. But several wealthy Samiots, notably Pythagoras Hatjimichael (Mitchell) and Constantine Kontogiannis, similarly held official positions on the Community's council, as did Dr. Constantine Kyriazopoulos (a graduate from Athens University), who was also appointed Greek Consul in Melbourne, 1921 - 1923.¹ Ithacan domination of the Community resulted from sheer weight of numbers rather than from a consciously pursued policy of controlling the organisation. This was true before and after the Ulysses Club was formed in 1916 and to a lesser degree it was also true of Orpheus Club members. Yet members of both Clubs as distinct groups and as individuals actively participated in Community affairs; they considered it their duty to help the Community and the church, financially and morally, and often made their Club's premises available for Community meetings and gatherings. Whatever were the Community's relations with groups, institutions and authorities, its affairs were managed by its own elected officers.

Until 1915 the Community was managed by a seven-member committee: thereafter the committee was enlarged to eleven members and became invariably called the Administrative Council. The Community's chief officers in order of importance were the president, vice-president, treasurer and general secretary. Before 1915 elections were usually held once a year and almost always after

¹ M.B.M., Passim. For Dr. Constantine Kyriazopoulos see Life in Australia, op.cit., pp. 162-165.

Sunday church service, thus ensuring a good attendance. After 1915 the practice of setting aside an election day following the annual general meeting was generally maintained. An election committee appointed at the annual general meeting was given the task of preparing elections. These preparations included the drawing up of an electoral roll, announcing the election day and printing of proper ballot papers made possible by the appearance of the Greek printing press after 1914. The more formalised stage the Community entered after 1915 was probably the result of a dispute with the priest (1914-1915) who, as will be seen, challenged the authority of the Community's officers. But the practice of conducting proper elections has been retained ever since 1915 while election day, as in later years, was a very important occasion for the Community and for the settlement as a whole.

The wide support among Greeks was also shown by the Community's ability to stay solvent and by the financial contribution given to all of the Community's appeals. As in Sydney, the Community procured its revenue from a variety of sources. Most revenue came regularly from the church especially from the proceeds of collection trays and the sale of candles. No set annual membership fees until after 1923 are recorded in the Community's income.¹ Instead, a system of monthly levies normally fixed at

¹ A proposal to have a regular yearly membership fee, as it 'operated in the Brisbane Community' came at the end of 1923, (when the Community was reported to have been in debt by £300), but the proposal was not implemented until 1924. Ethniki Salpinx, 19 December, 1923.

four shillings for shop-owners and one shilling for shop assistants and usually collected by councillors constantly replenished the treasury.¹ The proximity of members to the centre of Melbourne facilitated the task of collectors, each of whom was sometimes allocated a street or streets or a suburb from which to collect.² Much of the revenue also came from voluntary contributions in the form of lump sum donations from wealthy shop-owners. The names of such donors were usually inscribed in a special donors' roll according to the amount given while such rolls became fixed in an appropriate place in the church.³ Individuals also donated the value of permanent fixtures in the church, pews, doors, and icons, and had their names suitably inscribed on them. Such practices are quite common to all Greek churches and prove to be a great stimulus to donations. Revenue also came from social gatherings. By far the greatest regular expense item was the priest's annual stipend which increased steadily from £100 in 1898 to £240 by 1923. The salaries of psalters and sexton, as part-time church employees, were not a significant expense item. By 1916 the Community had managed to pay off the bank loan it used to build the church in 1900 -1902.⁴

¹ M.B.M., 2 September, 1915, and passim.

² M.B.M., 4 May, 1921, and passim.

³ Three classes of donors were instituted in 1903: Donor - \$50; Benefactor - £100; and Great Benefactor - £200. M.B.M., 18 October, 1903.

⁴ M.B.M., 20 January, 1916.

After 1916, however, the accounts did not show a surplus accumulating in the treasury and in 1923 the Community owed £300 in debts.¹ Yet apart from occasional financial difficulties the Community generally was able to meet its commitments.

The Community's role as a body sensitive to Greece's national aspirations and needs was evident throughout the period but its loyalty to Greece was expressed mainly through financial assistance. The following sums of money are recorded as being transmitted to Greece: £187. 10s. Od. for the Royal Greek Navy in 1908; £2,981. 12s. 9d. during the Balkan War 1912 - 1913, being part of £12,000 sent by Greeks from Australia; £2,157. 9s. 6d. to Greek refugees during the Graeco-Turkish War 1921 - 1923. In all, over £6,000 was sent in the pre-1923 period from Melbourne.² Only four Greeks from Melbourne are, with certainty, known to have been among the 500 or so who are claimed to have left Australia to fight for Greece during the Balkan Wars. The claim is made in Life in Australia whose author(s), however, could only supply the names of twenty-three who actually took part in the war:³ they were probably confusing the 500 with the large number departing from

¹ Ethniki Salpinx, 19 December, 1923.

² M.B.M., 30 September, 1908; 6 October, 1912; 7 October, 1913; 1 October, 1921; 17 January, 1923. Of other collections £365 went to Greek victims in World War I (13 April, 1916) and £40 to Hellenismos Society (Synaspismos) (5 March, 1906). The claim that Australia's Greeks contributed £12,000 during the Balkan War is made by Life in Australia, op.cit., p. 113, where it is noted that Victoria's Greeks raised £3,500 of the total: this is below the amount shown in the Community's records noted in the text.

³ Life in Australia, op.cit., pp. 114 and 301.

Australia at the time. There is no evidence that the Community or any other organisation in Australia had at any time engaged in urging the return of young Greek men to fight in Greece's wars as did many American Greeks, especially during the Balkan Wars.¹ Much of the agitation to stir Greeks everywhere to fight for Greece was undertaken from 1892 onwards by Hellenismos Society (Synaspismos), which had its headquarters in Athens and branches in communities abroad, but its Australian branch is only just mentioned in the available records.²

As there was a small number of Greek children, the Greek community in Melbourne did not bother to found a Greek school until after 1923. Archimandrite Irineos Cassimatis, newly arrived, proposed at a general meeting of Community members early in 1922 that a Greek school be set up immediately and that the Federal Government be approached to allocate a suitable site. Needless to say the Federal Government did not oblige but Community members responded to his appeal by contributing £535 to the fund for the

¹ Theodore Saloutos, *op.cit.*, p. 107. No less than 25,000 Greeks left the United States for this war.

² Theodore Saloutos, *op.cit.*, p. 17, claims that Hellenismos Society had recruited members from Australia while Life in Australia, *op.cit.*, p. 262, asserts that there was a branch in Perth, the president of which was Petros Michelides. The only other reference was that in footnotes above. But nowhere is there evidence that Hellenismos Society was active among Australia's Greeks.

as well as in 'name-days' usually celebrated once a year by everyone instead of birthdays.¹ The other formal societies similarly celebrated important occasions, sometimes in conjunction with the Community, sometimes separately, while in yet other instances these societies organised a dance, a concert or picnic again using such opportunities to raise funds. The role of coffeehouses in the life of Greeks has already been noted and in a period of very little social contact with Australians save the shopkeeper-customer relationship, Greeks were frequent visitors to coffeehouses, even on Sunday mornings. 'Cure or curse' coffeehouses were increasing in numbers: fourteen were reported operating by 1916 throughout Australia and twenty by 1920.² The distinction was always drawn between a coffeehouse, cafeneion, usually owned and run by one or more proprietors, and lesche, managed by a formal organisation. But even within these two categories there were different types. One establishment, called the Greek Club in Park Street, Sydney, in 1916, boasted that it contained the full facilities of a coffeehouse, a billiard saloon, a barber shop, a restaurant and a land agency, each occupying a separate room.³

¹ Many name-days actually co-incided with birthdays because of the custom of naming a child after the saint on whose anniversary the child happened to be born.

² Life in Australia, op.cit., p. 93, and Oscar Georgoulas, op.cit., p. 73.

³ Life in Australia, op.cit., p. 170-171.

The political life and activities of Greeks were generally confined to the community and where political issues arose they reflected the situation in Greece rather than that in Australia. Even so Australia's Greeks, unlike those in Greece and in the United States, were not sharply divided along pro-royalist and pro-Venezelist parties, Greece's main political divisions in this period.¹ Practically the only political conflict, though by no means a clear one, came in the Melbourne community in December, 1916, when Allied troops occupied Athens in an attempt to reverse Greece's 'neutralist' if not pro-German stand in the war.² Immediately after the occupation of Athens a gathering at the Orpheus Club declared its loyalty to the Allies and Venizelos, and communicated its sentiment by telegram to the British Government: the meeting also resolved to hold a requiem service at the Greek church for the Allied soldiers who fell at Athens. The Community's council, faced with a fait accompli allowed the church service to proceed but it informed the Greek community at large that it was in no way responsible for it. The only other indication that there was a division among Greeks at this time over this particular issue was an attack on the council by the newspaper Australis, for

¹ According to Theodore Saloutos these were the main political divisions among Greeks in the United States for most of the 1900 - 1940 period.

² During the war the Greek Prime Minister, Eleftherios Venizelos, pursued a pro-Allied policy and after 1916 he finally broke with King Constantine forming a separate government in Salonica. W. A. Heurtley and others, op.cit., pp. 113-116.

refusing to support the church service wholeheartedly.¹ Yet it is not certain how pro-royalist the Community council was in 1916 nor how pro-Venezelist were those who met at the Orpheus Club. Greeks in Melbourne like their counterparts in Sydney in 1915, were at this time probably more concerned with possible reprisals against their shops than in becoming aligned to political parties in Greece. There is, however, some evidence that several Greek consuls owed their appointments to their affiliation to political parties in Greece. During the royalist ascendancy in Greece, 1921 - 1923, Dr. Kyriazopoulos, a royalist, replaced A. V. Maniachi as Greek-Consul in Melbourne.² Emanuel Andronicus in Sydney, an enthusiastic Venizelist, was appointed deputy to Consul General Anthony J. J. Lucas after the return to power of the Venizelists in Greece in 1923, though he (Andronicus) owed his tenure of office to his

¹ M.B.M., 19 December, 1916.

² There is no direct evidence that A. V. Maniachi was a Venizelist, yet his abrupt dismissal in 1921 and his return to the Greek consulate in 1923 suggests that he was: at least it suggests that he was not a royalist. Dr. Kyriazopoulos, however, did not hide his royalist sentiments nor his alleged aristocratic family background. (See *Life in Australia*, op.cit., pp. 162-164.) As Consul he did, however, appeal for unity between 'Constantinists' and 'Venezelists' to 'reconstruct the shattered nation for which he said we were all to blame'. Still Dr. Kyriazopoulos firmly believed that King Constantine was the national messiah Greeks had waited for many generations. (See Ethniki Salpinx, 7 February, 1923.)



Venizelist contacts in Greece no less than to Lucas who also had him dismissed in 1925.¹ Little else illuminates traditional Greek political divisions among Greeks in Australia. Their political interest was generally confined to the affairs of their own communities in Australia, rarely to politics in Greece, and even less so to Australian politics. As individuals their interest in politics was probably no different from that of Greeks in the later years which is characterised by intense and heated arguments in coffeehouses usually undertaken for the sake of winning an argument rather than to reach agreement for subsequent political action. Above all, Greeks in this period cared much for church politics.

By 1923 the Community in Melbourne was employing its fifth priest. The relatively large number of priests who came and went was a phenomenon which was peculiar to Melbourne yet it is one which needs further examination because it casts more light on the Church-Community relations that have plagued almost the entire history of Greek communities in Australia as well as on the position of the priest within each community. The Community-priest dispute in Sydney in 1923 will be considered here for similar reasons but also because the events emanating from the dispute in some ways set the stage for religious turmoil in the post-1924 period.

¹ Emanuel Andronicus admitted his Venizelist affiliation to the writer. In fact, he said he was Venizelos's special representative in Australia since about 1915. His dismissal at Lucas's recommendation in 1925 appears to have resulted from Andronicus's mistaken (or deliberate) decision to furnish a report of his work directly to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs rather than through the General Consulate administered by Lucas from Melbourne. (Source: Andronicus Papers.)

It is not known why or when Archimandrite Nikandros Betines left the Community of Melbourne. He is reported as complaining of his annual stipend of £120 in 1905 and expressing a desire to return to Greece.¹ He lingered on till 1908 after which no record of Community meetings was kept again until 1914. The next recorded meeting was on 4th May, 1914, by which time the Community's council was engaged in a quarrel with the new priest, Reverend Th. Androutsopoulos. Again only the Council's point of view is recorded in meetings: accordingly the priest was accused of using the pulpit to slander the Community's officers and that he had set up 'an illegal church committee'.² The quarrel continued for the whole year and it appeared that the community was split into pro- and anti-priest factions causing considerable material damage to the Community. The damage and the split were serious enough for the council to record that church attendance and revenue had fallen, and to warn members that unless they showed more interest it would hand the Community over to the Greek Consul. Peace and 'fraternisation' in the community, the council insisted, would only come

¹ M.B.M., 3 April, 1905. Angelo Lekatsas (interviewed in January, 1966, Melbourne), informed the writer that the Archimandrite, whom he remembered well, was homesick from the very beginning and that there was never any ill-feeling between him and the Community. The Archimandrite, according to this informant, came from Zakynthos, one of the seven Ionian Islands.

² M.B.M., 7 May, 1914.

if the priest left.¹ The priest, for his part, demanded his rather undefined rights, one of which was that his fare be paid for his return to Greece: this the council refused to do. The crisis was averted late in January by news from the Church of Greece that the priest's replacement had been assured: the replacement was Archimandrite Daniel Maravelis who arrived in April, 1905.² For nearly a year therefore, as in 1902-1903, the community in Melbourne witnessed the strange symbiosis of two inter-dependent yet hostile authorities whose joint tasks were to keep the church and Community functioning. Yet there is no evidence that the church was closed; indeed, Reverend Th. Androutsopoulos received his regular salary however reluctantly the council paid it. Mediators, apparently kept the warring authorities at bay and also kept the church open while the council retained as best it could the reins of power. Reconciliation after considerable pleading by the peace-makers came by an agreement over a relatively small matter, namely, that the council was to permit a collection to raise the priest's fare back to Greece.³

¹ M.B.M., 12 May, 1914, 27 May, 1914, 7 July, 1914, 10 November, 1914, 12 January, 1915.

² M.B.M., 21 January, 1915, 5 July, 1915. The last date gives the Community's financial statement in which Reverend Th. Androutsopoulos was recorded as being employed until 19 April, 1915, when the Archimandrite's salary ceased.

³ M.B.M., 10 November, 1914.

Archimandrite Daniel Maravelis did not choose to challenge the authority of the Community and its officers. His complaint was that his annual stipend of £180 was insufficient and that Greeks apparently preferred to spend their time in coffeehouses rather than attend church. Finally in 1921 he asked to be relieved of his position and requested his fare back to Greece.¹ His last request was refused but the council released him having first procured his replacement, the Archimandrite Irineos Cassimat'is in 1922.² Archimandrite Irineos born in Kefallenia, a large neighbouring island of Ithaca, was fully accepted into the Community particularly by Ithacans to whom he was apparently highly recommended by their compatriots at home and in Constantinople where he served before coming to Australia.³ His association with Ithacans remained close until his departure from Australia in 1926 after he, too, was dismissed by the Community, though, as will be seen, under peculiar circumstances.⁴

¹ M.B.M., 31 May, 1921, 27 April, 1921, 27 February, 1922.

² According to Supreme Court of Victoria File No.248, Archimandrite Irineos Cassimat'is was appointed to Melbourne (by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece) on 18 October, 1921. He arrived in Australia in January, 1922. M.B.M., 21 January, 1922.

³ While in Constantinople the Archimandrite is claimed to have served as an officer of the Ithacan Society there. In Melbourne his acceptance by Ithacans as one of their compatriots was evident from the very beginning.

⁴ See Chapter III.

Archimandrite Daniel Maravelis decided to remain in Australia. On leaving Melbourne he toured South Australia, New South Wales and Queensland collecting money for Greek refugees and eventually took up his residence in Brisbane.¹ This cleric's life and the lives of those with whom he was closely associated after 1923 were eventful. While in Sydney he became involved in a quarrel inside Holy Trinity during Sunday service with Reverend Demetrios Marinakis, a quarrel which according to an eye-witness eventuated in a brawl.² After settling in Brisbane he was joined by a "Miss Caliope Maravelis" from Greece who upon arrival was appointed tutor to the Community's Greek school. "Miss Maravelis", however, turned out to be none other than the Archimandrite's fiancée whom he secretly married while in Brisbane thus discarding his celibacy - things unknown to his flock until 1927.³ Of all the Archimandrite's strange behaviour, the episode at Holy Trinity, or its aftermath, is more relevant here.

Accounts differ as to the cause of the episode: as far as Reverend Demetrios was concerned Archimandrite Daniel was an uninvited guest if not an intruder, covetous of the position of

¹ Ethniki Salpinx, January - April, 1923.

² K. I. Kassimatis, Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928.

³ See Chapter III, below.

rector of the church in what was then the most populous and wealthy community. The Community's council, however, took a different view: it allowed the Archimandrite to attend church services during his stay in Sydney while after the quarrel it dismissed Reverend Demetrios on the grounds that he had 'invaded the Community's right... and (because) he did not recognise her (the Community's) authority'.¹ Yet there is no evidence that the Reverend Demetrios had ever challenged the Community's authority during his tenure of office between 1913 and 1923. The priest's dismissal, therefore, can only be attributed to his rather impious behaviour at church, though there was probably some previous personal antipathy between council and priest.² Whatever the precise reasons behind the priest's dismissal it resulted in a split of the Sydney community into two factions each claiming a considerable number of supporters. In a petition to the Church of Greece '400 notables and founders of the Community' (in fact only

¹ Ethniki Salpinx, 28 February, 1923.

² K. I. Kassimatis (Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928) the Community's secretary and chief spokesman before and after 1923, admits that Reverend Demetrios served the Community satisfactorily until 1923 but he contends that this priest always loved money, and that he was jealous of other priests whom he always suspected were covetous of his position. Kassimatis relates a rather interesting story in conjunction with the last accusation. Reverend Demetrios was accused of procuring and destroying the ordination papers of a Kretan monk who chanced to be in Sydney late in 1914. No other evidence testifies to this rather impious act but it is known that a Kretan monk did pass through Sydney at this time. Eventually the monk, Eracles Spanos, settled in Innisfail, North Queensland, where he became a successful sugar-cane farmer. Subsequently he brought out his nephews from Krete who are now working his farms, while the former monk, now in his late '80's, is still active and about. Interview: Elias Manikaros and others, Brisbane, June, 1968.

355 signed), protested at the unjust dismissal of the priest by a council which, the protestors claimed, 'represented a mere 100 patrons of coffeehouses'. The petition further pointed out that Archimandrite Daniel was largely responsible for the regrettable state of affairs and requested that Reverend Demetrios be reinstated to serve a community (paroikia) large enough to support two priests.¹ The Community's council, of course, had more support than '100 patrons of coffeehouses' for early in 1924 it was returned to power in an election at which it scored most of the 200 or so votes cast.² Reverend Demetrios eventually had to make way for Archimandrite Athenagoras Varacilas who came from the Church of Greece and assumed his duties late in 1923. Yet the division in the community remained and became further crystallised with the religious dispute after 1924. Apart from the staunch Community council supporters, many opponents remained loyal to Reverend Demetrios Marinakis who from then on became fully occupied with the editing of Ethnikon Vema, (the successor of Australis since late 1922) recently taken over by his brother Nicholas Marinakis. From this vantage point Reverend

¹The petition form itself was printed by Ethnikon Vema's printery while the names were hand written by one person and was probably a copy of the list sent to Greece. From an examination of the 355 names appearing on the petition it was obvious that they were a representative section of the community: Kytherans, old and new members, wealthy and poor, had attached their names to it, while the Community supporters from what one can judge from other sources, similarly represented a cross section of the community. The petition and signatures are in the Andronicus Papers.

²The Secretary of the Community, K. I. Kassimatis, topped the poll with 198 votes. All former councillors who stood in the same election were returned with a large majority. Ethniki Salpinx, 27 February, 1924.

Demetrios embarked on a course of upholding the rights of the church and clergy in Australia often denied by the more radical leaders of Greek Orthodox Communities: he was able also to harass and deride those who dismissed him from the Community of Sydney.¹

The Church-Community relations in Australia so far clearly show the difficulty in settling the question of the respective rights prerogatives, functions and duties, of lay and clergy in Greek churches. In the absence of an authority to arbitrate over the disputes, to decide the rights and wrongs in each case, and perhaps lay down binding regulations, the final word rested with those in power in the Community. This left the clergy in a rather precarious position and their welfare sometimes depended on the whims and fancies of Community officers. They were in effect employees not of a church authority but a lay organisation recognised as such by Australian law. As spiritual leader the priest had to make himself available at all times and his duties often took him over long distances to his dispersed flock. Apart from his purely religious duties each priest was expected to and did concern himself with lay affairs and activities of each community. However, subordinate each priest was in the framework of the Community he served, his presence among Greeks was felt and on several occasions Community

¹ K. I. Kassimatis (Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928) writing just before Metropolitan Christopher Knetes's departure, chastised Reverend Demetrios Marinakis for a number of things including his journalistic career which (according to Kassimatis) was marked by an anti-Community bias. See also Chapter III and IV below.

councils had cause to be alarmed at his power and influence among Greeks. The presence of each priest among the Australian community was also conspicuous and his unusual dress sometimes invited ridicule; so much so that Archimandrite Irineos Kassimatis requested and was allowed to wear a more suitable attire after 1923.¹ In the pre-1923 period there were a number of limitations preventing a properly constituted Greek Orthodox Church in Australia: the most important of these were the relatively small number of Greeks (and other Orthodox people) and the acquisition of power over church matters by Greek Orthodox Communities. Stated differently, the founders of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia were really the Greek Orthodox Communities - a fact that has remained a deep-rooted tradition among Greeks in Australia.

The importance of Communities also explains their close relationship with Greek consuls. Very little is known of Australia's first Greek Consul, Pholeros, who held office before Communities formed.² Judging by A. V. Maniachi's position in the Melbourne

¹ Both Archimandrites Daniel Maravelis and Irineos Kassimatis complained of being pestered and ridiculed by passers-by in the streets of Melbourne. The Community in Melbourne acted by deciding to write to the press and to the Anglican and Catholic Church authorities. Finally Archimandrite Irineos Kassimatis obtained permission from the Church of Greece to wear a black suit. M.B.M., 9 December, 1915, 17 February, 1922, 21 April, 1922, and 2 May, 1922.

² Interviews: Emmanuel Andronicus and Con Aroney, Sydney, September, 1967. Pholeros of Sydney. Although requested by the writer, no information on Pholeros has yet come from his grandson, C. H. Pholeros of Sydney.

Community, consulate-Community relationships were indeed intimate. Yet Maniachi's position was rather exceptional and was brought about by the fact that he was also one of the Community's founders and officers as well as a life-time trustee of Evangelismos church. Such dual roles were not played by other Greek consuls of the early period especially since they were, for the most part, Australians. These were W. Curtain, Melbourne's consul in 1898; when Maniachi was Consul General of Australia; J. R. Love, Consul General for several years before 1910; S. Cohen, who filled the same post but who initially operated from Newcastle before moving to Sydney some time before 1920; Anthony J. J. Lucas became Consul General with his office in Melbourne, and a deputy in Sydney; E. Dowing, Greek consul in Perth ever since 1903; and A. H. Spence, consul in Brisbane at least as early as 1916, a position he relinquished to Christy Freeleagus in 1921.¹ But all consuls were actively

¹ Sources: The Organisation of the Royal (Greek) Foreign Ministry (Organismos tou Vasilikou Ypourgeiou toy Exoterikou), Athens, 1956. This document does not give the dates at which consulates in Melbourne and Sydney were established. Consulates in other capital cities were: Perth, 7 November, 1903; Brisbane, 12 April, 1922; Adelaide, 9 December, 1931; and Hobart, 14 April, 1948. Yet according to Life in Australia, op.cit., p. 83, A. H. Spence was consul in Brisbane in 1916 so that the date 12 April, 1922, very likely refers to Christy Freeleagus's appointment. Information on other consulates was procured from: Andronicus Papers; Life in Australia, op.cit., pp. 82-83 and 261-262; Oscar Georgoulas, Greek Guide to Australia, Sydney, 1920, pp. 73-77 and 143-147; and records of Communities in Melbourne and Sydney.

engaged in Community and ethnic community affairs, attending and patronising the various social gatherings, and acting as the more official medium of communication between Greeks in Australia and Greece. Important consular business, however, was conducted through the Greek Embassy in London which was in charge of Greek consulates in Australia. Among the official duties of Greek consuls which were also likely to affect the life of Greeks, and thus bring consulates close to Communities, were: to submit a yearly report to Greece on trade, industry and shipping in the areas; to collect a host of taxes and charges levied on Greek nationals for their dealings with consulates such as passports, wills, powers of attorney, business transactions effective in Greece, marriage and nationality certificates; and generally speaking implement possible Greek law which included canon law and the various codes and awards operating on Greek ships.¹ There were, of course, numerous instances in which the role and functions of Communities and consulates were different and conflicting, yet in the pre-1923 period there was no evidence of conflict of interests: not even at times of Community-priest friction when consulates were expected to enforce canon law which priests presumably were upholding.

¹ For the official duties of Greek consulates see: The Organisation of the Royal (Greek) Foreign Ministry, op.cit.; and interview with V. Apostol, Greek consul in Adelaide, August, 1968.

Before concluding this chapter several other facets of communities which also help set the background for the post-1924 period are worth considering. Between 1921 and 1923 about 1,200 newcomers entered the various Greek settlements. Many of them had no relatives and friends: some were refugees from Asia Minor and were quite destitute upon arrival.¹ These new immigrants changed somewhat the occupational composition of Greeks in Australia which in 1921 was as follows: of 2,920 Greeks in the work force 512 were employers, 661 were self-employed, 1,408 were wage earners and 332 were unemployed.² Few migrants arriving outside migration chains could be accommodated with jobs, so that unemployment became a pressing problem. This new problem was acute enough for Greek Orthodox Communities to begin raising funds for the relief of the unemployed. On the other hand, an editorial in Ethniki Salpinx warned Greeks against migrating to Australia, especially those without kinsmen because it was difficult to 'get employment in government and other works which prefer natives and other nationals who know the English language'.³ But the rate of Greek immigration

¹ Ethniki Salpinx, 14 February, 1923, asserts that a great number of newcomers was from Asia Minor but gives no indication of how many there were: the paper also calls upon Greek consuls and others to help those poor and unfortunate compatriots by finding them jobs.

² The Census of 1921.

³ Ethniki Salpinx, 19 December, 1923. In the same editorial readers were requested to send copies of the paper to Greece as the editor had no time to answer individual inquiries about the employment position in Australia (presumably such enquiries were coming from Greece).

was increasing with time while the shopkeeper class, the mainstay of communities, was also steadily increasing in numbers. The Greek communities in Australia in 1923 were also important enough to attract a theatre group from Greece. This troupe spent the greater part of the year performing plays and other concert items in the four main communities and left after having reaped what was then considered a wealthy harvest of £2,000.¹ As noted earlier, during 1923 communities were also engaged in collecting and despatching money for Greek refugees who were at this time reaching Greece from Asia Minor in great numbers. Although the activities associated with this campaign were many and varied, they did not yield large sums of money: the total raised is not known but apart from Melbourne's £2,000 or so, the known contributions from other States was reckoned in hundreds of pounds, though Sydney's contribution is not cited anywhere.² The increasing demands to help fellow Greeks in Australia and in Greece appears to have overtaxed the resources of Greek communities and particularly those of Greek Orthodox Communities which usually initiated and led such national campaigns. Reports of empty treasuries, a drop in

¹ Ethniki Salpinx, 14 January, 1925.

² Perth had collected £213. 2s. 6d. Ethniki Salpinx, 4 April, 1923.

membership and interest of these bodies, as well as appeals for the unity of communities to pool their resources and get things done, appeared frequently in Ethniki Salpinx.¹ Also often reported during 1923 were the attempts made in 1921 to unify the fragmented Melbourne community. There were a number of schemes proposed for unification which in effect would have made the Community the only organisation.² The fact that these negotiations continued from 1921 until late in 1924, when they were abandoned, indicated that fragmentation, which was generally considered to have been the result of localism, was abhorred and that moves to unify were taken seriously. One correspondent in Ethniki Salpinx viewed the position thus: 'localism (topikismos) is archaic just like during the Peloponnesian War when Greece was divided into 1,000 parties. If it is pursued in Melbourne then we won't have a Greek school... to educate our children the Greek way.'³ Yet fragmentation remained as a

¹ Ethniki Salpinx, 27 December, 1922, 7 February, 1923, 7 July, 1923, and passim.

² The original scheme was to dissolve both Orpheus and Ulysses Clubs and incorporate them into the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne. Negotiations among representatives from the three organisations commenced on 21 February, 1921. If achieved, it was argued, it would have meant a Community of 500 members who by contributing 9d. weekly would have assured an annual income of £1,000, enough for all the needs of the community. See M.B.M., 17 February, 1921, 11 September, 1924, 18 September, 1924, and Ethniki Salpinx, 16 May, 1923, 7 May, 1924, and passim. The Brisbane community similarly felt the need for unity: a correspondent from Brisbane insisted that no Greek organisation ought to have aims other than those of a Greek Orthodox Community. Ethniki Salpinx, 2 April, 1924.

³ G. Demos in Ethniki Salpinx, 18 April, 1923.

principal feature of communities: even ten or so Lemnians of Melbourne had combined to form a formal fraternity by the end of 1923. As will be seen later, strong localist loyalties and solidarity were in part instrumental in thwarting the attempt to institute an overall Greek Orthodox Church authority in Australia.

By 1923 the foundation of Greek ethnic communities had been laid in Sydney, Melbourne, Perth and Brisbane. Despite the many limitations such as considerable dispersion, the small numerical size of the settlements and the very few Greek families inhabiting them, most of the important ethnic institutions had either been created or were in the process of formation. The tendency in each capital was to fashion a typically Greek social and cultural environment which acted to perpetuate the identity of Greeks and maintain a link with their country of birth. The degree to which this function of communities was achieved varied with time and place but by 1923 it would be true to say that Greeks acted and thought in terms of community, paroikia, with most of the connotations implicit in that term. As was seen Greek communities were becoming important enough to attract large numbers of Greeks after 1921.

CHAPTER III.GREEK COMMUNITIES IN SCHISM: 1924 - 1932.

Between 1923 and 1932 over 7,000 Greeks entered Australia but approximately half of this number departed in the same period. The overall result of Greek immigration by 1932 was to double Australia's Greek population, increase the size of existing communities, form several new settlements and change the composition of communities in terms of group formation. As a social group in Australian society Greeks had become more noticeable. By far the greatest intake was that of 1924 when close to 2,000 Greeks reached Australia's shores. Among them was Metropolitan Christopher Knetes who came to institute and administer Australia's first Greek Orthodox Church authority. The important principles involved in instituting the diocese, the conditions under which it had to operate and the Metropolitan's own character as variably conceived by his flock, were factors which greatly agitated Greek communities splitting them into pro- and anti-Metropolitan factions. The Metropolitan himself was recalled in 1928 and he was not replaced until 1932, but during his stay in Australia he affected profoundly the history of Greek communities; more forces of division were unleashed.

The great influx of Greeks in 1924 dropped to 600 and 700 for each of the following two years, rose to 1,593 in 1927, dropped to 854 in 1928, then further decreased in the years 1929 - 1932 during which departures exceeded arrivals.¹ Between 1924 and 1932 departures similarly fluctuated being also much greater among males than females. These figures concern Greeks whose 'place of last permanent residence was Greece': the figures, therefore, exclude Greeks from Cyprus, Egypt, the Dodecanese islands (by now under Italy) as well as Greeks from Asia Minor who emigrated directly rather than settle in Greece. This being so, more than 7,000 Greeks entered Australia during 1923 to 1932, though the precise number is not known. The reason for Greek migration and settlement in Australia in the period under discussion was similar to that of other non-Britishers: all were migrating to the 'New World' in search of a better economic life. Yet there were certain features which were peculiar to the migration movement of Greeks.

By 1924 Greece was feeling the effects of a population explosion brought about by large-scale re-settlement of Greeks from Turkey. This re-settlement created considerable social, economic and political unrest in Greece, further engendering the Greek emigration movement. Large numbers of Greeks, alongside other

¹ These migration figures are taken from: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Demography Bulletins, 1923-1933.

Europeans, had been settling in the United States, but this massive movement was checked by restrictions that came into force after 1924. Consequently many looked to other countries in which to settle but there was no great diversion of Europeans to Australia contrary to expectations and fears expressed in Australia at that time. Yet the fear of such diversion and the fact that relatively large numbers began entering Australia after 1923, prompted the Commonwealth Government to pass legislation restricting immigration. These measures, which mainly concerned southern Europeans, included the fixing of quota systems, and requesting written guarantees from sponsors lest their nominees became a public burden, or alternatively requesting immigrants 'to show £40 landing money': later, in 1931 to 1932, the landing permit system was adopted as the most effective way to control the numbers entering Australia.¹ But all of these regulations did not at that time appreciably alter the course of immigration. The most effective regulating factors were economic conditions and in particular the availability or otherwise of employment opportunities. Hence, there was a large influx in the 1923 to 1928 period, and a sharp drop thereafter as the economic depression took its toll. As was noted there was also a high departure rate throughout the period, among Greeks, no less than other groups, while the annual immigration quotas set for the different nationalities

¹ For a fuller discussion of Australia's immigration laws and regulations (especially as these affected southern Europeans) see C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 85-100.

were rarely fulfilled.¹

Uncertain economic opportunities also affected the normal course of Greek chain migration to Australia. Although a large number of places in Greece had become well represented in Australia by 1924, few of these districts yielded major chains, subsequently.² The chains that maintained their strength were those from Ithaca, Kythera, Kastellorizo, Peloponessos and Mytilene (Lesbos) though most were growing at a decreasing rate. On the other hand several comparatively new migration chains were set in motion notably from Asia Minor, Macedonia (Greeks and Slavs alike) and from Cyprus and Rhodes, who, like their forerunners, began to emerge as organised groups by 1932.

Greek communities were thus becoming infused with new blood and also began taking in more females than before: the male:female ratio in 1933 stood at 4:1, compared with 6:1 in 1921. More Greek marriages were also contracted in Australia in this period (being 40.4 per cent. of all marriages contracted by Greek-born males in the years 1924 - 1930). All of these indicate that more stable settlements were being formed.

¹ For Greeks (as for Albanians and Yugoslavs) the quotas set in 1924 were 1,200 for each nationality: apart from 1924 itself Greeks over-fulfilled this quota only once, namely in 1927. C. A. Price, p. 88.

² C. A. Price, pp. 95-96, notes that of the forty Greek islands from which migrants came to Australia by 1924, only thirteen were to become 'major districts of origin', before World War II and certainly fewer by 1932.

As in the pre-1923 period there was considerable movement of Greeks in the process of settlement within Australia. Dispersal remained the principal feature of Greek settlement in Queensland¹ and to a lesser degree this took place in all States except Victoria. Those more prone to move were newcomers or the new chains. Again, as in the earlier period, the trend was to enter the catering trades in metropolitan and other urban areas but unlike the earlier period, several large non-metropolitan settlements formed. One of these was that of Port Pirie, South Australia, which claimed 400 - 500 Greeks by 1924 though the number dropped after 1926 when employment in the Broken Hill Associated Smelters was becoming scarce. A number of those leaving drifted to Adelaide, others to the West Coast where they were engaged in scrub-clearing or fishing, while yet others to the nearby agricultural areas of Port Pirie where they became market gardeners.² As the depression set in,

¹ The Greek Consul, Christy Freeleagus, claimed to have successfully settled 15 - 20 Greeks on cotton farms and further stated he could find work for another 200 picking cotton and that a good picker could earn between 70 - 140 shillings a week. (Ethniki Salpinx, 25 February, 1925). But a later report said cotton pickers found conditions on cotton farms intolerable and they could only earn 24 - 30 shillings a week, working a 15-hour day. (Ethniki Salpinx, 25 April, 1925). The Consul's eagerness to get Greeks on the land it seems was not associated with the findings of a Royal Commission which were generally unfavourable to Greeks. See p.121 below. See also J. Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia, Melbourne, 1935, p. 143.

² The following industries employed Greeks on the West Coast after the mid-1920's: Iron Knob mines, gypsum works at Ceduna, the graphite mine at Sleaford Bay, scrub clearing and share-crop farming. Interviews: John Moutsos, Peter Tsounis, Vasilios Glaros and John Z. Carapetis. October-November, 1968, Adelaide.

the movement into the countryside increased. A large settlement sprang up in Biloela and nearby Thangool, Queensland, mostly made up of Rhodians. Spurred on by criticism that Greeks were living a useless life in cities, the Greek consul in Brisbane began as early as 1925 to encourage Greeks to settle on cotton and sugar-cane farms but these settlements did not grow to any extent until after 1929. Starting off as cotton-pickers many Greeks subsequently took up share-farming and several became small land owners. By the cotton picking season in autumn, 1932, the whole settlement had probably reached the 300 mark.¹ Innisfail and environs similarly attracted large numbers of Greeks, as many as 250 by the start of the cane-cutting season in 1925, though most were seasonal workers.² Other country settlements especially in Queensland were steadily growing after the mid-1920's, but unlike those of Port Pirie, Biloela and Thangool, and Innisfail, they were too small or often temporary settlements, to warrant formal combination, before 1932.³ The movement into country areas, resulting from the difficulty in finding employment for the increasing number of newcomers, even prompted

¹ Interviews: John Fronis and Vasilios Pelekanos, June, 1968, Brisbane.

² J. Lyng, op.cit., p.143.

³ One such temporary settlement was Braidwood, New South Wales, which at one time in the 1928 - 1931 period attracted as many as 150 Greeks. All were males, most of them Macedonians, who were engaged in producing eucalyptus oil. Interview: Paul Randos, November, 1968, Adelaide.

discussion about a Greek land settlement scheme.¹ It was also in the 1920's that seasonal work became a more usual occupation among Greeks. Apart from cane-cutting and cotton-picking, a number regularly visited the vineyards in the River Murray settlements of Mildura, Renmark, Berri and Barmera, and Shepparton in Victoria, where a few eventually became farm owners. But in these new chiefly rural settlements, lack of initial capital to buy land as well as a strong preference for urban life, limited their growth.² This was true of all settlements including the River Murray vineyards where occupations not unknown to Greeks were offered, and

¹ The main author of the scheme was Emanuel Andronicus. It aimed to settle 'a few thousand Greeks on a large area of uncleared land' and hence create a '...self-supporting...Greek town' while the whole project was 'the dream of the better class Greeks'. Source: The Sun, 12 December, 1926, and interview with Emanuel Andronicus. It was, of course, nothing but a dream, yet it reflected the current trends (into the countryside) and the need to find employment for unemployed Greeks.

² Petros Kapsokalivas (Hellenic Herald, 31 March, 1932), does not mention Greek land owners in Biloela and Thangool and further notes that 'only 5 per cent. of Greek cotton growers had 'perpetual lease of crown lands: the remainder rented land from Australians and other nationals'. This observation is also in accord with the views of two former residents of Biloela, John Fronis and Vasilios Pelekanos (interviewed in Brisbane, May, 1969). According to J. Lyng, op.cit., p. 143 of Innisfail's 250 Greeks in July, 1925, only seventeen owned land.

where they introduced the important 'cold dip' technique in the production of dried sultanas.¹

The analysis of Greek communities in 1924 - 1932 period will therefore be largely confined to those in the capitals which, judged by the 1933 census, had grown thus: Sydney, 1,498; Melbourne, 1,196; Perth, 693; Brisbane, 403; Adelaide, 290.² Something will be said of the Port Pirie community which had a rather floating Greek population, and nothing of the small Darwin settlement save the fact that a Greek priest³ was reportedly stationed there in 1926.

As a social group and as individuals, Greeks experienced much of the anti-foreign sentiment of British-Australians. This sentiment and xenophobia in general was expressed in different ways by different people and arose for several reasons. Trade unions

¹ The 'cold dip' secret (an emulsion of olive oil and carbonate of potash) was introduced by Peter Zimaris (from Smyrna, Asia Minor) to Mildura in the early 1920's in exchange for a 30 acre block of land. The technique helped the Australian dried fruit industry procure the coveted five crown grade in dried sultanas which the 'hot dip' (from caustic soda solution) had failed to yield before. Source: Ernestine Hill, Water into Gold, Melbourne, 1964, pp. 239-240. Interview: Con Cavouriaris and others, September, 1968. Adelaide,

² Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. The Census of 1933.

³ The priest in Darwin is mentioned by Christopher Knetes, "The Greek Orthodox Church", International Directory of 1927, op.cit., p. 406. The Darwin settlement, however, did not grow sufficiently large to attract a permanent resident priest until the 1950's.

Few industries

were naturally apprehensive lest southern Europeans deprive their members of employment, undermine standards of wages and working conditions, and worse, lest immigrants be used as 'scab labour'. But by 1932 there were few industries where immigrant labour came into serious competition with unionised Australian labour.¹ One instance where Greeks came into competition and conflict with trade unions by becoming strike-breakers was during the waterfront strike in 1928, though not without disastrous consequences. Approximately 100 Greeks entered the wharves in Melbourne and a smaller number in Port Adelaide but one sequel to their entry on to the wharves so far as Greeks themselves could ascertain was the 'blowing up' by a bomb of the 'Acropolis Club' in Melbourne on 1 December, 1928.² Apart from the serious injuries inflicted on the unsuspecting occupants and the damage done to the premises, the outrage

¹ W. D. Borrie. Italians and Germans in Australia, Melbourne, 1954, pp. 40-45. According to Borrie Italians sometimes competed with Australians for jobs and that this has incurred considerable hostility, unlike in the case of Greeks who had generally pursued occupations clear from such competition.

² For the 'Greek Club Bombing Case' in which five Australians including one or two trade unionists were charged and gaoled see: The Age, 3, 4, 5, and 10 December, 1928; The Argus, 4 and 5 December, 1928, and passim; a leaflet titled "The Greek Club Bombing Case", (Mitchell Library), in which the writer questions the contention that those charged for the outrage were actually responsible; and Hellenic Herald, 14 March, 1929, which said that the Greek community was satisfied with the fifteen years gaol sentence imposed on the culprits. Altogether fifteen people were injured as a result of the two bomb explosions in the club: nine were Greeks, five Italians and one an Albanian.

greatly demoralised Greek strike-breakers, some of whom left the wharves, while it taught others that attempts to undermine the trade union structure and practice could be treacherous.¹ In the main Greeks entered occupations which were unattractive to their hosts and always with an eye to set themselves up in business. Greeks who worked to sub-Australian labour standards were in establishments run by their own compatriots.

Apart from the fear of cheap immigrant labour, British-Australians expressed considerable distrust of people living a different life and having different customs and habits. The whole manner of Greek life, their restaurants, fruit shops, the ubiquitous fish and chip shops, the crowded boarding houses often adjoining coffeehouses (termed "clubs" by most writers), the bush camps, their squabbles, and the close settlements they formed, made Greeks possibly the most conspicuous group in the society at large. No force, such as the historical and cultural tradition of Greeks, much of which has filtered through the educational system of British-Australians, could easily arrest the prejudices evident in different sections of the host society. A Royal Commission set up in 1924 by the

¹ Sources: E. I. Curnow, "Shall We Strike". (An account of the 1928 strike of the waterside workers in Port Adelaide,) Unpublished B.A. Hons. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1958, pp. 87-92. Interviews: John Moursellas who has worked on the Port Adelaide wharves since 1928, and Sotiris Markos, formerly a labourer on the Melbourne wharves. The latter person informed the writer that he joined the labour force on the Melbourne wharves after the 1928 strike and the 'bombings', and did so by paying £30 for a 'licence' to work which was registered under the name of Max Sams, a name Markos was subsequently known by on the wharves. The practice by Greeks, among other 'scabs', to leave the wharf especially after the bomb outrage in Melbourne, was particularly noticeable, according to Markos (or Sams), but not before they sold their 'licences'.

Queensland Labour Government 'to enquire into and report on the social and economic effect of the increase in the number of aliens in that State' described the Greeks thus: 'socially and economically this type of immigrant is a menace to the community in which he settles, and it would be for the benefit of the State if his entrance was altogether prohibited'.¹ An Adelaide judge passing judgment in a stabbing case involving Britishers in 1927 had this to say: 'There was no justification, particularly for a Scotsman, to use a knife. It was very well for a Greek but British people were not accustomed to that sort of thing.'² The Premier of Western Australia in a speech in Parliament is reported to have referred to the Greeks as 'that fish and chip crowd'.³ Foremost in projecting much of the anti-southern European feelings was the newspaper Truth with such statements as '...and the muddy stream flows to Australia from Greece, Malta and the Levant.'⁴ Other British-Australians and newspapers were not as damning. A Sydney newspaper found the Greeks to be quite prosperous, experts in the 'eating-house business' (ninety per cent. of which was allegedly in their hands in New South Wales), and they were not unacceptable as citizens even though

¹ For references to Royal Commission see: C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 104-6

² Reported in Hellenic Herald, 11 October, 1927.

³ Ibid. and Hellenic Herald, 10 May, 1928, also quotes a Brisbane daily newspaper as saying, inter alia, that 'Australians' health was threatened by the sick hands of Greeks and their shops'.

⁴ Reported in Hellenic Herald, 5 July, 1927.

at the time they were 'split on questions of church leadership'.¹ Lastly, the findings of J. Lyng in his Non-Britishers in Australia, illustrate many of the official and unofficial attitudes prevalent towards the end of the period and these were retained for some time afterwards. Lyng records that 'the Greeks are, perhaps, the least popular foreigners in Australia, for which three reasons have been suggested: the somewhat inglorious history of Greece since its liberation from Turkish rule; the many low-class lodging houses, boarding houses, and occasionally, restaurants, conducted by Greeks; and the fact that with few exceptions the Greeks remain in cities, and when they have become well-to-do generally return to Greece'.²

These attitudes, whether personally experienced by individual Greek immigrants, understood from discussions with fellow Greeks, or from frequent reports in Greek newspapers, were generally believed to be those of Australian society: against that society Greeks had to be constantly on guard. The difficulty in procuring employment that was comparable with that enjoyed by most British-Australians further re-inforced the belief that Greeks were rejected by and excluded from the Australian society and whatever

¹ The Sun, 12 December, 1926, (Sydney).

² J. Lyng, op.cit., p. 142.

benefits it offered. But just as the attitudes of the host society differed and varied, the response by Greek immigrants similarly differed. Cases of discrimination and prejudice publicly manifested against Greeks became the occasion for Greeks to demand that Greek consuls take action: such demands were often expressed through the Greek press.¹ A much more important and effective way to overcome hostility was for Greeks to be law-abiding, to be hospitable and generous to British-Australians whether they were personal friends and acquaintances, or in the case of caterers, to their customers.²

¹ Hellenic Herald, 11 October, 1926; 11 October, 1927; and 10 May, 1928. Hellenic Herald, moreover, employed a certain Professor G. Perry who wrote articles in English that were naturally favourable to Greeks and their history and literature. According to Perry, too, the aim of any Greek newspaper should be to combat attacks on Greeks by 'a certain section of the Australian press. (Hellenic Herald, 17 May, 1927, and passim.) Anti-Greek sentiment apparently published in the Daily Guardian (Sydney) also contributed to the formation of the Panhellenic Union in July, 1924, whose main aims were: to defend and elevate the Greek name; cultivate good relations with foreigners; and undertake national and philanthropic activities. In a leaflet asking Greeks to join this organisation, its initiators said they were motivated by the need to answer the charges against Greeks published by the Daily Guardian. Source: Andronicus Papers. What subsequently prevented the Panhellenic Union from flourishing was that it became embroiled in the Sydney community politics of the post-1924 period.

² The following article in Ethnikon Vema, 5 August, 1931, is perhaps typical of the attitudes of shopkeepers in their endeavour to cultivate good public relations. The article advised all Greeks to be active always in local sporting, social and concert activities either as sellers of tickets or as performers. The article praised the efforts of a Kytheran cafe proprietor in Camden, New South Wales, who participated as a violinist in a concert given by the Country Women's Association to raise money for the unemployed. The article ended by stressing 'popularity is very essential for business'.

The economic, social and cultural life of Greeks, as well as the prevalent attitudes of British-Australians, were not conducive to the integration of Greeks in the general community. Their occupations divorced them from trade unions,¹ and from manufacturing, commercial and professional organisations. Occasionally they were active in a fish-mongers association,² while individuals or small groups resident among Australians in country towns mixed with locals often because they had married into British-Australian families. Greeks freely associated with their neighbours, and people with whom they worked and in their business dealings. But Greeks, for a variety of reasons, were noticeably absent from public bodies and the numerous Australian clubs, societies and organisations which

¹ An attempt was made in 1924 in Melbourne to recruit Greeks into trade unions in the hope of procuring jobs for them. A meeting of 200 Greek workers was called and addressed by Trades Hall officials and by the Greek consul, Maniachi, who also presided at the meeting. A three-member committee was elected to actually recruit members, using funds collected at and after the meeting (Maniachi himself donated £10). But nothing more of this committee's subsequent activity is known. (Ethniki Salpinx, 28 May, 1924.) Other evidence suggests that Greeks did not penetrate trade unions in large numbers.

² A large number of Greeks were members of the Fishmongers' Association in Sydney in 1930, and a Greek was the vice-president of the Association. A meeting of this body took place in the Athenaikon Kentron, (a multi-purpose coffeehouse in Castlereagh Street, Sydney), in November, for the purpose of boycotting the 'monopoly of fish selling' then apparently in the hands of several firms including Cam & Sons and Red Funnel & Murrell. For the meeting in November, 1930, see Hellenic Herald, 6 and 11 November, 1930.

Australians normally joined, that is, membership to bodies indicating a more realistic measure of assimilation. As voters Greeks were an insignificant group in Australia.¹ The social environment of Greeks was essentially within their own communities, which will now be further examined.

The fragmentation of Greek communities into separate organisations continued after 1924 because they were increasing numerically and because of the religious dispute.² In Melbourne, Kastellorizans combined in 1925, Greek Macedonians formed 'Alexander the Great' fraternity in 1931, Greek Cypriots the 'Zenon' society in 1932, and Greeks from Asia Minor 'Pharos tis Erythraias' in the same year. The less formal Greek Women's Society, still acted as an auxiliary of the Community as did similar bodies in other capitals.³ A separatist but informal Greek Orthodox Community functioned in the years 1924 - 1925 lasting only as long as Archimandrite Irineos Cassimatis remained in Australia.

³ The only time Greeks were wooed as voters was in 1930 when both the Nationalist and Labor Party candidates addressed gatherings at Athenaiko Kentro, Castlereagh Street, Sydney. Hellenic Herald, 16, 23, and 30 October, 1930.

² See Appendix A for a list of Greek organisations and their more precise names.

³ In Sydney the corresponding body was known as the Philoptochos Brotherhood which first appeared under this name in 1929.

In Sydney the Kastellorizian fraternity and the Panhellenic Union came into being in 1924, while the Akkratans (Peloponnesos) formed their 'Helmos' society in the same year. After the Metropolitan lost the Community in 1926, his adherents founded the St. Sophia Cathedral and the Hellenic Club. In 1927, Mytileneans attempted but failed to launch a permanent fraternity, while in 1928 the Community Educational Society, an auxiliary of the Greek Orthodox Community, began an active life. In 1929 a Greek Boy Scout body was formed but it disbanded after a year.

Despite their relatively small size, communities in other capital cities also underwent organisational divisions. In Perth, despite Kastellorizian intransigence, the Greek Orthodox Community managed to survive and flourish after 1926, while the Hellenic Union formed some time before 1924 also flourished and became closely connected with the Community. A Greek cultural society 'Byron' functioned after 1928, a youth club by 1930, and the Greek Macedonian 'Alexander the Great' brotherhood after 1931. Brisbane did not experience important organisation fragmentation, though divisions, to be noted later, existed for a greater part of the time. In Adelaide the Hellenic Association came into being in 1924, the Kastellorizian Brotherhood and the Cultural Society 'Apollo' in 1929, and the Greek Orthodox Community in 1930. Outside the capitals the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie was

founded in 1924; the Rhodians formed their first Australian 'Colossus' fraternity in Biloela in 1931; a Greek society was functioning in Innisfail in 1931 which probably originated from the Hellenic Society of North Queensland reportedly active in 1925.¹

The most viable organisations proved to be Greek Orthodox Communities, regional fraternities, the Hellenic Clubs of Brisbane and Sydney, 'Orpheus' in Melbourne and the Hellenic Union in Perth. It was also these organisations which became embroiled in the church dispute and which in turn affected the history of the Greek church diocese between 1924 and 1932.

Coffeehouses similarly increased in numbers to cater for the increasing number of Greek immigrants, particularly during periods of unemployment. It was in coffeehouses that many arrivals met and made new acquaintances, where they often lived and gained considerable knowledge of their new environment and where they returned after a working trip to the countryside. It was also the place where many became acquainted with gambling for which the coffeehouses became notorious, thus inviting frequent police raids. One Greek newspaper reported that within two months in 1929 in

¹ J. Lyng, op.cit., p.143. No more information is available on the early years of this Hellenic Society but because Innisfail was traditionally the largest Greek settlement in North Queensland, it is very likely that when this organisation was formed it became based in Innisfail. Subsequently (in 1934) the Hellenic Society transformed into the Greek Orthodox Community of Innisfail.

Sydney no less than sixty Greeks were caught and fined a total of £200 for gambling in Greek coffeehouses.¹

Although the number of Greeks resident in 1932 was double to what it was in 1923, the number of Greek immigrant organisations more than doubled in the same period. As these organised groups were situated in areas where the diocese had to operate, the Metropolitan had to contend with fragmented parishes whose components were often at cross-purposes with one another. This division even existed within Greek Orthodox Communities, the natural base, so to speak, of the diocese. The success of the diocese depended very much on the ability of the Metropolitan to win the support of each Community but this also meant that he had to win over the dominant group or groups within each community which traditionally exerted or could exert considerable influence. Also important in determining the success or failure of the diocese were the attitudes of consuls and priests. Most consuls were local men, members of the Communities and the various societies, and despite their official position, were no different from the average person in their attitude to the church. The priests, too, were part of the whole community structure and in particular of the Greek Orthodox Communities. The conditions under which the Metropolitan had to

¹ Hellenic Herald, 24 February, 1929. The newspaper complained that gambling laws were apparently 'harder on foreigners', but exhorted Greeks to set a good example by not gambling. Another report (Hellenic Herald, 19 April, 1927) about coffeehouses in Adelaide, said: 'the coffeehouses (were) full of young and old men burdened with life and responsibilities, playing cards and verbally abusing one another'.

institute his diocese were, therefore, prescribed and forged by a whole generation of Greek community building in Australia. No better approach to the study of Greek communities can be made after 1924 than by tracing the successes and failures of Metropolitan Christopher Knetes as he strenuously laboured to establish the Greek church authority in Australia in accordance with a decision taken by the centre of Orthodoxy in Constantinople.

The decision made by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1922 to assume jurisdiction once again over the Greek churches in the New World resulted from several reasons, while the complete implementation of the decision was a prolonged and difficult task. Australia was not affected by the decision until after 1924. The Patriarchate's decision known as the tome of 1922 was issued unilaterally, that is, without consulting the Church of Greece nor Greek churches abroad over which it held jurisdiction according to the tome of 1908. The chief author of the 1922 tome was Meletios Metaxakis whom the Synod in Constantinople decided to elevate to the Patriarchal throne early in 1922, while he was still in the United States.¹ On issuing the encyclical embodying the tome, the Patriarch argued that he was abrogating the 1908 agreement because of 'the prevailing anomalies in the Greek churches of America' and because 'the aims and terms of the 1908 tome were not

¹ For details of events leading up to the change in ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Greek churches abroad, see: Theodore Saloutos, op.cit., pp. 281-291.

properly executed'.¹ The Patriarch himself was quite aware of the anomalous state of the church in America, as he, among other bishops appointed from Athens, tried desperately to administer and contain the faction-hidden parishes and/or Communities between 1908 and 1922. Yet the abrupt change in ecclesiastical jurisdiction resulted from other more important causes. As has been noted, there was a need to compensate the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the severe losses it was suffering and was to suffer during and after the Graeco-Turkish War. This compensation came from the large and growing parishes in North America, and, to a lesser extent, from those in Western Europe and Australasia, both of which were included in the Patriarchate's New World dioceses. The need to support this imperilled ancient centre of Orthodoxy in Constantinople was universally felt at that time and explains the elevation of Metaxakis to the Patriarchal throne since he enjoyed some standing and influence in the United States before his enthronement;² it also explains why both the Greek Government and the Greek Church were in full accord with the tome by the end of 1922.³ Be this as it may, the decision was a momentous one because henceforth the Ecumenical Patriarchate had to contend with a flock the vast majority of which

¹ A copy of the 1922 encyclical appeared in Ethniki Salpinx, 11 July, 1923. A similar version (but in English) is given by Christopher Knetes, "The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia", op.cit., pp. 403-404.

² Theodore Saloutos, p. 287, asserts two main motives in selecting Metaxakis: to get United States backing to Greece's aspirations; and to restore the jurisdiction to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

³ ibid., p. 290.

lived in entirely different nations and societies outside the arm of effective Greek and Turkish law and outside the traditional forms of social organisation in which the church operated.

The degree to which the Ecumenical Patriarchate was able to have its authority accepted and to enact a workable church system after 1922 varied from place to place. If Australia was any indication, the success or failure of the Patriarchate's dioceses abroad depended on a number of factors including the initial reaction to the new church authority, the composition of each parish or community, vis-a-vis, groups, the attitudes of the resident clergy and Greek consulates, and the personality of the head of the diocese. Even if Greek consulates did, as was expected, enforce Greek church canon law, this was generally ineffective in permanent settlements such as America and Australia. It was possible, therefore, for congregations dissatisfied with new church authority and its administration, to break away and form their own schismatic churches with impunity. One such schismatic body was the Independent Greek Orthodox Church of North America, which came into being early in 1924. Although this church was at first based on the disgruntled Greek royalist faction in Lowell, Massachusetts, it expanded influencing other American parishes and became a church in

its own right.¹ This independent church also extended its influence in Australia and harboured Australian schismatics who also broke away from the Patriarchate's diocese and for reasons which in some ways were not unlike those of the Greek American schismatics.

Greeks in Australia were officially notified in an encyclical issued by Ecumenical Patriarch Gregorios in March, 1924, that the Holy Metropolis of Australia with jurisdiction over New Zealand and Oceania had been proclaimed and that the Synod in Constantinople was proceeding with the election of a Metropolitan.² The responsibility for heading the Australian diocese fell to Christopher Knetes, a native of the island of Samos, a graduate of the Chalkis Theological School who also studied at Oxford, with some service in Constantinople and who, before his appointment to

¹ This body was more correctly known as the Autocephalus Hellenic Orthodox Church of America and Canada. It was declared an independent church by Vasileios Komvropoulos, formerly Metropolitan of Chaldea, who arrived in the United States late in 1923. Komvropoulos came with a letter of introduction from John Metaxas (a member of Greece's Chiefs of Staff, and later, 1936, Greece's dictator), but the Metropolitan's entry into the United States at this time was to head the royalists of Lowell, Massachusetts. In proclaiming the independent church early in 1924 he claimed the support of 'thirteen communities and many priests. Theodore Saloutos, op.cit., pp. 291-295. See also Hellenic Herald, 2 October, 1927.

² M.B.M., 7 April, 1924.

Australia, was Metropolitan of Serres, Northern Greece.¹ All things considered his appointment to Australia with its two meagre churches and two other loosely organised congregations could scarcely be conceived as a promotion within the church hierarchy, unless, of course, the Patriarchate expected a flood of Greek migrants to Australia. There was some evidence in early 1924 that this would be so.

It appears that the Ecumenical Patriarchate first communicated its intentions to the Greek Orthodox Community in Sydney, indicating the importance and prestige of this body as far as Greek church authorities were concerned. The Community's council, faced with an unprecedented situation, consulted its counterparts in other capitals as well as the priests and consuls. It is not certain whether all were in agreement about what to do but the Sydney Community claiming to be speaking on behalf of its sister bodies, opposed the creation of a Holy Metropolis on the grounds that Australia could not afford its upkeep and that Communities

¹ A. G. Papadopoulos, International Directory of 1927, op.cit., pp. 307-319, gives a long account of the Metropolitan's previous church service and scholarly achievements: among the latter is a thesis completed in Oxford on 'The Matrimony and Celibacy in the Eastern Orthodox Church', which earned him a 'Certificate for B.Litt.', and that earlier he had studied at St. Andrew's University, Edinburgh, under a scholarship made available by the Presbyterian Church to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and awarded to 'the deacon Christophoros Knetes of Samos'.

disapproved of the change in ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹ These protestations were sent to the Greek Government as well as to the church heads at Athens and Constantinople. Unconcerned, the Ecumenical Patriarchate proceeded with its decision. By May, 1924, the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece met and approved the 'Patriarchal abrogation of the Act of 1908' and by early July, Metropolitan Christopher landed in Perth.² Faced with a fait accompli, and again after considerable consultation with priests and consuls, Community leaders decided to welcome the Metropolitan and accord to him the respect worthy of the office he bore. This decision implied that they were to co-operate with a church dignitary whose policies, method of work and character were unknown. The clergy and consuls were even more bound to the Metropolitan: the former, by church canon law; the latter, by the Greek civil code. Yet for many involved in church matters in Australia, their decision to accept the Metropolitan was a reluctant one.

¹ For the telegrams sent to the various authorities by the Sydney Community see Ethniki Salpinx, 16 July, 1924. The Melbourne Community (M.B.M., 16 March, 1924) on receiving news of the intended Holy Metropolis from the Sydney Community simply replied that it wanted more information on the subject. The Community in Perth, according to Ethniki Salpinx, 25 February, 1925, opposed the Holy Metropolis before the Metropolitan arrived.

² A copy of the encyclical embodying the agreement between the two churches appears in The Church of England Messenger, 23 April, 1925, and in Christopher Knetes, "The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia", International Directory of 1927, op.cit., pp. 405-406.

The Metropolitan's immediate reception in Perth was reportedly enthusiastic but he soon discovered that he was amidst a divided community. Many Kastellorizans still remained disenchanted with the resident priest. Some time earlier, however, an agreement had been reached by which the Kastellorizan Brotherhood was to surrender its land site on Francis Street to the Community on which to build a church provided the Community was properly established.¹ This latter provision of the agreement apparently had not been fulfilled by July, 1924. In his anxiety to see a church erected the Metropolitan quickly proceeded with the task of effecting the property transfer in a document of doubtful legal validity. He went as far as preparing to lay the foundation stone of the church.² The speed and the dubious way these negotiations and arrangements were being conducted created considerable suspicion among the already alienated Kastellorizans who feared that their land was to be 'snatched from their hands' by foul means. Rather than unite the Perth community the bishop's entry merely helped widen the

¹ This was asserted by Athanasios Avgoustis, president of the Kastellorizan Brotherhood, (writing in Ethniki Salpinx, 18 March, 1925), and there is reason to doubt the substance of the agreement.

² It is not certain whether the document itself was drawn up on the spur of the moment or whether it was prepared ready for signing by officials of the Kastellorizan Brotherhood in July, 1924. But the document aimed to have the Kastellorizan's land donated to the Community though on paper it would appear that a sale of the land, valued at £675, had actually been transacted. Ethniki Salpinx, 21 January, and 25 February, 1925. Souvenir Booklet, Perth Community, 1969, op.cit., p. 2, does not mention the quarrel but notes that the property was 'summarily transferred to the Hellenic Community of W.A. Inc. on June 3, 1925.'

existing split: the Kastellorizan Brotherhood itself split into two groups in the course of the dispute and remained divided for at least ~~two~~ a whole year.¹ Two weeks after his arrival the Metropolitan left Perth to complete the remaining part of his Australian tour by train. In less than a year after the Metropolitan's departure, Archimandrite Germanos also left Perth to settle in Adelaide, accompanied by a Greek widow with her children. But the Metropolitan did not emerge with an unblemished character from his involvement in the Perth community. There is no available data to indicate how Community leaders viewed the bishop's standing immediately after the Perth episode but subsequent events indicate that the belief of those who originally opposed the plan to set up Holy Metropolis was strengthened.

In Melbourne the Metropolitan was given a cordial welcome both as he stepped off the train and subsequently at a banquet when he arrived early in August.² Community leaders, consuls and priest

¹ It is not known for certainty that a break-away Kastellorizan Brotherhood as a formal organisation actually existed, though a group lead by Petros Michelides was reported functioning as a 'new' Kastellorizan Brotherhood in March, 1925, and this appears to have been formed soon after July, 1924. Its purpose, it seems, was to facilitate the transfer of the land site which the 'old' Kastellorizan Brotherhood, (led by Athanasios Avgoustis) refused to do. Details, which by no means clarify the position, are to be found in Ethniki Salpinx, 16 and 21 January, 25 February, and 18 March, 1925. The dispute among Kastellorizans as well as that in the Perth community as a whole ended soon after the arrival of Archimandrite Nektarios Mavrokordatos in mid-1925.

² M.B.M., 1 September, 1924, and Supreme Court of Victoria, File No. 248.

were present on both occasions yet on a later admission (and after he had broken with his Metropolitan) the priest confessed that his first encounter with his superior was spoilt by the latter's following command: 'Do not go away, you no longer belong to yourself, but to me';¹ and that 'cold perspiration swept my body every time church services were conducted jointly with the Metropolitan',²

As will be seen, the Consul General Lucas, the Greek consul, Maniachi and Melbourne's Ithacans shared much of Archimandrite Irineos's apparent revulsion and had probably already decided to oppose the Metropolitan. The questions that remained to be settled were when and how such opposition was to be expressed. This, however, was not the attitude of the Community's council. It was one of those rare occasions when the Community's council was not dominated by Ithacans. Of the eleven councillors, four (two of whom were Ithacans) had lost interest and had ceased attending meetings. Of the remaining seven only two were Ithacans. What was more important three, including the president (Pythagoras Hatjimichael), were the Metropolitan's own compatriots from Samos, who, from the very beginning, proved to be his most staunch supporters. The

¹ Ethniki Salpinx, 24 December, 1924.

² Ethniki Salpinx, 14 January, 1925.

remaining two councillors similarly showed their loyalty to the bishop,¹ Even if the Ithacans wanted to oppose the Metropolitan there was little they could do through the Community. So that as far as the Community of Melbourne was concerned there was no objection to the Metropolitan. This was also the case in Port Pirie where the Metropolitan returned to found the Greek Orthodox Community some time in August as well as in Sydney where he arrived early in September.

Yet by mid-October the simmering revolt broke out in Melbourne. The Metropolitan was about to depart for Brisbane from Sydney and hence complete his tour of the main communities, when he was called back to Melbourne, there to face a defiant priest, consuls and the Ithacans.²

The rebels in Melbourne chose Sunday service at Evangelismos on 12 October, 1924, for open confrontation with the Metropolitan. The crowded church and the presence of five policemen indicated knowledge of and preparation for the impending crisis and added to the tension of the moment. There are several accounts of this episode but the important part of it was that the Archimandrite

¹ M.B.M., 19 November, 1923, - 15 October, 1924.

² K. I. Kassimatis (Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928).

deliberately ignored the Metropolitan when he entered the church and further refused to respond to his superior's bidding at certain parts of the service, all of which was intended to show that the priest did not recognise the Metropolitan's authority.¹ After the service the Metropolitan had no choice but to place the Archimandrite in idleness (argia) for insubordination, a punishment prohibiting the priest from performing religious ceremonies pending a further decision by the church.

Although the revolt against the Metropolitan in Melbourne undermined his authority it was not part of an Australia-wide plan to exclude him from Greek Orthodox Communities and arrest the establishment of the Holy Metropolis: nor was it a preconceived plan by Ithacans to retrieve the Community in Melbourne. If anything it was an ill-planned revolt, with unclear objectives and without an alternative to the Metropolis. Yet it was an important form of opposition which gradually spread throughout Australia: its immediate effect in Melbourne was to split the community.

On 13 October, the day after the service, five Community councillors met (the two Ithacans having handed in their resignations), and they decided to support the Metropolitan's action, to terminate the services of the priest and to change the locks on the doors of Evangelismos. What was more effective, this council

¹ The details of the scene at Evangelismos are recorded in: M.B.M., 12 April, 1925; Ethniki Salpinx, 24 December, 1924 - March, 1925, and Supreme Court of Victoria, File No. 248. Accounts differ only insofar as each source stresses different aspects of the priest's insubordination to the Metropolitan.

began to recruit members to the Community, a comparatively easy task in a settlement reckoned to contain 800 people and especially because any person could now join the Community by paying an annual fee of £1. Assured of a majority the council summoned a general meeting on 2 November.¹ It was attended by 300 members who approved the council's actions, decided to hold elections for a new council in a week's time and further, empowered the coming council to draw up a new constitution, which was to contain a clause recognising the new church authority. A record number of 257 members cast their votes at the elections which resulted in the return of four of the five councillors and seven other Metropolitan loyalists: only one Ithacan stood and he scored the least number of votes. Of the eleven councillors three (including the president, Condogiannis, and secretary, Papalexandrou), were Samiots, three Kastellorizans and three from the small island of Sikinos.² Most councillors were old members of the Community, many with notable service and with some standing in the Melbourne settlement as a whole. A week after their election councillors were ceremoniously sworn into office at Evangelismos.³ Thereafter the council cooperated closely with the Metropolitan, voting him a £16 monthly allowance as head of the Metropolis and a further £16 a month,

¹ M.B.M., 2 November, 1924.

² M.B.M., 10 November, 1924.

³ M.B.M., 24 November, 1924.

being the equivalent of the priest's salary, whose duties the Metropolitan performed, until the arrival of the new priest in mid-January, 1925.¹ The new priest was Reverend Christophoros Demopoulos from Constantinople. The Melbourne Community was thus placed in safe hands and its loyalty to the Metropolis was assured.² It was the type of arrangement the Metropolitan sought for all Communities and one which was necessary to establish the diocese in Australia.

The Metropolitan's opponents in Melbourne fused rapidly into what in effect became a rival Greek Orthodox Community. The hard core of this group were Ithacans but they were able to draw some support from the community as a whole. It had the services of Archimandrite Irineos and the full backing of the two consuls both of whom were also trustees of Evangelismos. This group's headquarters became situated in the lesche of Ulysses Club in Elizabeth Street which was transformed into a church whenever the need arose.³ Moreover, Archimandrite Irineos took possession in December, 1924, of the newspaper, Ethniki Salpinx, which its former owners had discarded in July, thus giving his party a powerful weapon. By early 1925 the 'Ithacan' party claimed to have no

¹ M.B.M., 24 November, 1924.

² M.B.M., 14 January, 1924.

³ Ethniki Salpinx, December, 1924 - November, 1925.

less than '300 adherents and a bank balance of £2,000'.¹ It felt itself to be in a position to challenge their opponents by pursuing more vigorously the demands it had been communicating by letters to the Community's council, and to inform the public through Ethniki Salpinx.² These demands amounted to a total rejection of the new status quo. The Ithacan party argued that the priest was unjustly and illegally dismissed (because constitutionally, he should have been given six months' notice) and disputed the bishop's right to place him in idleness: consequently, they demanded the priest's re-instatement and payment of salary denied to him since 13 October. They protested at the coup d'etat of 13 October, at the recruitment of newcomers to the Community, at the way council elections were conducted, and at the continued use of Orpheus Club premises for Community meetings. The Community's council, they argued, was unconstitutional and requested a new election by the 135 Community members of December, 1923, (75 of whom were Ithacans).³ Finally they rejected the change in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. These

¹ M.B.M., 5 December, 1924, and Hellenic Herald, 11 January, 1927.

² M.B.M., 15 October, 1924, records the first complaint launched by the two consuls who pointed out that they refused to recognise the Metropolitan and the Ecumenical Patriarchate as well as all of the bishop's and the council's acts since 12 October, 1924.

³ M.B.M., 15 October, 1924, and 12 April, 1925. Ethniki Salpinx, December, 1924 - March, 1924. A concise summary of these demands is also given by P. I. Lekatsas in Hellenic Herald, 11 January, 1927.

demands were dismissed as being unreasonable by the Community's council at a number of meetings called to negotiate a settlement. As no settlement was reached the two consuls and two other Ithacans resorted to legal action in March, 1925. This action eventually ended at the Supreme Court in a 'litigation...of an unusual character, difficult, complicated and protracted...'.¹ Indeed it was a case of this sort because the claimants sought redress for all of their grievances, and a number of other events to further complicate the litigation intervened before final settlement came in 1930.

The immediate effect of legal action was to unite and harden the Community. At an extraordinary general meeting at the Orpheus Club, in April, 205 members unanimously approved a long report given by the secretary, Papalexandrou, dealing with the whole history of the dispute and the way the council handled the crisis. The meeting was especially critical of Lucas and Maniachi who were accused of 'spreading the poison of localism', 'dragging the Community to court', 'bossing the Community for twenty years', and for preferring the 'Temple of Penelope' rather than Evangelismos: lastly, the meeting asserted that both were not worthy to be Greek consuls and further decided to replace them as trustees.²

¹ Supreme Court of Victoria, File No. 248.

² M.B.M., 12 April, 1925.

Yet even after legal action was initiated, efforts to reach a reconciliation between the opposing sides did not cease. A fear of becoming a 'disgrace (reziliki) in the eyes of the foreigners', a desire to avoid further dissension, no less than a concern for the mounting legal costs,¹ prevailed on the more moderate elements to seek a settlement. They succeeded in getting a verbal agreement in August, 1925, by which court action would be withdrawn, provided a new council election was held at which all who wished to become members could vote,² Members and others were accordingly given until 22 October to become financial and elections became scheduled for 25 October. In this ballot a new record of 316 members voted re-electing the outgoing council and rejecting by approximately 3 : 1, all seven contesting Ithacans.³ Having thus been rebuffed the Ithacans returned to their quarters and to their lawyers.

The Ithacans suffered more losses after October, 1925.

Ethniki Salpinx went bankrupt in September and ceased publication permanently while early in 1926 Archimandrite Irineos left for

¹ This had apparently amounted to about £3,000 by 1929. At the beginning of the case Anthony J. J. Lucas's lawyers warned him that the case would be a difficult one and that costs would be enormous. Source: Supreme Court of Victoria, File No. 248, and interview with Angelo Lekatsas and others,

² M.B.M., 6 August, 1925.

³ M.B.M., 25 October, 1925.

America.¹ The Archimandrite very likely got himself into debt because of Ethniki Salpinx as did the former owners of this newspaper. As an Archimandrite, Irineos Cassimatis also risked being defrocked, and reduced to a layman, for continuing to perform religious services and ceremonies after being placed in idleness in October, 1924. Later the sacraments he celebrated after October, 1924, were considered uncanonical,² but there is no record of the Archimandrite being pronounced defrocked, the usual penalty meted out to priests who deliberately flout the authority of the church. Despite the support claimed by the anti-Metropolitan party in Melbourne, it was shown to be incapable of maintaining its separate church for much more than a year.

Accounts of events in Melbourne vividly portrayed in Ethniki Salpinx found receptive readers throughout Australia especially in Sydney among the Ithacans' Heptanesean compatriots, the Kytherans. The Kytherans had, in the Community elections of February, 1924, captured ten of the fourteen council positions³ but the whole council was under constant scrutiny by Ethnikon Vema which, among other things, had been charging it with mismanaging

¹ The last issue of Ethniki Salpinx was on 16 September, 1925.

² See p. 168 below.

³ Ethniki Salpinx, 1 July, 1925. The same report noted that two-thirds of the Community's members were also Kytherans. If this is true then many Kytherans who had earlier supported Reverend Demetrios Marinakis and opposed the Community's council responsible for the priest's dismissal must have returned to the Community to support their compatriots who ruled it.

the Community's funds,¹ Ethnikon Vema, moreover, had unswervingly supported the Metropolitan since his arrival in Australia, waging an unrelenting campaign against the enemies of the church and against Ethniki Salpinx,² In Sydney the Metropolitan was therefore confronted with an entirely different situation from that in Melbourne when he arrived early in March, 1925. The community was already split into pro- and anti-Metropolitan groups: the anti-group was in control of the Community, with ranks closed and united in the policy it would pursue.

The Metropolitan's immediate task was to have defined his relationship with the Community. This meant having the Community's constitution amended to provide for the transfer of ecclesiastical dependence from the Church of Greece to that in Constantinople and consequently bring about the same relationship he procured with the Melbourne Community. The Metropolitan probably requested this relationship from the Sydney Community earlier but it was after his second arrival that he pressed for it, encouraged no doubt by his success in Melbourne and by charges that the council was mismanaging Community finances, and, therefore, those of the church. The constitutional question thus became a central issue both for the Community and the Metropolis in Sydney. The council itself,

¹ See p. 152 below.

² Former owner of Ethnikon Vema, Demetrios Marinakis, (interviewed November, 1967, Sydney) stressed that ever since 1922 this newspaper's policy has been to support 'Greek authorities, nation and religion'.

though indicating a willingness to bring the matter to a general meeting, the final arbiter in constitutional questions, embarked on a course of deferring this important matter. The council possibly feared ugly scenes if the constitutional question was brought before a meeting though it did seem to have the numbers on its side to approve its policies: for example, a general meeting of 400 members early in August, 1925, by a vast majority absolved it from charges that it had misappropriated the Community's funds.¹ But its procrastination on the question of the constitution infuriated the Metropolitan and his supporters who became more insistent with their demands. Rather than call a general meeting, however, the council, acting on legal advice, handed the Community's records and books to the 'official receiver', Dionysios Kouvaras with instructions to return them to a new council the election of which he was personally left responsible to conduct.²

¹ For reports from Sydney before and after this meeting see Ethniki Salpinx, 1 and 8 July, 19 and 26 August, 1925. The date of the general meeting is not cited though it was reported in Ethniki Salpinx, 19 August, 1925, so that it was probably held early in August. The charges of financial mismanagement were made by the Community's auditors who were reportedly loyalists of Ethnikon Vema and the Metropolitan. The auditors had prepared their report and published it in Ethnikon Vema before the Community's books were prepared for auditing. The amount the auditors claimed not accounted for, was £347. 6s. 11d. - an amount which the treasurer had not banked and therefore did not appear as revenue in the bank statement.

² K. I. Kassimatis, Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928.

There is no available data from which to fully assess this critical stage reached by the Community and its relationship with the Metropolis. What one cannot account for is the decision to hand things over to the 'official receiver' rather than let the council undertake this responsibility. Also unknown was whether the Metropolitan was receiving a grant from the Community. Further, it is impossible to ascertain the composition of Community membership and whether all the Metropolitan's supporters were members or allowed to join in view of a hostile council which was in a position to approve or reject application for membership. Lastly, the attitude of the priest is far from clear: he is reported to have conceded to the new ecclesiastical status quo¹ and while not unsympathetic to the Metropolitan, he was loved and respected by his flock whose affections he reciprocated. All these questions that have a bearing on the situation in Sydney at this time remain unanswered. What is known, however, is the significant fact that Dionysios Kouvaras in whose hands early in 1926 the fate of the Community was temporarily placed, was an Ithacan, a founder of the Community, a past president and a trustee.² Also, that in the important mission he undertook and which did not end

¹K. I. Kassimatis, Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928.

²For a short biography of Dionysios Kouvaras see Life in Australia, op.cit., pp. 161-162. For his role in the dispute of the Sydney Community see K. I. Kassimatis, Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928.

until the election of a new council in September, 1926, he was guided and assisted by his fellow trustees including Abraham Aboud, the outgoing council and their supporters. This guidance and assistance was indeed valuable because throughout his tenure of office the Community and Sydney's Greeks passed through extremely turbulent times as the two organised groups struggled to control the Community and Holy Trinity. The conflict itself became intense after mid-1926 as a result of several new events the consideration of which and their influence on Community-Metropolis relations will be postponed temporarily to examine the position in other Communities.

In Brisbane no localist loyalties and solidarity cut across the wider national-religious interests associated with the establishment of the Metropolis. 'Archimandrite' Daniel Maravelis himself did not renounce his allegiance to the Metropolitan so that by 1926 the Brisbane community enjoyed religious peace. Soon after the founding of the community in 1922 Brisbane's Greeks began to divide along pro- and anti- 'Hellenic House' groups, a division which amazingly enough still persisted in 1968 though the composition of the groups in recent times was somewhat different from those in the 1920's.¹ These divisions

¹ The president of the Greek Orthodox Community of Brisbane, Dr. Nicholas Girdis, a second generation Greek-Australian, (interviewed June, 1968), referred to those Community members frequenting Hellenic House as a clique. As far as he was concerned they always constituted a definite clique who tried to influence Community policy, as against those who did not frequent the coffeehouse such as the second generation or perhaps the more assimilated first generation Greeks. The latter were usually interested only in the church function of the Community.

appear to have arisen because there was always a group of Hellenic Club members who exerted considerable influence on the Community. This influence was resented by ordinary Community members outside the club. The more puritan Community members also resented the church activities being in part financed from gambling proceeds earned in the Hellenic House and paid into the Community's treasury. From these recalcitrants a group gradually crystallised priding itself on being more 'egalitarian' than the more 'aristocratic' Hellenic House clique of which the Freeleagus family comprised the hard core. The large Freeleagus enterprise still employing considerable labour, their membership in the club and the fact that one of the brothers was consul, indeed, made the Freeleagus family an influential unit so that the anti-Hellenic House clique was also anti-Freeleagus.¹ This egalitarian group appears to have been a numerous one. They combined informally, patronised a separate coffeehouse where gambling was prohibited and made their numbers felt in the Community whose council they controlled for most of the 1922 - 1927 period.²

¹ Interview: Peter Aroney and Eustratios Christophides, June, 1968, Brisbane.

² Interview: Peter Aroney, June, 1968, Brisbane, and White Paper, G.O.C., Brisbane, p. 21, which gives the names of the Community's council between 1921 - 1927. The priest was inevitably caught in what was a perpetual conflict between the two groups though he had no choice but remain loyal to whatever group controlled the Community. The Hellenic House clique once charged the priest of switching sides and going over to their opponents in order to earn more money. See Kyriakos Freeleagus in Hellenic Herald, 8 February, 1927.

In other communities the acceptance or rejection of the authority of the Metropolitan depended on several factors one of which was the interplay of regional group loyalties. The arrival in Perth of Archimandrite Nektarios Mavrokordatos, a Kastellorizan, had the effect of gradually pacifying his warring compatriots who after the middle of 1925 directed their combined efforts towards helping the Community along the lines Archimandrite Germanos and the Metropolitan envisaged in July, 1924.¹ In Port Pirie the church found a faithful son who similarly had the necessary tact to unite Kastellorizans and others round the diocese. He was Christophoros Manesis, a native of Chios, who settled in Port Pirie soon after his discharge from the Greek army in August, 1923. He was a high school graduate and during his army service 'he did not cease to study Ecclesiastical and Theological books'.² In Port Pirie he worked in the smelters but late in 1925 he decided to serve the Community then 'in need of a married priest'. He married into a local Kastellorizan family after which he went to Melbourne

¹ This meant that the Community acquired the Kastellorizan's block of land (Krikos, July - August, 1957), though the church was not erected on it until 1937 (Hellenic Herald, 3 September, 1936, 7 September, 1939, and passim).

² A. G. Papadopoulos "Presbyter Christophoros Manesis" (a short biography), International Directory of 1927, op.cit., pp. 331-335.

to be ordained as deacon by the Metropolitan in an appropriate service on Sunday, 29th November, 1925, and as a presbyter on the following Sunday. Thus fully ordained as a priest he returned to take up his appointment 'as rector of the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie, all of south Australia and Broken Hill',¹ But his congregation was for the most part concentrated in Port Pirie. The Community managed to procure a wooden building from the town's Anglican church authorities and quickly transformed it into its own St. George church which served the settlement until the late 1950's. Reverend Christophoros was greatly respected particularly by the Kastellorizans who henceforth adopted him as one of their very important compatriots. His stay in Port Pirie, however, was short-lived and by the end of 1926 he had been posted to Perth where he commenced a thirty-year-long service in a united and predominantly Kastellorizan community.²

The reasons for Reverend Christophoros's speedy transfer to Perth are not clear though it is possible that he went there because Archimandrite Nektarios wished to return to Greece. Yet another reason stemmed from the situation that had developed in

¹ ibid.

² See Chapter VII below for details why Reverend Christophoros eventually fell out of favour with one section of the Kastellorizan fraternity in the mid-1950's.

his large South Australian parish. By 1926 Port Pirie was rapidly losing its Greeks making it difficult for the diminishing community to support a resident priest. Reverend Christophoros was also in perpetual conflict with Archimandrite Germanos who placed himself in Adelaide. For reasons which again are not clear, Archimandrite Germanos had crossed swords with the Metropolitan, indicated by the latter's willingness to ordain Christophoros Manesis and to allocate to him all of South Australia.¹ This meant that the Archimandrite's benefice in Adelaide was uncanonically held but there was little the Metropolitan could do to dislodge him. Archimandrite Germanos had in any case found a number of followers, particularly among the small Ithacan group in Adelaide, who were glad to have his services, but who were not concerned with his standing in the church. This, however, was not the case with the Kastellorizans of Adelaide who made common cause with their own folk in Perth refusing to associate with the priest. This Kastellorizan aversion to the priest was apparently sufficiently strong for them to prefer the more costly services of Christophoros Manesis from Port Pirie rather

¹ The Metropolitan had possibly placed Archimandrite Germanos in idleness for his misdemeanours against Perth Kastellorizans who, as noted elsewhere, were unforgiving. The Archimandrite was also present at the re-opening of Holy Trinity, Sydney, which was in the hands of the schismatics indicating that he had broken with the Metropolitan. Hellenic Herald, 16 November, 1926.

than have their marriage and baptismal ceremonies celebrated by Archimandrite Germanos in Adelaide.¹

Whereas, therefore, the Metropolitan could have placed the South Australian parish safely in the hands of Reverend Christophoros and his numerous Kastellorizan loyalists, the presence of Archimandrite Germanos proved a real stumbling block: this Archimandrite, as will be seen later, also became an obstacle to the fruition of the Greek Orthodox Community in Adelaide at a time when the numbers warranted such a body.

Between 1924 and mid-1926 the Metropolitan encountered innumerable problems in getting this diocese instituted. The most important of these were the fragmented nature of his congregations and the influence of certain organised localist groups exerted on Greek Orthodox Communities. Another obstacle was the attitude of several priests. Also crucial was the attitude of the Consul General, Lucas, whose opposition was particularly damning to the Metropolitan, undermining his authority and reinforcing the belief that the Greek Government was not, after all, behind the Holy Metropolis. Lucas's attitude was copied by

¹ Michael Kambouris (interviewed October, 1968, in Adelaide) informed the writer that he was Reverend Christophoros Manesis's representative in Adelaide in 1926, responsible for making all the arrangements for Kastellorizan (and other) marriage and baptismal ceremonies. For this, he, too, together with Reverend Christophoros, incurred the hostility of Archimandrite Germanos and his loyalists.

Maniachi in Melbourne and by his deputy in Sydney, Emanuel Andronicus, but not by the Greek Consuls in Brisbane and Perth. The Metropolitan, however, succeeded in securing bases in Melbourne, Port Pirie, Perth and Brisbane, though it cannot be ascertained whether the resources, particularly in matters of income from these parishes, would maintain the diocese as a permanent and solvent institution.

Two important events had occurred by May, 1926, which were to agitate Greek communities more intensely and which greatly affected the Holy Metropolis and its relationship with Greek Orthodox Communities. One was the acquired and widely-held belief that the Metropolitan was a homosexual; the other was the arrival of Australia's first resident career diplomat, the Consul General, Leonidas Chrysanthopoulos, who unlike his predecessor, unremittingly upheld the authority of the diocese and that of the Metropolitan.

The Metropolitan's alleged homosexuality was 'ascertained' in an odd manner. Four Greeks, supporters of the Community council, were gaoled and subsequently charged in a Sydney court with defaming the Metropolitan by uttering that 'they saw him with a sailor one night in a darkened city shop door'.¹ During the hearing the Metropolitan had apparently lied under oath and

¹ The four Greeks reportedly spied on the Metropolitan in February, 1926, but the court case took place some time in May of the same year. Hellenic Herald, 8 March, 1928. (No court files have been consulted.)

the four were acquitted, amid great jubilation by the numerous friends who followed the court case closely and were reported giving 'three cheers for English justice'¹ outside the court rooms after the verdict was announced. The four followed up their signal victory by successfully suing Ethnikon Vema, which had published defamatory remarks against them.² That the Metropolitan had homosexual inclinations was alluded to by Archimandrite Irineos in Ethniki Salpinx on at least two occasions,³ but the acquittal of the four was construed by many as proof that he actually was a homosexual. The Ecumenical Patriarchate itself considered the Metropolitan's behaviour as scandalous and decided to recall him, replacing him with Metropolitan Joakim.⁴ Yet soon after his recall the Metropolitan was re-appointed to the Australian diocese.

¹ K. I. Kassimatis, Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1926.

² Nicholas Marinakis (interviewed November, 1967, Sydney), stated that the four Greeks were awarded £500 damages but he managed to pay them much less though legal costs amounted to a large sum. Marinakis further said that running Ethnikon Vema was a hazardous business: all told he was involved in five to six court cases which cost him a total of £3,000 in legal costs.

³ Ethniki Salpinx, 24 December, 1924, and 27 May, 1925.

⁴ News of this was received by Archimandrite Athenagoras Varacilas who communicated the message to the Melbourne Community (M.B.M., 26 June, 1926). The Community council in Melbourne did not release the news and just as well because in three days' time it was informed that Metropolitan Christopher Knetes was re-appointed (M.B.M., 29 June, 1926).

The reasons for the Metropolitan's sudden change in fortune are not clear though one reason seemed to be the timely arrival of the Consul General; Chrysanthopoulos arrived immediately after the court case, the impact of which he possibly misjudged, and urged on by the Metropolitan loyalists in Sydney it is very likely that he intervened to save the Metropolitan.¹

These events intensified the current conflict particularly in Sydney. Henceforth the party of Dionysios Kouvaras began fighting what it considered was an immoral authority bent on capturing control of the Community; the Metropolitan party, heartened by the stand of the Consul General, were fighting for the official Greek church. Despite the re-alignment of forces in each community expected from these events, the base of the groupings remained substantially the same as they were before May, 1926. The next two years, however, witnessed a gradual but certain fall in the influence of the Metropolitan.

Dionysios Kouvaras and his party exploited the Metropolitan's weakened position in Sydney. Some time in June, 1926, and

¹ Hellenic Herald, 10 and 18 October, 1928, alleges that as soon as Chrysanthopoulos arrived in May, 1926, he sent the following telegram to Greece: 'Having arrived, I find an anomalous situation: Majority for Metropolitan Knetes. Was unjustly dismissed. Request his re-appointment, so that I may bring peace among Communities here.' Though challenged, there is no record of Chrysanthopoulos denying having sent such a message. Yet there is no indication of how the Hellenic Herald got hold of the copy of the telegram.

probably before the Metropolitan's re-appointment, a general meeting of the Community was summoned to discuss the constitution.

The meeting according to one account, was extremely rowdy and as a result, Kouvaras's party staged a walk-out. The remaining

Metropolitan loyalists elected an eleven-member council and resolved to assume control of the Community. The Kouvaras party flatly

refused to recognise the new council but the latter found recourse in changing the locks on Holy Trinity's doors. With the church

keys safe in their hands the Metropolitan party made ready for

service on the following Sunday morning (4 July, 1927). Unknown

to them the Kouvaras party acted quickly (probably late on

Saturday night), changed the locks of the church doors again,

barricaded themselves in the church and waited for Sunday morning.

News of the impending conflict must have spread fast because on

Sunday morning approximately 1,000 attended to take part in or

witness the scene. According to an eye witness, a fight, at

which punches were freely exchanged, occurred, ending with a

decisive victory for the Kouvaras party which held the church and

permanently shut out the Metropolitan.¹ This, in brief, resolved the hitherto undefined relationship between the Community and the Metropolis. It is not clear whether the Metropolitan party pursued any legal claims (if indeed there were any to pursue), nor were there any serious moves by the two factions to reach some understanding: henceforth the split in the Sydney community began to be institutionalised.

By September, 1926, a record number of 335 Community members voted to re-elect an anti-Metropolitan council which was mostly made up of previous councillors.² By October the doors of Holy Trinity, closed since July, were ceremoniously opened by Archimandrite Athanagoras after considerable pleading from his

¹ There are many accounts of these events in Hellenic Herald: the most comprehensive one is given by K. I. Kassimatis, Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928. Kassimatis ignores one important detail, namely, that guards, working in shifts, kept themselves barricaded in Holy Trinity for several weeks after the brawl lest Metropolitan loyalists returned to take the church. (Interview: G. Georgaris and others, October, 1967, Sydney.) The expulsion of the Metropolitan was important enough for the Community to celebrate its first anniversary on 4 July, 1927, (Hellenic Herald, 5 July, 1927). The Sydney Morning Herald, 5 July, 1926, took a sober view of the quarrel. It said that 1,000 took part in the demonstration outside Holy Trinity, the services of the police (who were present) were not required even though the dispute was a bitter one, and that 'it appeared that the congregation was divided into two sections'.

² According to Hellenic Herald, 25 January, 1927, these elections were held on 19 September, 1926. Of fourteen councillors at least seven were Kytherans (Hellenic Herald, 28 December, 1926).

flock to do so and no doubt after some soul-searching on his part.¹
 In November, the Hellenic Herald also came into being, giving a badly-needed propaganda medium to the Community which adopted it as its official organ in January, 1927.² Some time after November, 1926, Archimandrite Athenagoras applied and was accepted by the Independent Greek Orthodox Church of America thus placing his congregation under a schismatic church. The priest must have acted with the full knowledge of the Community council and the decision to come under the American church met with the unanimous approval of a general meeting in May, 1927.³

Little is known of the Metropolitan party between July and November, 1926. Early in December, however, several members from this group met and founded Hellenic Club Limited which became the

¹ Hellenic Herald, 16 November, 1926. K. I. Kassimatis, (Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928) claims that Archimandrite Athenagoras informed the Ecumenical Patriarchate by telegram that he was under pressure by his flock to open the church. As there was no reply he decided to open Holy Trinity. Among those present at the re-opening of Holy Trinity was the council of the Kytherian Association as well as Archimandrite Germanos Eliou.

² Hellenic Herald's first edition appeared on 16 November, 1926, and was proclaimed "The Official Organ of the Greek Community of N.S.W.", on 11 January, 1927.

³ Hellenic Herald, 30 May, 1927. Archimandrite Athenagoras Varaclos was accorded the position of archieratikos epitromos (literally, archieratical comitteeman), which at that time meant that he was representative or archpriest of the American church in Australia. Hellenic Herald, 30 May, 1927.

backbone of the diocese in Sydney,¹ By early February, 1927, Hellenic Club members had managed to purchase a valuable site on Dowling Street, Sydney, and had the foundation stone of St. Sophia Cathedral laid.² Club members and Metropolitan supporters subsequently founded a separate organisation which they registered as The Greek Orthodox Cathedral of Australasia (Inc.), and to which ownership of St. Sophia was transferred.³ By August, 1927, this Orthodox Cathedral, the first in the southern hemisphere, was consecrated at an appropriate ceremony conducted by the Metropolitan, who for the occasion also published (in the English language) his

¹ Altogether seven people formed the Club. Among them was the secretary of the Greek General Consulate, Nicholas Marinakis (owner of Ethnikon Vema). Of the seven not one was a Kytheran. The objectives of the Club as stated in the Memorandum of Association were purely recreational. Subsequently the Club recruited many more members, including Kytherans. In later years it grew into an immensely influential and wealthy body, retaining its close connection with the diocese and playing an important role in Sydney community affairs. Source: Memorandum and Articles of Association of Hellenic Club Limited, pp. 1-5.

² In attendance at the ceremony were priests from Melbourne and Brisbane, as well as many foreign clergy and the Consul General, among others. Hellenic Herald, 8 February, 1927.

³ The delay in founding officially a separate diocesan body resulted from a dispute that arose over the question of a name. Hellenic Herald, 7 June, 1927, asserts that the Metropolitan party tried to have their organisation registered as the Greek Orthodox Community of N.S.W. Inc. Ltd., and later (Hellenic Herald, 26 June, 8 and 16 August, 1927) the 'old' Community used legal means to stop their opponents using the word 'Community'. This apparently was successful. According to Nicholas Marinakis sixty Greeks were present at the meeting which formally decided to found St. Sophia Cathedral early in 1927.

first and last major work in Australia.¹ St. Sophia Cathedral, for the construction of which a large sum was borrowed, thus became the nucleus of another Greek Orthodox Community in Sydney:² it was similar in structure, aims and activities to the older Community, different in that it enjoyed the recognition and patronage of the official church and the Greek Government and separated from its older sister body by considerable hatred.

More conflict arose from the ecclesiastical punishment meted out to Archimandrite Athenagoras. He was placed in idleness for three months after November, 1926, for insubordination to his superior and was further proclaimed a defrocked priest by the Ecumenical Patriarchate some time after March, 1927.³ The priest disputed this punishment on the grounds that his ecclesiastical

¹ Archbishop Christopher Knetes, The Service for Consecration of an Eastern Orthodox Church, Sydney, 1927. In the preface of this book the Metropolitan notes that on 22 February, 1925, he also consecrated the Evangelismos church of Melbourne. Further, it is interesting to note that the author dedicated this book to the president of the Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne, Nicholas Condogiannis, a Samiot.

² According to Nicholas Marinakis £5,000 - £6,000 was raised (mostly in loans) to build St. Sophia in 1927.

³ Hellenic Herald, 28 December, 1926, and 6 September, 1927.

authority ever since November, 1926, was the Independent Greek Orthodox Church of America.¹ Yet as far as Greek Government and church law were concerned he was defrocked and all sacraments celebrated were uncanonical (as were those performed by Archimandrite Irineos in Melbourne earlier). Explicitly uncanonical marriages were illegal and children born from such wedlocks were illegitimate. Such uncanonical sacraments and their legal implications as problems were more real in Greece yet they were sufficiently important among communities in Australia to exacerbate the current dispute. The Metropolis itself ordered its priests to re-enact religious ceremonies wherever possible and several re-baptisms were reported:² this infuriated further the unrepenting schismatics.

¹ It has not been established whether Archimandrite Athenagoras declared his loyalty to the independent American church before or after his 'idleness': if before, his argument refuting the authority of the Patriarchate was plausible enough yet he must have known that he had broken canon law.

² For re-baptisms see Hellenic Herald, 16 June, 1927, 25 October, 1928, and 22 June, 1933. An Ithacan in Melbourne accused Reverend Christophoros Demopoulos of refusing to bury his dead child which was baptised by Archimandrite Athenagoras Vanaclas. Reverend Christophoros, however, discarded this 'as a sycophancy' and no more was heard of this case. M.B.M., 3 October, 1929. On the whole, however, Greeks involved in uncanonical sacraments rejected the tenet that they had done anything wrong though few could doubt their illegality particularly if this was demonstrated to them.

The schism in Sydney affected other communities. By May, 1926, the Community in Melbourne was torn by internal dissension unlike the preceding period.¹ Much of this discord arose from opposition by Kastellorizans on the council to a £400 loan sought and procured by Reverend Christophoros which he needed to bring his seven-member family to Australia - the Community negotiated this loan from a bank but the councillors were personally obliged to act as guarantors.² Apparently all had agreed on these terms in March but by May the Kastellorizans changed their minds.³ The only reason that can be advanced for this change of mind were events in Sydney and their anticipated affects on the Community in Melbourne. Whatever the reasons were, heated arguments occurred

¹ In January, 1926, for example, a general meeting approved the Community's new Constitution which contained a clause stipulating its dependence on the Ecumenical Patriarchate while the council appeared united and satisfied with the Metropolis. The council also appeared sufficiently strong and united to reject the latest Ithacan proposals for reconciliation. These were: that the Ithacans would withdraw court action if the council paid part of the legal costs so far incurred by the claimants, hold new elections, and hand the keys of the church to trustees to be elected by both sides. M.B.M., 24 January, 1926, and 8 February, 1926.

² M.B.M., 7 April, 1926.

³ M.B.M., 10 May, 1926.

at council meetings, which culminated in the resignation of two Kastellorizan councillors.¹ During the heated exchanges the Kastellorizan Brotherhood came under criticism which contributed to further Kastellorizan disenchantment from the Community.² Yet disaffection for and disinterest in the Community soon became widespread. Apart from the Ithacans, who after their defeat in the October 1925 elections were almost unanimous in their boycott of the Community, active membership waned throughout 1926 and by January, 1927, the council could marshal a mere twenty-seven members to come to a general meeting out of a financial membership which then stood at forty-six.³ By December, 1926, the Community was £600 in debt; £100 of this went to lawyer's fees while £16 monthly grants had been paid regularly to the diocese since 1924. Luckily the court rejected £200 back-pay claimed by Archimandrite Irineos.⁴ To overcome these financial difficulties the council

¹ M.B.M., 7 June, 1926.

² The Community's secretary Papalexandrou (a Samiot) was particularly critical of Kastellorizans and of localism in general - a criticism greatly resented by Kastellorizans who, as a group, felt that they had done their part for the Community. M.B.M., 7 and 26 June, 1926.

³ Active or financial membership was as follows: 315 in October, 1925; 147 in January, 1926; 120 in August, 1926; 46 in January, 1927. Source: M.B.M., 2 November, 1925; 30 January, 1926; 1 August, 1926; and 30 January, 1926, respectively. From a membership list given in M.B.M., 30 January, 1926, only 3 were Ithacans.

⁴ M.B.M., 14 December, 1925; 15 July, 1926, and 30 January, 1927.

appealed frequently to members to pay their annual fees and to shopkeepers and heads of families to give extra donations and hence keep the Community and the church functioning.¹ The Ithacans also proved unyielding and persisted with their legal action. Their claims were heard by Sir Leo Cussens at the Supreme Court in July, 1927, but his judgement was inconclusive in terminating the dispute.² Another period of negotiations and bargaining set in to solve the vexing problem of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and to define the rights of claimants and defendants, all of which further weakened the Community.

In Brisbane the schism traversed a different course from that in Melbourne and Sydney. By mid-1927 Archimandrite Daniel's marriage was discovered by his flock, with the result that the Metropolitan placed him in idleness and the Community council dismissed him: at this time the council was controlled by those opposed to the 'Hellenic House clique'.³ The Maravelis couple

¹ M.B.M., 30 January, 1927, and passim.

² Hellenic Herald, 19 July, 1927; Supreme Court of Victoria, File No. 248.

³ The Archimandrite's marital status (though not his status in the Greek Orthodox Church) was of course known to Brisbane's Marriage Registry authorities with whom he registered his marriage, probably soon after his fiancée's arrival in 1923. The Archimandrite's marriage must have been discovered after 2 February, 1927, at which time he was present at the ceremony to lay the foundation stone of St. Sophia, Sydney, (Hellenic Herald, 8 February, 1928) and early in June, 1928, when he was dismissed from the Community (Hellenic Herald, 26 April, 1928).

departed from Brisbane (and from Australia) in June, 1928, leaving behind an embarrassed council, a somewhat astonished congregation and equally bewildered Anglican churchmen in Queensland, all of whom had given the Archimandrite every assistance and respect.¹ As far as Brisbane's Greek consul and the 'Hellenic House clique' were concerned the priest's departure also terminated the Community. By September, 1928, this group founded and registered a separate Greek Orthodox Community choosing St. George as its patron saint.² Two Communities thus functioned which henceforth entered into sharp contest to win adherents among the uncommitted, procure recognition from the Metropolitan, and by April, 1928, both groups were in court disputing a number of things including the rightful ownership of the removable church furnishings. These had adorned St. Luke's

¹ Archimandrite Daniel Maravelis's standing among Anglicans in Brisbane was apparently high and he is reported to have provided 'good credentials and recommendations' from the Anglican Bishop of Brisbane' as early as May, 1923. This helped him greatly in his work both in Brisbane and among his dispersed flock in the countryside. Ethniki Salpinx, 2 April, and 2 and 30 May, 1924.

² There are several sources outlining the course of events before and after the split in Brisbane. The best account is to be found in Hellenic Herald, 26 April, 1928, which contains many details that came to light during the court case that followed the split. But the split can be seen by examining the list of names comprising the Community's councils between 1922 and 1928 recorded in White Paper G.O.C., Brisbane, op.cit., p. 21; also from Hellenic Herald, 4 January, 8 February, 20 October, 1927, and editions in July and August, 1928, which published articles by reporters from both sides.

Anglican church in Charlotte Street which the Community had been using regularly since 1923. The St. George Community was fortunate in obtaining the services of Elias Kotiadis, a Rhodian, employed by Freeleagus Bros., who was ordained by the Metropolitan in February, 1928.¹ The old Community responded by declaring its allegiance to the Independent Greek Orthodox Church of America from which it requested a priest to serve its new 'Evangelistria' church. The Metropolitan's final and irrevocable recall in February, 1928, intervened to prevent the split becoming institutionalised and by June, 1928, the court action was withdrawn as both sides agreed to bring about a merger of the two Communities.² This was achieved within the framework of the St. George body but it was an uneasy merger because the two traditional groupings retained their identity and, furthermore, disagreed on the important question of where to erect the church for which the Community began collecting funds. The 'Hellenic House clique' got its own way and the foundation stone of St. George was laid on the site adjoining Hellenic House, in March, 1929. Their opponents became disgruntled and refused to support St. George. They preferred a site in Russell Street, West

¹ According to Hellenic Herald, 15 March, 1928, Elias Kotiadis was ordained on 26 February, 1928, and though noted, stated the ordination very likely took place inside St. Sophia, Sydney.

² For meetings and the agreements made see Hellenic Herald, 12, 19 and 26 July, and 15 August, 1928.

End, which they were instrumental in purchasing in accordance with their long-term policy of disengaging the Community from the Hellenic Club.¹ Not until after 1932 did both sides bury their differences and co-operate round the Community in Brisbane.²

The ordination of Reverend Elias Kotiadis was the Metropolitan's last important service to the church in Australia. His recall (officially decided on 4 February in Constantinople) was announced late in February, 1928, and in July he departed from Australia permanently.³ Undoubtedly his recall resulted from his

¹ The land on Russell Street cost £1,350, Hellenic Herald, 24 November, 1927. According to Peter Aroney and Eustratios Christophidis, the surviving leaders of the anti-'Hellenic House clique' in the 1920's and 1930's (interviewed June, 1968, Brisbane), the Community members assembled at a general meeting and had decided that the church was to be built in Russell Street, but Christy Freeleagus and his 'clique' arbitrarily reversed this decision and built St. George next to Hellenic House.

² An end to the split was in sight when a fairly 'mixed' Community council was elected early in 1932 but Peter Aroney, Eustratios Christophidis and K. Mallaridis, resigned soon after their election. (White Paper, G.O.C., Brisbane, op.cit., p. 21) By December, 1931, Peter Aroney had in any case begun publishing the Queensland Messenger, (Ho Angeliophoros Tis Kouenslandis), a newspaper which in its several months of life took an anti-Freeleagus and Hellenic House stand, so that the division remained. (No copies of this newspaper have been traced but its policy has been confirmed by its owner and by Hellenic Herald, 7 January, 1932.)

³ Supreme Court of Victoria, File No, 248, The Argus (Melbourne), 9 February, 1928.

inability to institute a stable church authority in Australia. As has been argued the failure of the Holy Metropolis stemmed partly from the heterogenous and fragmented congregations particularly in Melbourne and Sydney. Yet the character of the Metropolitan was an important factor contributing to the failure of the church in Australia. Ever since November, 1926, Hellenic Herald had been conducting an incessant tirade against the Metropolitan, frequently making strong allusions to his homosexuality.¹ Attacks were also levelled against the Consul General and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, 'the Phanari', not because their authority was disputed, but because they tolerated an immoral Metropolitan. Hellenic Herald, it must be stressed, had become the chief mouthpiece for a fairly influential section of Australia's Greeks. Among this section were the Kytherans whose fraternity in 1929 also proclaimed the paper its official organ,² the Ithacans and the growing Kastellorizan settlements. The Hellenic Herald's virulent attacks against the Metropolitan and the Consul General also met with the support of the more radical wing of Greek communities. This group often referred to as the 'barefoot battalion' was not a clearly defined faction:

¹ Hellenic Herald, 17 and 31 May, 7 June and 4 October, 1927, 26 January, 1928, and passim. Even the Metropolitan's misfortune in being struck by a motor cycle (resulting in his having to receive medical treatment in hospital) was attributed to his immorality. Hellenic Herald, 29 December, 1927.

² Hellenic Herald, 7 February, 1929.

it seemed to have originated from among the 'egalitarians' opposed to the 'Hellenic House clique' in Brisbane but the presence of radicals was being felt in most communities particularly in the 1930's when they emerged as organised groups. In the late 1920's Hellenic Herald tolerated and encouraged the 'barefoot battalion' and made its columns available for much of their caustic and satirical writings,¹ so that by 1928 the movement against the authority of the Metropolitan and Greek consulates had grown considerably. Yet, throughout the period the target of the attacks was the Metropolitan as a person rather than the authority and institution he represented. At last the Hellenic Herald 'proved' its case against the bishop: late in February (and co-inciding with the

¹ The name 'barefoot battalion' came into more frequent use after a speech the Consul General made in Hellenic House during his visit there late in 1926. In his speech, Chrysanthopoulos had praised the efforts of Greeks throughout Australia in their endeavour to uphold the traditions of Greece and the church 'even though' (as the Consul said in wishing to stress his point) 'Greeks were illiterate, unlearned and barefooted'. These remarks reported in Hellenic Herald, 4 January, 1927, by Peter Aroney (or Koumesopoulos) gave rise to much subsequent criticism of Chrysanthopoulos. A host of articles began to appear in Hellenic Herald after early 1927 written by correspondents giving such pseudonyms as xypolytos (barefooted), monosandalos (with a single sandal), and amorphotos (unlearned): several of these became regular columnists and their main target of attack was the Consul General as a person. Yet in the 1930's the 'barefoot battalion' was comprised of the poorest and much more radical members of communities compared to those in the 1920's whose criticism of Chrysanthopoulos was mostly the result of his close association with the Metropolitan. Interview: Peter Aroney, George Margaritis, and others.

Metropolitan's announced recall) it reported that loyalists from St. Sophia 'followed the Metropolitan and saw him disappear in a Sydney park after midnight'.¹ After leaving Australia the bishop was appointed to the Metropolis of Bizyes from where he withdrew in 1929 retiring to his native island of Samos where he died in August, 1959.²

In recalling Metropolitan Christopher the Ecumenical Patriarchate simultaneously decided to replace him with Metropolitan Germanos Polyzoidis who, at this time, was serving in the American diocese. Metropolitan Germanos declined the office in what was then no doubt known to be a far away, small and divided diocese.³ It is not known whether the Patriarchate sought other candidates

¹ Hellenic Herald, 23 February, 1928. This, among other 'suspicious' behaviour on the Metropolitan's part, has been confirmed by interviews with his former loyalists (still alive) in Sydney, who wish to remain anonymous.

² Typed monograph of history of Greek Orthodox Church in Australia supplied by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, p. 3. Hellenic Herald, 4 April, 1937, reported that Metropolitan Christopher Knetes was defrocked in absentia, by a Synodical Court of Greece.

³ Metropolitan Germanos's appointment is confirmed in an affidavit signed by Reverend Christophoros Demopoulos who procured the information from a Greek church magazine Orthodoxia, 29 February, 1928. Source: Supreme Court of Victoria, File No. 248. Hellenic Herald, 15 March, 1928, similarly reported the Metropolitan's appointment but added that he was no answer to Australia's church problems for (according to an American Greek newspaper Embros which Hellenic Herald quoted) Metropolitan Germanos Polyzoidis was 'an opportunist and a schemer'.

but in April, 1928, it decided to appoint as locum tenens Archimandrite Theophylactos Papathanasopoulos who had arrived two months earlier to take up his appointment as rector of the St. Sophia Cathedral. The Archimandrite's official title was Patriarchikos Epitropos (Patriarchal Committeeman) in Australia,¹ a position empowering him to administer the diocese, but one which lacked the powers of a bishop such as the power to decide clergy appointments, dismissals, transfers or ordinations. Archimandrite Theophylactos, with limited powers and little experience, was thus burdened with the immense task of managing a scattered diocese and enforcing its decrees among a flock, a section of which was revelling in its recent and ostensibly important victory over the Metropolitan. In the interregnum which lasted until 1932, no significant changes occurred to terminate the schism.

The immediate effect of the Metropolitan's recall was to placate the anger of many schismatics. In Melbourne ninety 'Greek Orthodox Christians' including many Ithacans answered a call by Reverend Christophoros and came to a meeting in April, 1928, where he exhorted them to forget the past and unite to save the church and the Community.² The meeting resolved to elect a seven-member Provisional Committee giving it power to govern the church,

¹ Hellenic Herald, 8 May, 1928: Supreme Court of Victoria, File No. 248.

² M.B.M., 8 April, 1928.

carry out elections for a permanent council some time in the future and to draw up a new Community constitution along the lines proposed by Sir Leo Cussens.¹ The Committee, comprised of members not directly involved in the dispute, stayed in office until October, 1930, when some support to the Community was restored and some of its debts paid.² A significant change after mid-1928 was the return to the Community of many Ithacans some of whom also attended a farewell service given by the departing Metropolitan at Evangelismos where he entreated the congregation to 'obey the laws of your country and your Ecclesiastical heads'.³ In the same period, after some initial haggling⁴ the new Community constitution came into force. Its chief author was Sir Leo Cussens who succeeded

¹ The outgoing Community council, which by now comprised four members (three of whom were Samiots) refused to hand over the Community's records and the Evangelismos's keys until the Provisional Committee undertook to pay £70 which the president (Kondogiannis) had given towards the priest's salary. An Ithacan, M. Lekatsas, rose to the occasion promising to pay Kondogiannis his due and the Provisional Committee assumed control of the Community. ibid.

² By November, 1930, the Community still owed £131. 12s. 7d. M.B.M., 3 November, 1930.

³ M.B.M., 20 July, 1928, and Supreme Court of Victoria. File No. 248.

⁴ A draft of the constitution was discussed and approved by a general meeting of fifty members in October, 1928, but its final form had to wait until the following year due to a visit overseas by Sir Leo Cussens after October, 1928. M.B.M., 14 October, 1938, and 8 October, 1930.

in satisfying most disputants by having the following clause inscribed in the constitution:

'They (the members) re-affirm that upon the foundation of the church in 1902 the Holy Synod of Athens was recognised...as Spiritual Leader and this was always the desire of members... But in obedience to the Holy Synod they now recognise the Patriarchate of Constantinople...so long as the Holy Synod is unwilling to act in that capacity.'¹

By the same constitution the Community's name changed to the Greek Orthodox Church of Melbourne. Yet the Community in Melbourne remained the body it was in earlier years. The general meeting which ratified the final draft of the constitution in October, 1930, also elected eleven councillors, seven of whom were Ithacans: not one Samiot stood for election.² The return of the Ithacans to power and of the Community to its former state was symbolised by the council's insistence after 1930 to use the old seal bearing the name: Orthodox Greek Community of Melbourne.³

The successful pacification of the community in Melbourne after mid-1928 and in Perth after 1925 did not come, as was seen, in Brisbane, nor as will be seen, in Adelaide or Sydney. By May, 1929, two organised groups emerged simultaneously in Adelaide: one was the Kastellorizan Brotherhood; the other was the Apollo Society.

¹ Supreme Court of Victoria, File No. 248, and constitution of the Greek Orthodox Church of Melbourne and later the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria.

² M.B.M., 8 October, 1930.

³ M.B.M., 27 October, 1930, and onwards.

a group given to cultural activities but which also contained Ithacans and other loyalists of Archimandrite Germanos Eliou.¹

Much as he tried, the Archimandrite failed, during his four years of residence in Adelaide, to have a Greek Orthodox Community established as a formal organisation. Soon after May, 1929, however, his loyalists decided to form a Community for which a provisional committee was functioning by late in that year.² But as in Perth in earlier years Kastellorizan intransigence frustrated the undertaking. Numerically, Kastellorizans were the predominant group and they were becoming more determined to get rid of the priest.³ Early in 1930 a petition signed by 130 from Adelaide and another by 55 from Port Pirie, most signatories being Kastellorizans, demanded that the locum tenens take action to remove the Archimandrite from South Australia.⁴ The locum tenens failed to comply with the request, admitting that he lacked the power to do so. The Kastellorizans were far from being appeased: they became

¹ Hellenic Herald, 2 May, 1929, published a report from Adelaide which announced the newly formed organisations as well as the names of each organisation's officers.

² A 'Greek Orthodox Community of Adelaide and S.A.' or the name of such an organisation had been (according to Hellenic Herald, 5 December, 1929) used by Archimandrite Germanos Eliou, since 1926, but there is no evidence that such a body existed as a formally constituted organisation.

³ The Kastellorizans asserted that they had 80 members in their fraternity, 60 families and 55 children, and comprised eight-tenths of Adelaide's Greek community. Hellenic Herald, 30 January, 1930.

⁴ Hellenic Herald, 16 January, 13 February and 3 March, 1930.

more adamant in their stand against the Archimandrite, frequently made verbal attacks on the locum tenens through Hellenic Herald, performed their marriages in 'foreign' (mostly Anglican) churches, some refused to baptise their children and they also made an unsuccessful attempt to procure a priest from Cyprus.¹ The Kastellorizans, furthermore, took the initiative to found the Community anew. It was the Kastellorizan Brotherhood which by public circular 'officially invited all Greek compatriots to come to a meeting on 5 October, 1930, at the Panhellenion Centre, Hindley Street, and to elect a provisional committee to make all the necessary arrangements for the Greek Orthodox Community of Adelaide.'² Most Greeks, indeed, attended the meeting and elected a mixed eleven-member council which began the laborious task of instituting and administering a Community in a settlement in which its predominant group rejected the spiritual leader. Yet this rather untenable situation in Adelaide remained for several years though the tensions were eased somewhat with the arrival of Metropolitan Timotheos in 1932.

Between 1928 and 1932 the schism remained most pronounced in the Sydney community. Moves to reach understanding among the two factions were evident soon after the Metropolitan's recall,

¹ Hellenic Herald, 16 and 23 January, 3 July, 11 November, 1930, and passim.

² Hellenic Herald, 30 October, 1930.

but by May, 1928, the dispute flared up again.¹ An immediate cause was the Consul General's alleged approach to the State's Marriage Registry authorities requesting that they withdraw Archimandrite Athenagoras's licence to conduct marriage ceremonies.² Such a measure on the consul's part was not inconsistent with his duties to uphold canon law which still regarded the Archimandrite as a schismatic. But the incident was sufficient for the Hellenic Herald to commence another long campaign against Chrysanthopoulos.³ To the Hellenic Herald the Consul General 'with his £2,200 annual income derived from the sweat of the Greek people and which was more than that received by the Premier of New South Wales' now became the arch enemy of the Community in Sydney.⁴ Although the attacks through Hellenic Herald after mid-1928 were concentrated

¹ There were several indications that attempts were made to end the dispute: the (Holy Trinity) Community had organised a gathering at the Australia Hall attended by 700 people to celebrate 25th March Independence Anniversary at which the Consul General was present, a practice he had avoided in the past (Hellenic Herald, 29 March, 1928). And 'to everyone's amazement the Archimandrites Athenagoras and Theophylactos were observed amicably discussing things while lunching at the Athenaiko Kentro'. (Hellenic Herald, 8 March, 1928.)

² Hellenic Herald, 21 June, 1928.

³ The Consul General claimed that he approached the Marriage Registry in Sydney merely to inform them of Archimandrite Athenagoras's position as far as Greek law was concerned, Hellenic Herald, 21 and 28 June, 1928.

⁴ Hellenic Herald, 9 August, 1928.

against the Consul General, the groupings that ranged themselves alongside the principal protagonists in the new dispute were essentially the same as those in the pre-1928 period. So, too, were the religious issues that were debated. A relatively new one concerned Holy Myron, used in baptisms, which Ethnikon Vema apparently claimed the Community lacked. Community supporters assured their opponents that 'they had enough Holy Myron to last them ten years without having to replenish it with olive oil',¹

All of these disputes, or what has been termed the schism in Greek communities in the 1924 - 1932 period greatly undermined the more constructive activities usually undertaken by Greek settlements. In almost every community the attempts to set up permanent Greek afternoon schools (warranted by the number of children needing instruction in Greek), were consistently unsuccessful. To be sure most groups concerned with Community and church affairs did initiate Greek schools but these, lacking the support of each settlement as a whole, did not evolve into viable

¹ See Hellenic Herald, 24 April, 1930, for its rebuke to Ethnikon Vema's charge that the Community was adulterating its short supply of Holy Myron by adding olive oil.

institutions.¹ Also noticeable were the half-hearted attempts by Greeks to raise money in support of national causes, namely, aid to Greek refugees, Greek orphans, and earthquake victims in 1928. Generally, Greeks did not exhibit their previous national zeal which was particularly evident in the pre-1914 period.² The purely social and cultural life and activities of Greeks continued

¹ Rival Greek schools functioned intermittently in Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane, for a great part of the period. In Perth the 'Pittakos' school dissolved with the departure of Archimandrite Germanos though a permanent Community school functioned after 1927, when Mrs. Anna Perivolary, formerly a tutor at a Greek school in Sydney, settled in Perth. More permanent schools were also set up by the Melbourne Community after 1930 and by the Sydney (Holy Trinity) Community after 1928, the year the Community Educational Society was formed specifically to set up and manage a school. For the wavering fortunes of Greek schools in Australia, 1924 - 1932, see: Hellenic Herald, 22 and 29 March, 10 and 17 May, 15 December, 1927, 23 and 31 May, 1928, 30 July, 1931; Ethniki Salpinx, 5 May, 1924; M.B.M., 1924 - 1932; Interview: Peter Aroney and Eustratios Christophidis, June, 1967, Brisbane.

² Aid from Australia to Greek refugees ceased after 1923. There was no response by Greeks in Australia to efforts to raise money for 100,000 Greek orphans undertaken by Monsignor R. Barry-Doyle, who in 1927 toured Australia seeking support. The Monsignor's catholicity was allegedly one of the reasons why Greeks remained aloof from such a worthy cause. Yet there seemed to be a general apathy among Greeks in Australia. This was also demonstrated by the relatively small amount (about £720) Greeks collected for the earthquake victims in mid-1928. For Monsignor R. Barry-Doyle's activities see Hellenic Herald, 27 September, and 20 October, 1927. For Greek earthquake victims' collections see: Hellenic Herald, July - August, 1928, and 24 January, 1929.

as before and became more extensive after 1924 as an increasing number of organisations conducted their festivities, dances, picnics, concerts and theatrical plays. But these were group rather than community undertakings: even Greece's national day (25th March) was also sometimes separately celebrated.¹ Celebrations in Australia marking the centenary of Modern Greece (1830 - 1930) were poorly organised and failed to enthuse Greeks.² Where Greeks as a whole co-operated to some extent was on the occasion of the Grecian Ball which became an annual event in Sydney after 1924 and which yielded valuable sums of money for charitable purposes in Australia. One reason for the success of this yearly event was because its organisers, especially the leader, Emanuel Andronicus, were careful not to become involved in the religious dispute.³

As has been noted frequently, Greek newspapers were very much involved in the schism and contributed much to its intensity.

The partisanship of newspapers was also shown in other facets of

¹ This was shown in Sydney especially after 1926 when the 25th March anniversary was rarely jointly celebrated by the Community and the Consul General.

² These celebrations co-incided with the usual 25 March, national day celebrations in which case they were successful. But what above all was expected were monetary contributions to send a delegation to Greece for the centenary. The only person to go was Anthony J. J. Lucas who paid his own fare, Hellenic Herald, 1, 8, 15 August, 1929; 8 and 30 January, 20 February, 20 and 27 March, and 10 and 24 April, 1930.

³ Source: Andronicus Papers. By October, 1932, the 'eighth Grecian Ball' was held in Sydney. Hellenic Herald, 6 October, 1932.

community life. Early in 1928 P. Lekos arrived in Australia (as part of a protracted world tour) to sell shares and publications of a non-existent publishing firm.¹ By all accounts Lekos was an orator, an experienced salesman with little regard for the ethics of his trade and he freely exploited the national sentiment of Greeks for self-advancement. He was well received by most Greeks especially in Sydney where he reportedly attracted 1,000 at one of his meetings and by Australian public figures including two State Premiers,² Lekos's dubious business dealings began to be suspected by a number of people including the Greek Government which warned Greeks, through the General Consulate in Sydney, not to entrust

¹ The firm's name was to be AETOS, 'It was to be formed in Athens some time in 1928 and it aimed to raise £250,000 nominal capital.' The 'company's' product sold by Lekos seemed to be mainly Greek encyclopaedias whose compilation was attributed to Eleutheroudakis. Before coming to Australia Lekos was in Japan where he allegedly founded the Greek Japanese Association. Hellenic Herald, 8 and 15 March, and 8 May, 1928, 24 January and 28 February, 1929.

² The Premiers were from South Australia and Queensland while the League of Nations Association, the Tourist Bureau and the Chamber of Commerce in South Australia as well as the Greek consul in Brisbane, among others, invited Lekos to address meetings. Hellenic Herald, 28 February, and 26 June, 1929. Radicals attempted to disrupt Lekos's meeting in Sydney but were thrown out of the hall. Interview: George Margaritis, November, 1967, Sydney.

their money to Lekos and his firm.¹ By this time, however, many Greeks, especially from among the anti-Metropolitan party, had become committed to Lekos. Lekos himself shifted from a conciliatory position in relation to the church dispute early in 1928 to one of overt opposition against the Consul General particularly when the message from the Greek Government was released.² Hellenic Herald hailed Lekos as an honest businessman and a 'national apostle'.³ Ethnikon Vema took a diametrically opposite stand on the 'Lekos affair' so that both newspapers attacked each other in a fashion that had by now become standard practice in their approach to other issues.⁴ The two newspapers were also at loggerheads over the 'Coucoulis affair'. P. Coucoulis, formerly a secretary at the General Consulate, leader of the Greek Boy Scouts, and one of the founders of the Hellenic Club in Sydney, decided to become an airman. He joined the Sydney Aero Club, got his pilot's licence and managed to procure Hellenic Herald's support to conduct a fund-

¹ Lekos's misdemeanours seemed to be the following: he sold shares for a company with few assets except Eleutheroudakis encyclopaedias; he 'elbowed his way' into the Greek Chamber of Commerce which was apparently newly founded in Brisbane by Angelo Gooma; he interfered in Greek church and consular affairs in Australia; and he failed to pay some of his debts including the salaries of a hired secretary. Hellenic Herald, 28 February, 20 and 27 June, 29 August and 31 October, 1929, and interview with Angelo Gooma, October, 1967, Sydney.

² Hellenic Herald, 31 January, 1929.

³ Hellenic Herald, 28 March, 1929.

⁴ Ethnikon Vema's attitude can be deduced from Hellenic Herald, March, 1928 - October, 1929, which covers accounts of P. Lekos's activities, and contains many references to this paper's opponent.

raising campaign to purchase his own aeroplane, the 'Pegasus',¹
 The vigorous campaign he conducted by touring Greek communities
 netted over £800, being much more than the £375 he needed for
 'Pegasus'.² The willing contributors received considerable
 satisfaction by the achievements of the 'first Greek airman abroad'
 greatly 'uplifting the Greek name in Australia' by winning third
 place in the 'Amateur Pilot's Race' at Albury in June, 1931.³
 'Pegasus' was subsequently damaged in a flight near Melbourne and
 rather than persevere with his exploits Coucoulis abandoned the
 plane and his admirers, leaving Australia with a handsome profit
 from his air flying venture. Ethnikon Vema which opposed the
 Coucoulis project from the very beginning became, needless to say,
 more than ever convinced that 'Greeks had been taken for a ride'.⁴

Hellenic Herald's enthusiastic support for airman Coucoulis
 was matched by Ethnikon Vema's patronage of Greek wrestlers. A
 number of wrestlers and other sport-minded Greeks greatly stimulat-
 ed by their idol Jim Londos, who was proclaimed world champion in

¹ Hellenic Herald initiated the financial drive on 22 January,
 1931, i.e., soon after Coucoulis got his licence.

² Hellenic Herald, 19 November, 1931.

³ Hellenic Herald, 18 June, 1931.

⁴ Hellenic Herald, 19 February, 1931, attacks Ethnikon Vema's
 opposition to the 'Concoulis project'. Henceforth Hellenic
Herald supports Coucoulis with more zeal and fanaticism.

professional wrestling in Philadelphia (U.S.A.) in 1930,¹ founded the Greek Gymnasium 'Atlas' in Sydney.² Regular bouts were held at the Atlas club rooms in Park Street, Sydney, giving the athletes an opportunity to win trophies including one donated by Ethnikon Vema, a little cash, and experience in preparation for more serious contests against more formidable opponents in larger arenas.³ The activity of the Atlas Gymnasium, while not actually opposed, was practically ignored by Hellenic Herald, though the newspaper gave wide coverage to the exploits of Greek wrestlers elsewhere in Australia.⁴

¹ Hellenic Herald, 24 June, 1930.

² Ethnikon Vema, 5 August, 1931.

³ Ethnikon Vema, 9 September, 1931. Interviews, Nicholas Marinakis and Nicholas Makris, November, 1967, Sydney. Nicholas Makris (or Nick Mackris or even McChriss) preferred boxing to wrestling and did quite well for himself. The Globe, 4 June, 1932, notes that 'Nick, who has had over 50 fights and has won most of them, is a very hard boy to beat and is always a trier'. But most Greeks preferred wrestling to any other sport.

⁴ Hellenic Herald, 3, 10, 17 July, 1930, and passim.

In 1927 Hellenic Herald gave wide coverage of the numerous bouts between a visiting Greek wrestler Kilonis and other wrestlers in Australia. These bouts reportedly drew large crowds including 10,000 in Melbourne and 16,000 screaming Irish and Greeks in Brisbane. Hellenic Herald, 16 August, 1927, and passim.

Finally, the newspapers expounded opposite views on the question of naturalisation. Ethnikon Vema contended that:

'to become a naturalised Australian citizen is not to deny the fatherland. It is neither a bad nor a dishonourable act both for us and for Greece....rather it is an honour for us and for our fatherland'.

Hellenic Herald's reply was:

'.....we consider it our duty to voice loudly that naturalisation is a denial of the fatherland, and that the person taking the oath is not worthy of honour. We are obliged to serve our national Idea and not sell our patriotism for a plate of lentils. As a Greek newspaper, Hellenic Herald's mission is to preserve the national spirit of Greeks here unextinguished and undiminished, to cultivate the patriotism of Greeks, to keep Greeks attached to our Holy Land, to that glorious image of ours, to the Greek ideals, which are included in the word "Hellas".'

The conflicting policies of Greek newspapers resulted from their opposed economic interests and from the fact that often they represented opposing organised groups and not because their owners and editors differed in their attitudes to Greece and on questions such as the naturalisation of Greeks. The income of newspapers depended very much on their ability to procure readers and advertisements from Greek and Australian businesses. This in turn depended on their ability to win over important groups and individuals. A group leader such as the president of the Greek

¹ Hellenic Herald, 12 March, 1931. In the same issue Hellenic Herald explains that it is not against those who are naturalised but as a Greek newspaper it re-affirmed its policy. Further, it disagreed with A. F. Speis who wrote to say that he managed to find a job only because he was a naturalised Australian citizen.

Orthodox Community, for example, could very easily help procure a badly needed advertisement for a Greek newspaper by using his influence in the community as a whole including his Australian contacts. Hellenic Herald's rapid rise to popularity and solvency as a going concern was the result of its owners' ability to see the potential in getting the newspaper based on the most important groups within each community particularly in Sydney. This newspaper also had an able journalist, Alex Grivas, and after 1931 a wealthy owner: he was Demetrios Lalas, a great benefactor and leader of the Community in Sydney,¹ The failure of Ethniki Salpinx in Melbourne in 1925 was not unassociated with the fact that it did not enjoy the support of Community leaders. Ethnikon Vema in Sydney survived because it enjoyed the support of some important groups as well as the patronage (if not actual financial support) of the Consul General and the official church.² This also explains much of this newspaper's overall policy, particularly its attacks on the schismatics whom it often called Bolsheviks.³

¹ For a short biography of Demetrios Lalas see: Hellenic Herald, 16 October, 1947.

² There is some evidence that as a more loyal newspaper Ethnikon Vema probably received annual grants from the Greek government. According to Mr. Jim Calomiris, when the Hellenic Herald became a more loyal (i.e., pro-Greek government) paper after 1936, it received an annual grant of £500 which was discontinued in 1952 by which time it was in sound financial position. Jim Calomiris was a former employee of Ethnikon Vema who joined Hellenic Herald in 1952 and subsequently became a part-owner.

³ Hellenic Herald, 28 June, 1934, claimed that for ten years Ethnikon Vema had been branding those patronising the Community and Holy Trinity as Bolsheviks.

By 1932 Greek communities in most capitals had undergone the process of considerable group formation. This arose largely from strong regional or district ties and/or strong family ties and loyalties, all of which were forces operating to fashion the mode of Greek migration and settlement in Australia in the context of prevailing economic conditions. These forces known and recognised as localism, (topikismos), by Greeks themselves, were powerful enough to determine the structure of settlements and fashion much of their history. Of all the localist groups those from Kastellorizo, Kythera and Ithaca, were the most predominant in that they were the more established, numerous and organised groups. These fraternities evolved into bases capable of satisfying many of the needs and defending the interests of their own compatriots both in Australia and at home and within Greek communities they were effective pressure groups.¹ The Kytheran fraternity in Australia was apparently sufficiently important to warrant the visit in 1926 by

¹ Ever since the Kytheran Association of Australia was formed in 1922, large sums of money began to flow from its treasury to Kythera. Among the amounts sent to Kythera were £590 for the high school in 1929 and £180 for a road in 1930. £117 was given in charity mostly to needy Kytherans in Australia in the period 1931 - 1934. Hellenic Herald, 4 July, 1929, 23 August, 1934, 20 November, 1930. Ithacans, especially their greatest benefactor Anthony J. J. Lucas, also sent large sums of money to Ithaca. In 1928 alone Lucas sent £1,000 for a hospital in Ithaca. Hellenic Herald, 27 November, 1928.

a Kytheran politician, Panagiotis Tsitsilias.¹ Groups or what often have been termed parties or factions also arose from endeavours to institute a Greek church authority in Australia. Whether transitory or permanent these further contributed to group formation thus transforming Greek communities more and more into 'federations of groups', a structure also made possible because of the increasing numerical size of each community. Subsequently, most groups merged into the larger ethnic community and co-operated more effectively, though still as distinct groups, round the ethnic institutions such as churches and schools and round activity that was of common benefit and interest to Greeks. As will be seen, one reason for

¹ Tsitsilias's mission in Australia (and in America) in 1926 was to get Kytherans to contribute money to build roads on the island. It is useful to note that Tsitsilias's political activity demonstrates the strong localist ties and loyalties of Greeks. Tsitsilias was a Venizelist who traditionally polled well in certain parts (mainly in the north) of Kythera as against the Royalists who did well in Chora in southern Kythera. In normal Greek political practice the funds Tsitsilias collected from Kytherans abroad were used to construct roads in districts where electors consistently voted for him. This was clearly shown in the 1933 elections (published in Hellenic Herald, 20 April, 1933), at which Tsitsilias overwhelmed his Royalist opponent, Kontoleon, in Frylingkianika (where the Freeleagus family originated) and Potamos, only to be out-voted in such Royalist strongholds as Chora. Source: Hellenic Herald, 16 November, 1926, 19 September, 1929, 20 April, 1933. Interview: Peter Galanis, September, 1967, Sydney.

closer co-operation after 1932 was because a more acceptable bishop occupied the position of Metropolitan of Australia, which was clearly not the case in 1924 - 1928 period. In the 1920's important principles were involved in instituting the Holy Metropolis, such as the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the morality of the Metropolitan, and the respective rights and powers of Metropolis and Greek Orthodox Communities. Yet the role of localist groups was extremely important in determining Metropolis-Community relations and, therefore, the fate of the Holy Metropolis. The inability of Metropolitan Christopher Knetes to win the support of Kytherans, Ithacans and all the Kastellorizans, (the more established groups in Greek communities), was the greatest obstacle preventing the complete institutionalisation of the Holy Metropolis of Australia before 1932.

CHAPTER IV.THE RISE OF THE GREEK ESTABLISHMENT IN AUSTRALIA: 1932 - 1940.

Greek communities in the 1930's, unlike those during the turbulent 1920's, enjoyed considerable religious peace and stability. Communities, by and large, were able to accommodate and absorb incoming settlers while the authority and policies of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, as interpreted and implemented by the new Metropolitan, were acceptable to most people. The exception to the harmony that permeated most communities was in Sydney where the sharp division wrought in the preceding period, the conflicting interests of the two newspapers and certain legal problems peculiar to St. Sophia as a corporate body, obstructed the unity of the community. More formal organisations arose in response to the needs and the size of different groups in the metropolitan communities while a large number of country settlements also underwent the process of combination into formal organisations. But the trend everywhere both by individuals and by organised groups was for co-operation. Much of this co-operation revolved around activities, programmes and policies of Greek Orthodox Communities which enjoyed the sanction of Greek consular representatives and the head of the church. The economic depression, the rise of fascism in Greece, the attitudes of the host society, conflicting interests of groups, newspapers

and individuals, all in their turn influenced the structure of communities and the course of events in them, but on the whole fairly stable Greek ethnic communities emerged by 1940. Dissent from the emerging Greek establishment was not very significant.

The economic depression as well as government restrictions on immigration, particularly the obligation imposed on 'independent settlers' in the years 1934 - 1935 to show £500 landing money, checked the large-scale entry of southern Europeans into Australia.¹ Between 1933 and 1936 inclusive the net intake was only 814 Greek-born migrants (1,783 arrived and 969 departed); of the net intake 470 (or well over half of the number) were females.² This fact, as well as the high departure rate among Greek males, indicates that during these years Greek immigrants were mainly relatives and close friends of the more permanent and successful settlers, many of whom were undoubtedly among the immigration wave of the 1920's. Greek immigration increased after 1936 with the easing of immigration restrictions. In 1936 the Commonwealth Government reduced the landing money requirement for unsponsored immigrants from £500 to £200, while sponsored immigrants with £50 and a guarantee of employment were also permitted to enter. These measures were

¹ C. A. Price, *op.cit.*, p. 92.

² Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: Demography Bulletins, 1932 - 1937.

apparently quite effective.¹ In 1937 alone 1,402 Greeks (mostly males) arrived while only 238 departed: in the following two years over 2,000 more arrived while barely 300 departed.² The rise of fascism in Europe, the fear of war, and improved economic conditions in Australia, were also factors which accelerated the general exodus from Europe and once in Australia people were naturally reluctant to leave. Yet, whatever the effect of these latter factors were in stimulating immigration, most of the Greeks who arrived after 1936 also had a relative, a friend or an acquaintance already in Australia through whom they procured a landing permit. Among these newcomers were also heads of families who had neither time nor the means to bring their families out to Australia before the war broke out. There is no reason to believe that the modus operandi of Greek migration and settlement in Australia in the 1930's was different from what it was in the preceding periods, namely, a chain migration movement. Apparently over half of the Greeks in Australia before 1940 had come from Ithaca, Kythera, Kastellorizo and Peloponnesos,³ Other regions, notably Macedonia, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, Mytilene, and Samos, were also represented in Greek communities so that settlements were, by 1940, ceasing to be dominated by certain regional or local groupings. It was also likely that most Greeks in Australia before 1940 were islanders (even if one does not classify Peloponnesos as an island).

¹ C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 92 - 95

² Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: Demography Bulletins, 1936 - 1941.

³ C. A. Price, op.cit., p. 160.

Australia's stagnant economy in the early 1930's did not encourage the high mobility of Greeks within the continent that was characteristic of Greek settlement in previous decades. This meant that the incoming settlers, by and large, moved into existing settlements to join the earlier pioneers who, more often than not, had sponsored them. Those who shifted from place to place were the itinerant seasonal workers; and quite a large number of shopkeepers who went bankrupt or abandoned their shops (or both) or sold them to try their luck elsewhere again as shopkeepers or in pursuit of any independent form of livelihood that presented itself.¹ Generally, communities were more settled and their numerical size increased steadily, being free from the fluctuating numbers noticeable in several settlements in the 1920's. This

¹ From interviews ^{with} a number of old immigrants, the mobility of shopkeepers was unquestionably high. Typical perhaps is the case of John Psaltis who originated from Sinope, Asia Minor, and emigrated to spend several years in the United States where he was a shopkeeper before arriving in Australia in 1923 to continue his trade, with £800 in his pocket. His movement from shop to shop in the first twenty years was as follows: Melbourne, 1924; Sydney, 1925; Port Adelaide, 1925 - 1928; Murray Bridge, 1929; Mount Gambier, 1930 - 1932; Millicent, 1932 - 1935; Adelaide (unemployed), 1936; and Adelaide, 1937 - 1942, during which time he changed two shops. The reason for discarding his shops were: Melbourne, Sydney, Port Adelaide, - bankruptcy; Murray Bridge - break up of partnership; Mount Gambier - premises sold; Millicent - hostility to him and his family by several townspeople especially by young people who stoned his shop late one Saturday night (see story in The South Eastern Times, 28 May, 1935); Adelaide - premises sold. Thereafter he worked mostly as a kitchen hand until his retirement in 1954. Interview: Mr. and Mrs. J. Psaltis, December, 1968, Adelaide.

lack of mobility and the severity of the economic depression also created closer settlements as well as a need for Greeks to help one another more, all of which in their turn contributed to the formation of more stable and permanent communities.

The 1933 census contains much useful information about the demographic features of the Greek population that is of some relevance to this analysis. The census, taken at the height of the economic depression, cannot purport to give entirely reliable information but it did catch some of the trends, both past and future. First, it gives a useful and comprehensive picture of Greek settlement. From Table IV below, the relatively high degree of urbanisation, a phenomenon explaining Greek community formation, is quite obvious.

1933
in urban settlements
among Greeks

TABLE IV. PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF THE GREEK-BORN IN AUSTRALIA: 1933.

State	Urban						Rural			Migratory			Total		
	Metropolitan			Provincial			Males	Fem.	Total	M.	F.	T.	Males	Fem.	Total
N.S.W.	1,128	370	1,498	751	142	893	452	81	533	16	-	16	2,347	593	2,940
Vic.	948	248	1,196	74	24	98	328	28	356	6	-	6	1,356	300	1,656
Q'ld.	296	107	403	249	93	342	681	193	874	8	-	8	1,234	393	1,627
S.A.	199	91	290	101	61	162	249	31	280	7	1	8	556	184	740
W.A.	469	226	693	87	21	108	437	46	483	6	-	6	999	293	1,292
Tas.	10	3	13	1	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	3	14	3	17
N.T.	-	-	-	31	22	53	4	-	4	-	-	-	35	22	57
F.C.T.	-	-	-	7	1	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	8
Total for the whole of Australia	3,050	1,045	4,095	1,301	364	1,665	2,151	379	2,530	46	1	47	6,548	1,789	8,337

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: the Census of 1933 Vol. I, pp. 734-751.

From the table it can be seen that nearly half (49.2 per cent) of the Greek-born lived in metropolitan areas and a further 20 per cent. in provincial urban centres. This relatively high degree of urbanisation (much higher than that of the total population and also higher than that of immigrant groups such as Germans, Italians, and Yugoslavs, but not of Syrians), is not remarkable if one considers the trades and occupations of Greeks as well as their desire to live in close settlements.¹ Even in rural settlements, which were again more numerous in Queensland than in other States, individual Greek settlers were not very far away from towns that usually contained Greek shopkeepers. Some of these country or non-metropolitan centres containing substantial concentrations of Greeks were Innisfail, Biloela and Thangool, Townsville, Mackay, Cairns, Home Hill, Newcastle, Broken Hill, Mildura, Port Pirie, Thevenard, Kalgoorlie, Geraldton and Bunbury, which, save for a few exceptions, were towns or large urban centres that could draw Greeks together to co-operate and combine formally. Indeed, some of these settlements had by 1932 already undergone the process of social organisation - a phenomenon which was to continue after 1932 because of the increasing size of the settlements and also because formal combination was encouraged by the church.

¹ The degree of urbanisation for the total population and for different immigrant groups varied from State to State but apart from New South Wales, in no other State were Germans, Italians and Yugoslavs more urbanised than Greeks. Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. The Census of 1933, Vol. I, pp. 76-479.

The 1933 census also throws some light on the socio-economic position of Greeks in Australia. In 1933 there were altogether 6,232 Greek-born in the work force: 1,145 or 18 per cent. of the total were employers and 1,535 or 25 per cent. were 'working on own account'. Only 18 per cent. were 'wage or salary earners'. Of the remainder, 33 per cent. were unemployed while 6 per cent. were employed part-time. Other foreign groups were similarly hit equally as hard by the economic depression. Unemployment was as high as 41 per cent. among the Maltese - a figure which was well above 25.5 per cent., the average for the total population. But even for those in employment, conditions of work, remuneration and living were sub-standard. Almost all Greeks employed in cafes and similar establishments worked long hours, often only for food and lodgings. Many of their employers, judging by the rapidity with which shops exchanged hands, were not much better off. This is also illustrated in Table V below which compares the income in 1933 of Greeks and several other immigrant groups with that of the Australian-born breadwinner.

1933
 only 18%
 on their own
 account
 1,535
 25%
 1,145
 18%
 6,232
 18%
 33%
 6%
 41%
 25.5%

1933
 (Japan)

TABLE V. ANNUAL INCOME OF MALE BREADWINNERS IN 1933.
(Percentage of Total in brackets.)

Total Number and Birthplace	No Income	Under £52	£52-£103	£104-£155	£156-£207	£208-£259	Over £260	Not Stated
Australia 1,878,546	235,861 (12.6)	445,805 (23.7)	302,466 (16.1)	215,584 (11.5)	211,969 (11.3)	177,584 (9.5)	248,608 (13.2)	40,669 (2.2)
Italy 18,636	1,954 (10.5)	4,860 (26.1)	4,015 (21.5)	2,779 (14.9)	1,752 (9.4)	987 (5.3)	1,724 (9.3)	565 (3.0)
Greece 6,377	793 (12.4)	1,871 (29.3)	1,441 (22.7)	932 (14.6)	486 (7.6)	274 (4.3)	377 (5.9)	203 (3.1)
Yugoslavia 3,141	414 (13.2)	780 (24.8)	607 (19.3)	364 (11.6)	303 (9.6)	353 (11.2)	211 (6.7)	109 (3.5)
Malta 2,117	430 (20.3)	514 (24.3)	380 (17.9)	260 (12.6)	162 (7.7)	144 (6.8)	171 (8.1)	50 (2.4)
Syria 1,051	178 (16.9)	243 (23.1)	183 (17.4)	109 (10.4)	79 (7.5)	49 (4.7)	190 (18.1)	20 (1.9)

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: The Census of 1933. Vol. II, pp. 1920-1929.

Greeks, unlike say Italians, were not land settlers (a fact lamented by the Metropolitan),¹ so that their relatively high representation in the 'employer' and 'self-employed' occupational categories was due to their position in the catering trades.² This was especially true of Ithacans, Kytherans, Kastellorizans and Peloponneseans, that is the earlier immigrants, 84 per cent. of whom were, according to Price, well-entrenched in the catering trades.³ Although the occupation an immigrant entered was usually determined by the type of occupations his predecessors had pursued, it is not untrue to say that the longer a Greek immigrant lived in Australia the more likely it was that he would become a shopkeeper. The shopkeeper base of Greek communities was therefore retained in the 1930's. As permanent settlers in urban centres, Greek

¹ After his return from a tour of the Queensland settlements the Metropolitan expressed dismay and displeasure to learn that there were only '100 Greek land owners' in Queensland compared to '1000 Italians'. Hellenic Herald, 24 November, 1932.

² By comparison the representation of other groups in the 'employer and self-employed' categories combined were as follows: total population, 22 per cent.; total foreign-born population, 24 per cent.; Yugoslavs, 32 per cent.; Italians, 42 per cent.; Greeks, 43 per cent.; Syrians, 73 per cent. Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: The Census of 1933.

³ C. A. Price, op.cit., p. 160. For details of occupations of Greeks in the pre-1940 period see: C. A. Price, Methods and Statistics of Southern Europeans in Australia, Appendix 75.

*Shopkeepers
role in
Community*

shopkeepers again played the most important role in the affairs of communities assuring the continuing existence of Greek immigrant organisations, supplying leadership for these and determining many of their activities and policies. Again it was largely as shopkeepers that Greeks viewed their social environment and it was as shopkeepers that their host society viewed Greeks. So that attitudes of guest and host had not changed significantly from what these attitudes were in the preceding period.

No other important demographic features are divulged from the 1933 census save the fact that the male:female ratio stood at about 4:1 as against 6:1 in 1921. Throughout the decade a little over 40 per cent, of the Greek-born males contracting marriages in Australia married Australian-born brides, 15 per cent, married women born outside Australia, and a little over 44 per cent, married Greek-born brides.¹ These marriage tendencies were not inconsistent with those of previous decades nor with those of the decade after 1940. It was the absence of Greek women which mainly accounted for the tendency among Greeks to marry outside their own group, not because they were becoming assimilated.

As was seen much of the hostility generated against Greeks arose from their conspicuous manner of life in a society exhibiting considerable anti-foreign and anti-southern European sentiment. The economic depression simply strengthened this sentiment as was

¹ See table of marriage tendencies among Greeks in M. P. Tsounis "Greeks in South Australia", op.cit., pp. 42-42.

shown by the 'anti-dago riots' in Kalgoorlie in January, 1934, in which Greeks, among other southern Europeans, suffered considerable losses in property, being also greatly demoralised and humiliated because of their forceful ejection from the town by a 'mob of British-Australian miners'.¹ Greeks, moreover, had to contend continually with bad customers - those who refused to pay for their meals by using a number of pretexts and reasons such as that the shop and the service did not measure up to standards of hygiene, or because it was smart to trick 'a greasy Greek cafe proprietor', or simply because the hungry customer was broke or drunk or both. Every Greek

¹ For more details of these riots see C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 209-210. Apart from the victims of the riot other Greeks naturally viewed the attitude of those responsible for the riot with dismay, disgust and anger. Yet the riot invited the following interesting comments in an editorial in the Hellenic Herald, 8 February, 1934. 'Place yourself in the shoes of the Australian unemployed. What would you think of foreigners? Assume Australians in Greece lived separately and earned a living by hard work. What would Greek unemployed do? We must always cultivate good relations with the people of this hospitable country.' The Hellenic Herald, 28 June, 1924, also reported that the Metropolitan visited the settlement in June, and that the visit helped greatly the efforts made by authorities to win back the confidence of the riot victims. Peter Manos (interviewed in Adelaide, October, 1969), who lost his shop during the riots, tells a different story. According to this informant most of the southern Europeans' shops, homes, shacks, and tents, were destroyed and many were looted and burnt, while the loss to property was estimated to be about £100,000. A committee (on which Peter Manos served) to help the victims could only manage to procure £10,000 in compensation for the losses suffered and then only after considerable pressure by the victims and wrangling by the authorities concerned. The authorities, moreover, had failed to act in time at the beginning and during the riots which lasted for two to three days.

restaurant owner has stories to tell of such difficult customers, and frequent quarrels and scenes, the episodes usually occurring on busy Saturday evenings. The more general problem facing Greek shopkeepers as a group was again, as in the past, tackled by frequent attempts to cultivate amicable public relations through measures which had by now become standard practice and which were often propounded by the Hellenic Herald in editorials. To summarise and perhaps re-iterate, some of the measures were:

'politeness, cleanliness, cultured decorations, regular hours, fair dealings, change old products, watch the market and buy cheap, pay good wages to staff and avoid the habit of sackings when the season ends, donate to charity, participate in social life of the town'

There were also frequent admonitions 'not to break the law' and finally, in 1939, a warning that it was necessary to modernise for 'the time when our compatriots could open a shop with ten banana crates has gone'.¹ Many of these measures and attitudes were (and are) the sine quo non of every shopkeeper but because of the preponderance of Greek shopkeepers these matters were also the concern of the whole Greek community. This explains why gifts made

¹ Hellenic Herald, 14 June, 1934; 8 November, 1934; 29 March, 1937; 24 March, 1938; 16 March, 1939. Among the numerous references to shopkeepers was also the following advertisement appearing in the Hellenic Herald, 10 January, 1935. 'E. Colanges, proprietor of Canberra Cafe, Bellinger, New South Wales, strongly advises all Greek shopkeepers to buy his own brand of cockroach and mice exterminator now selling under the trade mark 'Hercules'. It has been approved by health authorities and it is decidedly cheaper than paying fines if cockroaches and mice are found in your shops by health authorities'.

by individual Greeks to charity were greatly applauded, why social functions to raise funds for similar purposes were supported by the Greek community as a whole and why there were frequent reminders to Greeks to be hospitable, law-abiding and to support public and charitable deeds.¹

There were, of course, other factors which fashioned the public image of Greeks as there were also different measures by which such image was promoted. Greece's traditional political alliance with Great Britain, apart from her indecision during World War I, was a factor in the Greeks' favour in Australia and one which Greeks often reminded British-Australians in their private conversations, in social gatherings when the opportunity presented itself and in the press. The marriage² of the Duke of Kent to Princess Marina of

¹ Apart from frequent social gatherings held by individual organisations or by the large metropolitan communities to raise money for charity in Australia often in response to appeals from civic leaders, contributions were sometimes spontaneous and several Greek societies made it their practice to raise money for charity at their annual dances. Such annual events were Grecian Balls which originated in Sydney in 1924, and which were also given by Melbourne Greeks after 1937 and by the small settlement in Orange, New South Wales, in 1938 and 1939. For the Grecian Ball in Orange see: Hellenic Herald, 17 November, 1938, and 26 October, 1939. For articles describing valuable contributions to charity by individuals see: Hellenic Herald, 29 March, 1937, 24 March, 1938. One, Agapitos Calopedos, donated £1,000 to various institutions in Sydney out of his winnings from a lottery.

² Hellenic Herald, 6 December, 1934, devoted much space in these two editions on the royal marriage. In the editions 22 and 29 November, 1934, a front page 'splash' also greeted the Duke of Gloucester who was then visiting Australia. In Brisbane a collection to buy the Duchess of Kent a present yielded £31. 11s. 6d. (Hellenic Herald, 20 June, 1935).

Greece in 1934 cemented further this traditional alliance. The restoration of the Greek monarchy late in 1935 was similarly considered an important step binding the two people together though there were also some misgivings about the Greek Royal family especially in view of King George II's close association with the Greek dictator, John Metaxas. Among the enthusiastic supporters of Greek Monarchy was A. A. Alam, a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales and also president of the Lebanese Maronite Association of Australia who expressed the hope that 'Greece will, like England, make the throne a symbol of unity'.¹ In this and other messages which appeared in the Hellenic Herald, Alam expressed much pride in his association with Greeks of whom, he noted, 'less than one per cent. have been convicted of a criminal offence and none have mounted our scaffold guilty of murder'.²

Circumstances and reports that contributed to improving the standing of Greeks in the general community were always given wide publicity in the Greek press. In the context of conflicting cultures and loyalties evident so far, the Greek press in Australia had, of necessity, to fulfil an ambivalent role, namely, to promote Greece's national aspirations (of which the preservation of the hellenicity of Greeks was part) and simultaneously assist Greek immigrants to become assimilated and loyal Australian citizens. This dichotomy in roles was made acute by events such as the rise of the Metaxas dictatorship

¹ Hellenic Herald, 5 December, 1935, and 26 November, 1936.

² ibid.

in Greece and the approach of World War II as well as by the manifold pressures on Greeks to conform to their new social environment.

The question of the assimilation of Greeks is a more general theme in this research. But something needs to be said about how Greeks reacted either as individuals or as groups when they were called upon to express their loyalty to two different nations, particularly after 1936 when Greece fell under a regime which demanded complete loyalty of Greeks at home and abroad.

The regime of General John Metaxas exhibited most of the qualities of an orthodox fascist state even though it tolerated and was generally able to work closely with the Greek monarchy and the Greek Orthodox Church.¹ Having become recognised as the official government of Greece and in accordance with past practice it was accepted as such by Greeks in Australia except for some initial opposition from the Hellenic Herald,² occasional mild criticism from the Ethnikon Vema, and adamant and persistent opposition from a few Greek leftists,³ Apart from the support of community leaders, the

¹ For a brief assessment of the Metaxas regime see: C. M. Woodhouse, The Story of Modern Greece, London, 1968, pp. 230-237.

² Hellenic Herald (3 September, 1936) in an editorial under the caption 'Greece under Fascism' said that the Metaxas regime was similar to those of Germany, Italy, Poland and Rumania, and latterly of Spain, that all basic freedoms are denied and that there were both hopes and fears from the regime. Subsequently, however, the paper's policy treated the regime with more favour as it did previous Greek governments.

³ The Ethnikon Vema's attitude (in the absence of copies of this newspaper) cannot be given other than to say from information from numerous interviews that its policy tended to be slightly critical of Metaxas. This is not to say that Ethnikon Vema discarded its avowed policy of supporting 'authorities, nation and religion'.

consuls and clergymen who were more or less committed to support the Greek government of the day, Metaxas also found a very enthusiastic exponent in Australia. He was John Panayotopoulos, owner, manager, and editor of the Greek newspaper Phos, in Melbourne. Besides founding Phos late in 1936, Panayotopoulos was also instrumental in founding the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion of Australia, a body with its headquarters and most of its members in Melbourne. Phos subsequently (in 1941) became the official organ of the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion but as a newspaper it gave unbounded support to Metaxas whose dictatorship it later considered to have been necessary, 'despotic and not tyrannical', and to have rejuvenated the Greek nation after years of misrule by a 'prostituted parliament'.¹

Panayotopoulos and his coterie in Melbourne also became the protagonists in Australia of a fund-raising campaign on behalf of the Greek Air Force, launched in Greece in 1937 and to which Greeks abroad

¹ For these and similar comments by Panayotopoulos see Phos, 14 February, 1945, 29 October, 1947, and passim. The official view of the Metaxas regime, given by the Consul General, Emil Vryzakis, was not substantially different from that of Panayotopoulos. In a message delivered on the occasion marking the third anniversary of the Metaxas coup, 4 August, 1936, the Consul General said, inter alia, the following: 'For 25 years, from 1915 to 1935, when King George II was restored to the throne, Greece, owing to partisan disputes, lived in a state of unrest, which prevented the normal development and progress of the people. When the danger culminated and Greece found herself on the edge of the abyss on 4 August, 1936, General Metaxas was empowered by King George to dissolve Parliament and govern by decrees. Since then the country has enjoyed paternal government.' Hellenic Herald, 10 August, 1939.

were asked to contribute. As was normal, Greek consulates working through community and church leaders were asked to support the campaign but on this occasion Panayotopoulos, working through the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion, set up the Panhellenic Central Committee after July, 1937, and assumed sole responsibility for the campaign, shunning the Consul General and other enthusiasts.¹ Despite the official backing of the Metropolitan,² consulates and the Hellenic Herald (the latter of which strongly questioned the right of Panayotopoulos and the Legion to monopolise the work of such an important national undertaking),³ the collection was disappointing. Not more than about £800 is recorded as having been raised throughout Australia in a campaign which lasted for nearly a year: of this amount £722. 18s. Od. was raised in Melbourne but £500 came from the consul himself in Melbourne, Anthony J. J. Lucas.⁴

There were other reasons for the relatively small amount raised for the Greek Air Force other than the attitude of Panayotopoulos, Metaxas's self-appointed leader in Australia. Among these

¹ Hellenic Herald, 1, 8 July, 1937, and passim.

² For the Metropolitan's encyclical supporting the finance drive for the Greek Air Force see, Hellenic Herald, 10 March, 1938, and Phos, 23 March, 1938.

³ Hellenic Herald, 8 July, 1937.

⁴ The only recorded collection results were: Melbourne £722. 18s. Od. (most of which came from Itacaans and very little from organisations); and Brisbane, £102. 12s. 6d. (the collection there was undertaken by the Greek Consul). Hellenic Herald, 23 June, 7 July, 1938, and Phos, 17 November, 1937, 11 May, 15 June, and 13 July, 1938, and passim.

reasons was the political opposition to the Metaxas regime itself and to the cordial relations that were being cultivated with Nazi Germany¹ and consequently concern as to the possible future political alignment of Greece in the light of the looming world crisis.

Metaxas did, in October, 1940, throw in his lot on the side of Great Britain against the Axis powers, but this political alignment was not obvious in 1938.² Apart from these apprehensions felt by Greeks in Australia, Greek leftists were consistently agitating against Metaxas including agitation against fund-raising for the Greek air Force.³ There was also another event which eventually thwarted rather effectively the Greek Air Force fund and this was

¹ Hellenic Herald, 17 March, 1938, for example gave a wide coverage to a visit by the leader of the Hitler youth movement in Greece where he was welcomed at a rally organised by Metaxas's National Youth Organisation (E.O.N.). This, among other similar reports, undoubtedly strengthened the belief among many Greeks in Australia that Greece was becoming politically aligned to Germany.

² Constantine Tsoucalas, The Greek Tragedy, (Penguin Books), 1969, pp. 55-56. C. M. Woodhouse, The Story of Modern Greece, op.cit., p.233, contends that Metaxas 'was neither pro-German nor pro-allied but pro-Greek'. Yet there was little doubt in the minds of many Greeks about the dictators pro-German sentiment.

³ The contents of a leaflet issued by the leftists in Sydney opposing the fund-raising drive for the Greek Air Force included (according to the authors of the leaflet) the following retort: 'For what reason does Dictator Metaxas need aeroplanes other than to be able to flee when the Greek people rise against him!'. Interview: George Margaritis, October, November, 1967, Sydney.

another fund-raising campaign in support of the R.A.A.F. which had got under way by early July, 1938. This fund was initiated by the Ethnikon Vema which was instrumental in setting up a 'People's Committee' comprised of the heads of most Greek organisations in Sydney.¹ The Hellenic Herald, unlike Phos, which ignored the fund-raising activity, threw in its full support behind this body which conducted a successful campaign (lasting until early 1939) and netted at least £2,550 for the R.A.A.F.² In contrast to the few donors for the Greek Air Force whose names appeared in Greek, the many names of the contributors (and often enough the names of the shops) to the R.A.A.F. fund were, without exception, published in the Hellenic Herald in English.³

These differences in the two fund-raising campaigns when considered in the context of the times illustrate several problems Greeks faced that relate to such things as national loyalties and to their image in Australian society. The points can now be

¹ The following organisations were represented on this committee: The Kytherian Association, Cypriot Brotherhood, Helmos, Ithacan Brotherhood, both St. Sophia and Holy Trinity. Hellenic Herald, 7 July, 1938.

² Hellenic Herald (7 July, 1938) denied rumours that it opposed such a finance drive. If these rumours were true they were certainly dispelled by the publicity it gave to the campaign from July, 1938, onwards. By October, 1939, the amount collected was £2,554. 19s. Od. Hellenic Herald, 12 October, 1939.

³ The campaign on behalf of the R.A.A.F. attracted the anticipated attention and praise of the Australian authorities, the public and the press, especially if the amounts donated were large. This was the case of John Kouvellis, a wealthy Greek in Brisbane, who contributed £210. See Hellenic Herald, 10 and 17 January, 1939, which carries Australian press reports on John Kouvellis and on the campaign.

summarised: first, Greeks were sensitive to the problem of dual national loyalty, particularly after 1936 when increasing demands were made on them to express their loyalty to a more authoritarian government at home; second, Greeks felt the need to express their loyalty to Australia especially as the war approached as well as the associated need to improve their standing in the community in which they lived; third, different groups and individuals expressed such loyalties in different ways and to different degrees; fourth, the role of Greek newspapers in such problems was an active one as it was in the whole life of Greeks in Australia; last, the group orientated feature of communities was clearly demonstrated: this, in part determined the degree, and the way in which, such loyalties were expressed: it was obvious, for example, that each newspaper placed a different emphasis on both fund-raising campaigns.

Much more will be said shortly about the role of the various groups in the communities but there is another problem which Greeks as a whole faced, particularly as World War II approached, which is again related to their national loyalties and to their standing in the Australian community. The problem was that Greeks were very easily mistaken for Italians, a precarious position indeed when Italy declared war against Great Britain on 10 June, 1940, particularly for Greeks from Rhodes and the Dodecanese Islands who came to Australia with Italian passports.¹ Members of this latter group

¹ Phos, 12 June, 1940, asserts that at least 330 Greek shopkeepers had assembled outside the Greek consulate in Melbourne in the early morning of 11 June, 1940, and demanded protection from 'a few irate young Australians' who mistook several of them for Italians.

were naturally quick to proclaim their true Greek origin to Australian authorities who had begun interning a number of Italians, but this hardly solved the problem so far as the public was concerned, of identifying Greeks from Italians.

One interesting and very effective measure that was taken to identify Greeks was to issue posters or notices with titles such as, This is a Greek Shop or This is a Greek Establishment, and variations of these, which were displayed in Greek shops, and rather proudly, too, after Greece went to war against Italy on 28 October, 1940.¹ The responsibility of the work associated with issuing such notices was undertaken by Greek consulates as well as by the Greek-Australian League, a body founded in Sydney in May, 1940, and which, it was claimed, was in close touch with Australian authorities.² The aim of the League, a branch of which was to be set up in each State, was

¹ There were quite a number of variations to such notices and in the course of the war some shopkeepers apparently devised their own. The writer himself remembers one displayed at a fish shop in Gouger Street, Adelaide, as late as 1948. It was written by a professional sign writer and it contained the Greek and Australian flags under which was written: 'The owner of this shop is a naturalised British subject.' In Melbourne the consulate issued its own posters which included its insignia and the following notice: 'We certify that the proprietor of this establishment is of Greek origin.' Phos, 12 June, 1940.

² See Hellenic Herald (13 June, 1940) which gives an account of the aims and anticipated structure of this organisation. It urged all Greeks to join and thus procure the League's emblem which would be useful to their shops. The article also noted that the League was set up after 'a recommendation from the Australian authorities'.

'to defend the rights of Greeks, cultivate friendly relations with Australians, and participate in local philanthropic and patriotic deeds',¹ But apart from its initial activity in issuing notices and its emblems² to Greek shopkeepers, not much more is known of its activities. Little indeed, as will be seen in Chapter V, was needed to be done after 28 October, 1940, to improve the status of Greeks in the Australian community. But by May, 1940, the League did try to overcome what was felt to be an acute problem. This is shown by the Greek Consul General's remarks in a radio address he gave on 23 May, 1940:

'I,...appeal to the Australian public not to class all southern Europeans together, but to consider every Greek as favourably disposed to this great country.... To prevent any confusion my compatriots have formed a Greek-Australian League whose object is to strengthen the ties binding the two countries and their respective peoples and to promote closer co-operation and mutual understanding.'³

.....

Much of the stability of Greek communities after 1932 derived from an acceptable Metropolitan and from his policy of basing his diocese on Greek Orthodox Communities and on organisations or groups which had come to recognise the important role of Communities. The

¹ Hellenic Herald, 23 May, 1940.

² The emblem contained the League's name and the Greek and Australian flags. Hellenic Herald, 13 June, 1940.

³ The transcript of the full address given over 2FC on 23 May, 1940, appears in Hellenic Herald, 30 May, 1940.

Metropolitan also succeeded in pacifying the passions of many disputants, instilling a sense of duty in his flock to the church, and generally managed to get Greeks to co-operate on a number of issues that helped bind communities. The communities in Perth and Melbourne had, by 1932, already made considerable headway in uniting and co-operating around more common interests but the problem of pacifying the warring factions in other communities, particularly those in Sydney, was left to the Metropolitan. But just as the schism in communities after 1924 was caused by factors which were peculiar to communities themselves as well as more remote factors such as decisions and events occurring in Constantinople, Greece and America, so, too, were the factors which were to determine the terms of settlement of the schism in Australia.

The church dispute in Australia after 1924 had its counterpart in America where it occurred on a much larger scale. The Independent Greek Orthodox Church of America which had also given spiritual guidance to the Australian schismatics, had by 1930 grown immensely, claiming to have 130 priests in the service.¹ The situation of the Greek church in America was consequently of some concern to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and to the Greek Government. The Greek Parliament in 1928 had cause to debate such problems as the validity, or otherwise, of religious ceremonies performed in schismatic churches.²

¹ Hellenic Herald, 29 May, 1930.

² Theodore Saloutos, *op.cit.*, p. 297.

Yet both authorities were helpless in legally compelling the dissident groups to conform to and accept the authority of the official church in America, under Archbishop Alexander since 1923. Not only had the schism become institutionalised as did the split in Sydney, but it had also apparently become crystallised along socio-economic class lines. According to Theodore Saloutos '...Alexander's canonical churches and Alexander's Archdiocese were the up and coming members of the business community and the professional classes who adopted a contemptuous attitude towards the "urban peasants" identified with the rival faction',¹ (that is, the Independent Church which it may be recalled, commenced as a break-away royalist group in Lowell, Massachusetts, under Metropolitan Vasileos). The only equivalent to the 'urban peasants' in Australia was the 'barefoot battalion', cited in Chapter III, but hardly the well-to-do Ithacans and Kytherans on whom the rebellion against Metropolitan Christopher was largely based. One difference and another real obstacle to religious peace in America was the position of the five bishops. The replacement of bishops as measures in resolving church conflicts was not unusual (as witnessed in the case of Metropolitan Christopher Knetes), but it was not always easy to affect transfers of bishops, such as Archbishop Alexander and Metropolitan Vasileos, who were heads of churches. Both were

¹ Theodore Saloutos, op.cit., pp. 295-296.

important clerics, both it seems had to go if there was to be a settlement, and both had to be installed in dioceses commensurate with those they held - a task by no means easy because it could have initiated a chain reaction of replacements within the Greek Orthodox Church hierarchy throughout the Greek-speaking world. This then was the problem which faced the Greek church abroad, and it had learned, as in the case of Metropolitan Vasileos in 1923, that a Greek bishop without a See heralded a schism. Not until both clerics were accommodated in dioceses in Greece in 1930, was a beginning made to terminate the schism in America.¹ Earlier, appeals made by Greek Government and church authorities to Greeks in America to bury their differences, were fruitless, as was the mission undertaken by Metropolitan Damaskinos of Corinth who came to the United States as Patriarchal Exarch to seek a way out of the impasse.²

Even so the religious settlement and subsequently the new church administration that came into being after 1931 in America under Archbishop Athenagoras (the present Ecumenical Patriarch), did not easily erase the sharp divisions that resulted from years of internecine dispute among Greek communities. In 1931, however, a beginning was made to solve several important problems that confronted the church. In general terms the problem was how to retain the

¹ Metropolitan Vasileos was appointed Drama (Northern Greece), while Alexander exchanged dioceses with Metropolitan Athenagoras from the island of Corfu. Theodore Saloutos, op.cit., pp. 299-301.

² ibid.

hierarchical nature of the Greek Orthodox Church and have it planted on parishes or Communities which, if not actually democratic in composition and in practice, were situated in a society which espoused democracy. In America the church tried to solve the contradiction by drawing both the clergy and people into its administration at parish level and into policy-making at periodical clergy-laity conferences. But despite all these the church in America evolved into a hierarchical and centralised body,¹ At the top was the Archbishop with powers to appoint auxiliary bishops with no territorial claim, (unlike the previous system), and the right to have the last word in the appointment and discharge of priests in parishes or Communities.² The Archbishop was himself responsible to the Ecumenical Patriarchate to which the members of the faith could also carry their grievances.³ But the centralised nature of the church in America fashioned in 1931, was perpetuated, despite subsequent attempts at decentralisation.⁴ The American system became a model for Greek church administration abroad and although it has more relevance to Australia after 1959 when it was implemented than it did in the 1930's, the settlement of the schism in America in 1931 was not without its influence on the Australian diocese.

¹ Theodore Saloutos, op.cit., pp. 395-408

² ibid.

³ ibid.

⁴ ibid.

The religious settlement in America necessitating, as it did, the intervention of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Greek Government and Greek Church authorities, was hailed in Australia as a panacea for the evils of the day. The Hellenic Herald welcomed the settlement even though it meant the dissolution of the Independent Greek Orthodox Church of America whose cause the newspaper had championed ever since 1926.¹ The dissolution of this church also meant that any would-be schismatics were denied spiritual leadership. But the measures taken by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to put its Australian diocese in order were delayed even though the flock in Australia in 1931 had doubled its number compared with the numbers in 1924. Again, it was clear that the Ecumenical Patriarchate had difficulty or was unable to find a willing Metropolitan to fill its vacant Australian See. The Patriarchate, however, did find a willing fifty-year old Archimandrite who, if consecrated a bishop, was prepared to serve in Australia. He was Timotheos Evangelinidis, a native of the island of Mytilene, formerly a rector of the Community's church in Bucharest as well as the Patriarchate's legate (apocrisarios) in the same city.² Even though Timotheos was

¹ Hellenic Herald, 7 August, 1930, at a time when attempts were being made to solve the dispute in America, was still, editorially, proclaiming that it stood behind the Independent Greek Orthodox Church, but it raised no objection when the church was finally disbanded late in 1931.

² Hellenic Herald, 29 September, 1932. In giving the Metropolitan's short biography the newspaper noted that Timotheos had studied at the Theological School in Smyrna and later in that of Chalkis, that he was bishop's chief assistant or more correctly first chancellor (protosyngelos) in the Metropolis of Methynis, and that he was pursued and eventually gaoled by Germans and Bulgarians during World War I while in Rumania.

consecrated a bishop in November, 1931,¹ he did not arrive in Australia until July, 1932, much later than his anxious flock expected him. This delayed action both by the Patriarchate and by Metropolitan Timotheos (who very likely had second thoughts about taking up his new appointment) again indicates that the Australian diocese was a relatively unimportant branch of the World's Orthodoxy.

Before Metropolitan Timotheos arrived some of the ground upon which he was to exercise his authority had been prepared. Archimandrite Athenagoras Varaclos, the defrocked rector of the Holy Trinity Church and leader of the Australian schismatics, was re-instated as a canonical clergyman though he was transferred and appointed to an American parish. He acquiesced in his transfer and left Sydney in February, 1924, farewelled by his large, faithful and sad flock.² The Hellenic Herald was also instrumental in paving the way for the Metropolitan's entry to Australia by expressing full confidence in the wisdom of Greek Government and Church authorities. When the Metropolitan arrived in Perth the Hellenic Herald exclaimed: 'At last our Saviour has come!'³ The

¹ Hellenic Herald, 14 January, 1932.

² Hellenic Herald, 11 February, 1932. In an editorial the newspaper said that 'we are sad and we are happy' and noted that the whole Greek community (including the secretary of St. Sophia) was down at the wharf to bid farewell to the Archimandrite who for eight years had served the community unselfishly.

³ Hellenic Herald, 28 July, 1932.

Hellenic Herald's attitude to the St. Sophia Cathedral as an institution also changed, becoming more conciliatory and tolerant after 1932. The Hellenic Herald, however, still expressed considerable hostility to its opponents and nursed a deep hatred for several people associated with St. Sophia and in particular against Elias Bizannes, the editor of Ethnikon Vema. Bizannes was a Kytheran who emigrated from the once flourishing Kytheran community of Smyrna, Asia Minor, where he was born and bred: he had married into the Marinakis family and joined the staff of Ethnikon Vema in 1926.¹ According to the Hellenic Herald it was Bizannes and the Marinakis clique or several die-hard Knetes loyalists who were really the cause of the split and who were obstructing the road to unity in the Sydney community.² Other obstacles to unity and pacification of the community existed but the conflicting interests of these two newspapers was an obstacle the Metropolitan could not overcome. Yet, the change in the Hellenic Herald's policy of being a sectarian organ of the Sydney Community to one of being an important communication medium at the disposal of the official church and national authorities, of ceasing to differentiate between 'the barefooted and the elect',³ also greatly facilitated the Metropolitan's work

¹ Interview, Elias(Leon) Bizannes, November, 1967.

² See Hellenic Herald after 2 February, 1933, for the fierce attacks on Elias Bizannes and the Ethnikon Vema.

³ The Hellenic Herald dropped its subtitle of 'Official Organ of the Greek Community of N.S.W.' on 21 May, 1931, and on 9 March, 1933, claimed that it no longer recognised 'parties, barefooted and elect' in the community, a policy it further claimed was bound 'to lose us friends'.

both in 1932 and subsequently: there was also a general willingness by Greeks to forget the tumultuous past which had divided them and which placed considerable strains on group and family loyalties and undermined their organisations and institutions.

From his very first day in Australia the Metropolitan found considerable respect and assistance from his flock and from Australians, particularly members of the Anglican Church. After spending several weeks in Perth he commenced his long train tour of Australia which was to take him as far north as Innisfail, Queensland, before he finally settled at the seat of the Holy Metropolis in Sydney in November, 1932.¹ During his long journey he met large numbers of his flock, frequently broke his itinerary to conduct services in otherwise isolated country settlements and he also acquired a comprehensive picture of the problems his first diocese faced. Of all the communities, that of Sydney disturbed him most, and it was here that he threw in most of his efforts and his diplomacy.

The Metropolitan's first measure in solving what he called 'the gordian knot of the Community problem' in Sydney, was to form an inter-church twelve-member committee whose task was to effect union, enosis.² But by union he meant an end to the factional warfare, not the union of the two churches under the Greek Orthodox

¹For details of the Metropolitan's journey see the Hellenic Herald, July - November, 1932.

²Hellenic Herald, 22 and 29 September, 1932.

Community for which the latter campaigned,¹ For this to occur it would have meant the difficult problem of dissolving the St. Sophia organisation. Apart from opposition by St. Sophia loyalists to the proposed dissolution of their parish, St. Sophia Cathedral Incorporated was heavily in debt to the Bank of New South Wales and to several of its members - a debt which in 1933 stood at £7,160.² What was worse, a clause in St. Sophia's constitution stipulated that should the organisation go into dissolution its remaining assets after paying off the creditors were to be surrendered to the Sydney Hospital. Yet there was so much pressure on the Metropolitan from Community members that he decided, against his better judgment, to press for organic union of the two churches. He was also forced to abandon his scheme to set up the Regional (State) Metropolitan Council (Eparchiakon Metropolitan Symvoulion) - a body which was to consist of representatives from all bona fide

¹ More specifically the Metropolitan's ruling was: 'In a city of two or more churches they are to be considered as parishes...one, the Cathedral where the Metropolitan officiates and conducts the official church and national doxologies, though not neglecting the spiritual needs of others. Each church is to be administered by a council according to its own constitution and there is to be no interference in one another's affairs' (Hellenic Herald, 5 January, 1933). Clearly the Metropolitan was conceding to the status quo which staunch Community supporters would not accept.

² Hellenic Herald, 25 May, 1933.

organisations (including the Community) and which was to function as a diocesan auxiliary.¹ The movement in Sydney, as in other ethnic communities, was for one united Greek Orthodox Community. The way to achieve this union in Sydney, agreed upon by the parties concerned in May, 1933, was to raise money to pay off St. Sophia's debts, amend St. Sophia's constitution in order to free the church's obligations to the Sydney Hospital, recruit members to make St. Sophia 'more democratic', and eventually amalgamate the two churches under one Community.² While a large number³ were recruited after May, there was apparently no way out of St. Sophia's legal problems. The collection on behalf of St. Sophia was equally disappointing. It was undertaken by the Metropolitan himself and supported by the Hellenic Herald, but it yielded not much more than £1,600: of this

¹ Two factors account for the rejection of the Regional Metropolitan Council. First, it would have undermined the authority of the Community. Second, St. Sophia loyalists moved quickly and rather prematurely founded such a Council early in 1933. The Council comprised of representatives from St. Sophia, the newly founded POTNAS (Panhellenic Federation of Youth of Australia), the Greek Progressive Association 'Byzantium', and, it was claimed, from the Kytheran and Kastellorizan fraternities. The latter claim was disputed as was the Metropolitan's approval for St. Sophia's loyalists to act. Hellenic Herald, 5 and 12 January, 2, 9, 16 and 23 February, 1933.

² Hellenic Herald, 25 May, 1933.

³ At a general meeting of St. Sophia in September, 1933, no less than 230 members were reportedly present. Hellenic Herald, 7 and 14 September, 1933.

amount £848 was donated by several of St. Sophia's creditors themselves while the Metropolitan's '6,000 mile tour of Sydney and New South Wales country towns' gave about £800.¹ To make matters worse, at an enlarged general meeting called in September to discuss union, a bitter quarrel ensued when it came to paying the £800 to St. Sophia. The quarrel ensued partly because Community supporters were not satisfied that St. Sophia leaders had honoured their part of the agreement and partly because of the demand by the unemployed and leftists that the 'people's money' ought to go to those in need, and not into St. Sophia's coffers.²

This quarrel postponed for the time being concerted efforts to unify the two churches but gave some respite from the preceding troubles. The £800 was deposited in a trust account in the care of the Metropolitan to await further unification developments: the two churches had to learn to co-exist just as the Metropolitan suggested in January, 1933: and so did the two newspapers which also eased their open polemics after mid-1934.³ In the meantime, the Metropolitan produced another conciliatory measure to end the schism: it was an encyclical proclaiming that all hitherto invalid sacraments

¹ For the fund-raising campaign see: Hellenic Herald, 25 May, 31 August, 7 September, 1933, and passim.

² For a complete account of these events see: Hellenic Herald, 7, 14 and 21 September, 1933.

³ Hellenic Herald, 28 June, 1934, said that as far as it was concerned the quarrel with the Ethnikon Vema was off even though the latter paper had been for ten years calling those associated with the Community and Holy Trinity, 'Bolsheviks'.

were, without further formalities, canonical.¹

Because of the existence of two churches, or what in effect were two Greek Orthodox Communities, in Sydney, a somewhat different ethnic community structure operated in the 1930's compared with those in other capitals. The old Community's traditionally large membership was retained, being as high as 579 financial members in 1936, while the list of members (both financial and unfinancial) probably reached the 1,000 mark by 1940.² The backbone of the Community was in Sydney where most of its members lived and where its activities were concentrated.³ Members' participation in Community

¹ The encyclical was delivered during Sunday service (21 May, 1933), at Holy Trinity and published in the Hellenic Herald, 25 May, 1933.

² In the absence of Community's records these figures are taken from the Hellenic Herald. On 12 March, 1936, the Hellenic Herald gives the official figure of Community members (supplied by Community officers) as 579, and on 14 March, 1940, as 522. On 13 July, 1939, Community membership is recorded to have been as high as 850, but there is no indication whether the number includes both financial and unfinancial members. There is no reason to doubt the figure of 1,000 members quoted in the text which includes all those who at one time or other were Community members.

³ Membership in the countryside was recorded (Hellenic Herald, 15 February, 1934) to have been as high as 450, but this figure seems to refer to Greeks resident outside Metropolitan Sydney who were members some time in the past and most of whom did not bother to renew their annual subscription fee. As a result, few country members voted for the Community Council: the greatest number of country voters was in 1934 when over 60 ballot papers were received, 57 of which arrived too late to be counted. Hellenic Herald, 29 March, 1934.

affairs was high and energetic, indicated by large attendances at general meetings (often over 500 members) and the high vote cast at council elections: 448 members voted in 1934, 368 in 1936, and 321 in 1940.¹ Most members and certainly most, if not all, councillors were shopkeepers and property owners.² This social composition of the Community was not different from that of other Communities. The Sydney Community was also similar to its sister bodies in other capitals in that there was a decrease in regional, (in this case, Kytheran) influence,³ office seekers aspired to become elected to the council and finally to the presidency, and its social functions were well attended. While members in all Communities exhibited intense interest in the election of their officers, the interest in the Sydney elections was exceptional.⁴

¹ For the votes cast at elections see the Hellenic Herald, 29 March, 1934; 5 March, 1936; and 14 March, 1940.

² See especially the Hellenic Herald, 10 May, 1934, for short biographies and the social position of Community councillors. The only person who was not a shopkeeper was Dr. G. Tachmindjis.

³ Although Kytherans generally remained loyal to the Community, their influence, measured by their representation on the council, was decreasing. The Kytherans on the Community's council for the different years stood thus: 1923, 10; 1926, 8; 1931, 8; 1934, 5; 1936, 5; 1940, 4. Kytherans, however, held the presidency throughout the 1930's. S. Andronicus (1931-1933); K. I. Kassimatis (1934-1935); George Comino (1936-1940).

⁴ This was due to the Community's large membership, to the politics of factional divisions, but also because according to the 1928 constitution the number of candidates seeking office had to be 28 (twice the number of councillors required); the number who actually stood was sometimes greater, being 29 in 1931; 35, 1934; 28, 1936; and 29 in 1940. Hellenic Herald, 19 February, 1931; 29 March, 1934; 5 March, 1936; 14 March, 1940.

But apart from the Community's church activities and the maintenance of a school through its rather active agency, the Community Educational Association, few other activities and policies helped its further growth. The Community was not in the process of growth as were Communities in Perth, Brisbane and Adelaide, nor was it in debt as was the Melbourne Community in the early 1930's, so that the Sydney Community did not need the assistance of other Greek organisations. Another very important factor limiting Community growth in terms of activity and the acquisition of assets, was the existence of St. Sophia. As long as St. Sophia operated outside the auspices of the Community, it was not possible for the Community to perform the important role of Communities in other capitals. St. Sophia was, in any case, consolidating its position by gaining new recruits after May, 1933, by unavoidable intermingling of the two congregations such as through marriages and baptismal relationships, by the support it received from Hellenic Club members including a lump sum grant of £800 from the Club's treasury in 1939,¹ and lastly because St. Sophia was the only cathedral of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia.

Whereas, therefore, there were a number of factors working towards the rise of one powerful Greek Orthodox Community in Sydney that could have conceivably united the ethnic community, this road

¹ Hellenic Herald, 23 March, 1939.

was blocked by St. Sophia. This in part explains why unification was sought by a number of people through the dissolution of St. Sophia and why the plan to unify was not abandoned despite the formidable obstacles that presented themselves in 1933.¹ There were other reasons why all Greeks had more or less become committed to work for union of the two churches such as the need to avoid disputes among the various groups and even families, members of which were often obliged to patronise one and not the other church. The question that confronted Sydney Greeks was, therefore, how to bring about church union under one Greek Orthodox Community. Not much could be done, as was realised in 1933, to effect union by dissolving St. Sophia and the matter was left to rest until 1938, when another concentrated effort at unification was made. Before considering these measures and their consequences, other relevant facets of the Community need some examination.

The divisions in and the numerically large size of the community naturally stimulated the growth of numerous other organisations. In addition to the existing Kytheran, Kastellorizan and Peloponnesian (Helmos)² fraternities, the Cypriot Brotherhood (1933), the leftist

¹ As was seen the Metropolitan, community leaders, and the two newspapers agreed on the need to unify late in 1932. The divisions were felt and abhorred by most including Pharos, 2 February, 1936, (which, understandably, blamed the two Sydney newspapers for the schism), and by the new Consul General, John Cocotakis, who before leaving Athens to take up his post in Australia, had pledged to do all he could to pacify the community in Sydney. (Hellenic Herald, 7 February, 1935.)

² 'Helmos' appeared to have become re-organised and renamed 'Anagenesis' (Renaissance) in 1933, but reverted to its old name subsequently. (Hellenic Herald, 21 December, 1933.)

Platon society (1933), the Ithacan Brotherhood (1935), and finally the Atlas Club (1939), came into being. POTNAS (youth) and 'Byzantium' (comprising Asia Minor Greeks) which were formed in 1932 - 1933, became defunct by early 1934. Platon also dissolved in 1939 but its members were absorbed by the Atlas Club which commenced its long career as a youth and sports body with a strong preference to soccer football, but which subsequently augmented its activities with left radical politics. Two other youth or sports clubs, (which were again interested mainly in soccer), as well as a women's society, the Philoptochos, also made a brief appearance in different years but none survived for more than a year.¹ Another body which went into dissolution (in 1933) was the Panhellenic Union.² The wavering fortunes of many of the organisations were not unrelated to the existence of the factions in Sydney. Conflicts did occur within regional societies but their viability was, except in the case of 'Byzantium',³ assured by the

¹ These were Olympia (a soccer team), Hellenikos Omilos ton Neon (Greek Youth Society) and Philoptochos Brotherhood of Greek Women of Sydney. References to these bodies are to be found in the Hellenic Herald, 2 February, 1933; 9 May, 1935; 16 July, 1936.

² Its last act was to surrender its £100 assets to the Metropolitan during his collection on behalf of St. Sophia in 1933.

³ The protagonists of the Greek Progressive Society 'Byzantium' were Elias Bizannes and Reverend Christophoros Demopoulos and its formation was probably not unassociated with the need to strengthen the move made early in 1933 to form the Metropolitan State Council. If this was so, then its formation as a regional fraternity was very likely not warranted by the number of Asia Minor Greeks resident in Sydney in 1933. This in turn possibly explains its early dissolution because it is the only known case where a regional fraternity dissolved.

strong regional group loyalties of their members. The solidity of the pan-Hellenic type of organisations, whether of men, women or youth, were, however, greatly undermined to the point of becoming dissolved despite the large number of Greeks in Sydney from which they could attract members. The only viable pan-Hellenic organisations were the Community Educational Association and the Hellenic Club, each of which was closely connected with a church, and to a lesser degree the leftist group. But these pan-Hellenic bodies were not as influential as were the Hellenic Club of Brisbane, Orpheus of Melbourne, the Hellenic Union of Perth, that is, bodies whose growth was largely the result of their close association with each Greek Orthodox Community. Nor was there the close co-operation among the different organised groups that the Melbourne Community was able to effect.

The community in Sydney was also different from others in that it contained a very active and organised leftist group. In the 1920's Greek leftists were generally submerged in the wider ranks of the 'barefoot battalion' and their activities seldom went beyond supporting the movement against Metropolitan Christopher Knetes, the Consul General, exposing the 'scoundrels and thieves that Lekos

and Concoulis were,¹ and selling copies of Embros, a left-wing newspaper that was published in America. A Greek communist cell was reported operating in Sydney as early as 1932 but it is not certain whether this group was actually a branch of the Australian Communist Party.² By 1933, however, Greek leftists had broadened out and formed the Greek Educational Society, Platon, whose headquarters were usually situated in the Green Door Club, Pitt Street. Platon was never a large organisation and on the average it contained no

¹ George Mangaritis (interviewed November, 1967, Sydney) related how he and his comrades tried to disrupt a meeting in Sydney, called by Lekos to sell his company's shares, from which they were forcibly ejected, but when Lekos was exposed their opponents (whom Lekos had apparently swindled) apologised and were very grateful to the leftists. Airman Concoulis's activities also incurred leftist (and Ethnikon Vema's) opposition. Steve Pappas (interviewed December, 1968, Adelaide) relates that before Concoulis commenced his address at an Adelaide gathering to raise money for his aeroplane 'Pegasus', he wanted to be assured that there were no communists in the room.

² The assertion is made by M. Michos in his 'Memoirs of a Migrant' (Hellenic Herald, 4 August, 1932). Michos records that he actually joined the group but left soon after because 'far from procuring the material assistance the communists promised, they asked me to contribute'. Michos, moreover, noted that some of the eleven members who regularly attended the meetings were anarchists and that one named Vlachos 'the best orator of them all' had some time earlier been deported. Several former Sydney Greek communists who were interviewed deny that they were constituted into a branch of the Communist Party though they were meeting regularly to plan their campaigns.

more than about forty members.¹ Most of these were young bachelors without families, relatives and shops, and as such they were apt to move in and out of Sydney. But those who were in Sydney became an active group using Platon as an organised base to project their policies and their left radical ideology. Most of Platon's members were also members of the Community whose democratic aspirations they upheld and whose activities they strove to secularise further, away from purely church activities. Greek leftists also vehemently opposed the Greek monarchy and General Metaxas. Lastly, Platon is the only known Greek organisation in Australia which consistently refused to have a president as its head: the most important officials were the secretary and the organiser.²

In some respects Greek leftists became the inheritors of the ideals of the 'barefoot battalion' whose cause they felt was betrayed by the Hellenic Herald after 1932. As radicals, as workers, as spokesmen for the unemployed, or being unemployed themselves,

¹ This is the number quoted by George Margaritis (a one-time secretary of Platon), but it is not in accord with the number of votes leftists received at Community council elections they contested in 1934 and 1936. In 1934 the votes scored by known leftists were: V. Zavogiannis 45; V. Makris 24; and N. Xenodochos 17. (Hellenic Herald, 29 March, 1934.) In 1936 V. Makris increased his vote to 41 while Zavogiannis and Xenodochos did not stand, preferring to be elected as returning officers. (Hellenic Herald, 5, 12, March, 1936.)

² Platon's activities were not widely publicised by what in fact was a hostile Greek-language press, so that the writer relied on two principal informants: George Margaritis and Jim Mitsopoulos.

leftists had little in common with the elite of Sydney who in the 1930's were the proprietors of the Hellenic Herald and the wealthy leaders of the Community, and less so with the Metropolitan and the Consul General. There was even a tacit understanding gradually developing between Greek leftists and Ethnikon Vema.¹ But because the Community in Sydney retained its populist base it was here that the leftists were rooted. They were repeatedly defeated at council elections which they contested but two of them succeeded in becoming elected (at general meetings) as returning officers in 1934 and again in 1936 and another two were similarly elected as internal auditors of the Community in 1936.² Yet despite their small number and the insignificant influence they were able to exert, a peculiar set of circumstances swept Greek leftists, in alliance with other

¹ George Margaritis told the writer that he among other leftists were approached by Elias Bizannes as early as 1933 and were asked to co-operate against the proprietors of the Hellenic Herald, who at that time were Alex Grivas and Demetrios Lalas. In 1936 the six returning officers (the election committee) elected at the Community's general meeting comprised of Elias Bizannes, A Fatseas (both on the staff of Ethnikon Vema), N. Xenodochos and V. Zavogiannis (Platon members), and two others of unknown political or factional affiliation. (Hellenic Herald, 5, 12 March, 1936.) Although the position of returning officers is rarely contested by office seekers in the Community the possibility of collusion between leftists and Ethnikon Vema representatives cannot be excluded. Subsequently Ethnikon Vema did not mind wooing Sydney leftists if only to get even with the Hellenic Herald.

² Hellenic Herald, 5, 12 March, 1936.

dissident individuals, into temporary control of the Community and Holy Trinity by mid-1939. The events that led to the rebellion had their source in the 1936 Community council election including the election of the two leftists as internal auditors though the rebellion was related to the whole question of uniting the two churches. Other important issues were involved in this particular dispute so that it will be treated in some detail if only because it illustrates the intensity of ethnic community politics.

The 1936 Community elections were perhaps remarkable in that for the first time an actual party, the Community Coalition, (Koinotikos Synaspismos), formed and contested the election on a programme of 'a people's Community, no clergy control, no tips (tychera) for the priest, no localism, and all fourteen candidates are tested men',¹ This party, led by George Comino, a Kytheran, won the election comfortably, yet the votes received by each candidate in both parties suggests that members voted for individuals rather than because of their affiliation to an actual party: the votes ranged from 346 to 211 for the successful party members and from 147 to 36 for their opponents.² There could be no disagreement on the gimmicks put forward by Koinotikos Synaspismos so that what this party did was to ensure that the

¹ The programme and the candidates' names were published in the Hellenic Herald, for several weeks before the election.

² Hellenic Herald, 5, 12 March, 1936.

control of the Community remained in the rightful hands of Sydney's Greek elite, most of whom were indeed tested men in their business prowess no less than in their ability to be elected Community councillors. The flurry and the excitement of the election subsided faster than they were aroused especially by the Hellenic Herald, for the council that took office under the presidency of George Comino had no more to do than administer the affairs of one church and pay some attention to the Greek school.¹ No measures were promised and little was done to solve the problem of uniting the two churches, apart from talking about the matter on several occasions with the Metropolitan and St. Sophia leaders, and no sharp conflict divided the Community from the Metropolis.² So that

¹ The school which by 1938 had as many as 168 children, was managed by the Community Educational Association. In two years (1934 - 1936) the Association raised no less than £706 of which only £65, 12s, 99d. came from collection trays at the Community's church. All that the Community council had to be concerned with was really the church, which had no financial problem. Between 17/12/1937 and 7/11/1938 for example, the Community's revenue was £1,050 (£704 came from church takings and religious ceremonies), and a net profit of just over £200 was made. Hellenic Herald, 13 August, 1936; 17 March, 1938, and 16 February, 1939.

² The Metropolitan was at this time interested in creating a mixed clergy-laity council whose function, however, was intended to be a money-collecting body for the Holy Metropolis rather than a body threatening the community authority.

George Comino's council was and did what was normal; it was elected on a programme of guarding Community rights and indicated a desire for community unification.

When the Metropolitan returned from a trip to Greece and Constantinople early in 1938, the Community council undertook more definite steps to achieve the union of the two churches. After considerable discussion among leaders a joint eleven-member committee was finally set up in November, 1938.¹ This body comprised of five councillors from each church and an independent chairman: it had the full backing of the Metropolitan and began managing both churches jointly as though union had in fact been accomplished and placed all the complicated problems of a legal merger in the hands of a lawyer.² Yet, soon after this body assumed office it confronted all the problems a similar body faced in 1933, including a revolt in the Community which was gaining impetus by early 1939.

Despite the increase in the number of St. Sophia's congregation and the assistance it received from the Hellenic Club, the church was still about £5,000 in debt.³ There was very little the

¹ The eleven-member committee was actually formed in September but it did not assume office until November, 1938. Hellenic Herald, 22 September and 24 November, 1938.

² ibid.

³ The debt was reduced to £4,806, 7s. 11d. in March, 1939, as a result of a recent payment of £800 from the Hellenic Club. Hellenic Herald, 23 March, 1939.

lawyer could do to arrange the necessary legal documents and proceedings for the proposed legal merger,¹ so that the first and rather devastating criticism against the eleven-member committee was that it was simply an agency through which Community funds were being diverted into the coffers of St. Sophia. In response to this criticism the 'eleven-member committee' published its first three-monthly financial statement purporting to show that St. Sophia contributed more to the common treasury than did Holy Trinity but this had no effect in checking the tide against the Community council, particularly against president George Comino. What also re-inforced the movement against Comino and his council, was the fact that Community elections scheduled for March, 1938, were not held. This was a constitutional infringement justified by Comino on the grounds that he was working for unification and that the interest among Community members for elections had waned.² Had unification been realised Comino possibly could have been forgiven for refusing to consult members through an election. There was, moreover, another critical factor which undermined Comino's position and this concerned the auditing of the Community's books.

¹ Hellenic Herald, 20 July, 1939, asserts that the reason why the legal side of the merger had not materialised, was due to the lawyer's negligence but as has been argued the legal problems involved were enormous,

² Hellenic Herald, 13 July, 1939.

Two of the auditors, as has been noted, were leftists who retained the position they won in 1936 because there was no election in 1938. The auditors requested and received some of the books for their scrutiny but not the Community's minute book which apparently also contained the minutes of meetings of the eleven-member committee. The minute book was safe in the hands of George Comino whose repeated refusal¹ to hand it over aroused considerable suspicion in people's minds and strengthened the movement against him, his associates and the whole unification plan. The leftists naturally spearheaded the attacks against the 'Metaxas of Sydney' they considered Comino to be, by holding meetings and issuing leaflets in defence of Community rights and property.²

But the movement against Comino was not a left radical movement. It was joined by ordinary Community members, former councillors, unsuccessful candidates and most of the Community's trustees. Its undisputed leader was Dr. G. Tachmindjis, a medical practitioner, a former councillor, a trustee, and a person who commanded considerable respect. This party, too, approached lawyers who advised them to petition the Community council to convene a general meeting of the Community and let it decide on the course to be followed. This

¹ Hellenic Herald, 2 March, 1939.

² Hellenic Herald, 20 July, 1939, noted (derisively) that a host of typed leaflets had been issued from bodies such as: Community Defence; Community Union; Democratic Defence; and Executive ~~Defence~~ Committee.

was duly done in May, 1938, but again George Comino dismissed the request.¹ The petitioners, however, met at the appointed time and place and resolved to hold elections for a new Community council. By early June a new Community council elected by 127 members² came into being, at the head of which was Dr. G. Tachmindjis, while the Community's secretary was Andreas Raftopoulos, a foundation member of Platon and of the Ithacan Brotherhood, a kitchen hand by trade, an active trade unionist and a communist. The first task of the new council was to demand the Community's books and records from George Comino, who again refused.

In the meantime Comino was also marshalling his forces. Acting on legal advice he, too, summoned a general meeting of the Community on Thursday, 6 July, 1939. The general meeting where the number present is not disclosed, unanimously ratified the Comino council's acts up to that time.³ This decision, which was probably as legally valid or otherwise, as that of the election of the Tachmindjis council, more than any other factor forced the Tachmindjis party to take the irrestⁱble measure - the occupation of Holy Trinity.

¹ Comino refused to accept and convene a general meeting on the grounds that the petition was improperly drawn up. Hellenic Herald, 13 July, 1939.

² This figure is quoted by the Daily Telegraph, 10 July, 1939, which received the information from interviews of Greeks involved in the dispute. The same newspaper records that the total Community membership was 800 in which case the new council represented a minority of members. But it is difficult to say how many of the 800 members were also financial members. As no elections were held in 1938, a number of members, very likely, fell in arrears with their annual subscription though in view of the conflict, financial membership probably increased by June, 1939.

³ Hellenic Herald. 20 July. 1939.

The precedent and the method in taking over Holy Trinity were, of course, established in July, 1926, though the factions involved in the dispute and the consequences of the church's occupation were markedly different. The Tachmindjis council chose Saturday night, 8 July, to enter the church.¹ There was the usual procedure in changing the doors' locks and keys, the posting of guards inside the church and the anxiety of waiting for Sunday service. News of the crisis again spread fast. Consequently, the congregation that gathered outside Holy Trinity on Sunday morning was large. Its numbers were also increased by church-goers from St. Sophia which was at this time closed undergoing renovations in preparation for an expected visit by the Duchess of Kent: these renovations, costing £280, included a brand new coat of 'Marina Blue', the Duchess's favourite colour.² But the huge gathering at the church was hostile to the occupationists: physical force, threats of lynching and a 'blood bath' were averted only by the Metropolitan's timely intervention.³

Yet the sole intention of the Tachmindjis party was to shut out Comino's council. Both the Metropolitan and the Community's rector, (Reverend Christophoros Demopoulos), were invited but refused

¹ For detailed information of this and subsequent events see Hellenic Herald, 13, 20, 27 July, 1939; Daily Telegraph, 10, 11 July, 1939.

² Daily Telegraph, 31 July, 1939.

³ Daily Telegraph, 10 July, 1939; and the Hellenic Herald, 13 July, 1939.

to enter the church and conduct services.¹ The Tachmindjis council retaliated by evicting the Metropolitan with all his visible worldly belongings from his room next to the church and by stopping the priest's salary. Sydney's daily press supplied its interested readers with detailed information of these and subsequent events to the embarrassment of irate Greek shopkeepers and a Metropolitan who was reportedly in great distress.²

Very little was and could be done to overcome the impasse. The Metropolitan was as insistent in his refusal to enter the church as the Tachmindjis council was in its claim to be the rightful officers of the Community. The condemnation by the vast majority of 500 Community members (called together by George Comino early in August) did not shake the Tachmindjis party:³ nor did frequent charges that the five guards were committing sacrilege by living in the church.⁴ The fact that Comino's council did not take its claim

¹ Daily Telegraph, 17 July, 1939. According to George Margaritis the leftists issued a leaflet having as the main theme: Australia's first strike by Greek priests.

² A Greek hotelier bitterly complained that he was at a loss to explain the course of events to his inquisitive customers (Hellenic Herald, 10 August, 1939). But in every edition of the Hellenic Herald, references were made pointing out the disaster to the 'good Greek name' resulting from the disputes.

³ A report of this three and half hour meeting as witnessed by a reporter appears in the Daily Telegraph, 7 August, 1939. Inter alia the reporter noted that 'at one stage seven different speakers were shouting at the top of their voices at each other'. See also the Hellenic Herald, 10 August, 1939.

⁴ A number of rumours spread that the five guards were committing revolting sacriligious acts. Hellenic Herald, 13 July, 1939, stated that 'we shall have to use a fumigation plant...to clean out the filth of the five guards'. But this would be better than having 'to clean up the blood of the dead'.

to court, further strengthened the position of the new Community council. Tachmindjis insisted that he was acting constitutionally (since the former council overstayed in office by eighteen months) and that he was not against unification but only against the methods used to procure it.¹ By August the Tachmindjis council felt sufficiently secure to dismiss the guards, retaining only the keys of a church that was, in any case, abandoned by its priest,² St. Sophia by this time had re-opened and was functioning, as was the Orthodox Syrian church of St. George at Redfern, which harboured the Greeks during their time of troubles,³ so that there was no fear that Holy Trinity might be re-possessed nor were church-goers inconvenienced.

Holy Trinity remained closed for most of the remaining year. Yet, a number of factors were working towards some understanding by the rival Community councils. Although Tachmindjis commanded the church, the majority of Community members (and certainly the majority of Sydney's Greeks) were clearly behind Comino and his efforts for union. The futility of fighting to retain a deserted church in the

¹ Daily Telegraph, 10 July, 1939.

² Hellenic Herald, 10 August, 1939.

³ Daily Telegraph, 11 July, 1939.

face of so much opposition, and, one presumes, in the light of such events as the declaration of World War II, must have convinced many that agreement was both desirable and unavoidable. There is no data casting light on the course of negotiations between rival councils and their legal advisors but such negotiations probably got under way soon after August and certainly before December.¹ By early December the Metropolitan had also convened a conference of all Greek Orthodox clergymen in Australia. This conference sometimes referred to as a clergy-laity conference, was also attended by a Russian and a Syrian Orthodox priest, and several Anglican clergymen, but it did no more than hold a service to commemorate 'the fortieth anniversary of the Metropolitan's priesthood',² and deliberate on matters the findings of which have yet to see the light of day. This conference, however, co-incided with an impending agreement between the rival councils, all of which suddenly

¹ . Daily Mirror, 24 July, 1939, quotes Dr. G. Tachmindjis as saying that efforts were being made to reach an agreement. Yet, as late as 30 November, the Hellenic Herald, asked why was not something done to open Holy Trinity and unite the community. Something was, of course, done, but it was apparently being done secretly.

² Hellenic Herald, 7 December, 1939.
The Hellenic Herald, 23 November, 1939, noted that a conference was being called but it did not know why.

culminated in the ceremonial opening of the doors of Holy Trinity on 10 December, 1939, and shortly afterwards, in a public statement announcing the resignation of both councils and the holding of new Community elections.¹

It is difficult to ascertain what connection and effect the 'clergy-laity' conference had on the agreement between the factions and their decision to go to the polls. The key figure in the apparent agreement and the not so apparent negotiations was Dr. G. Tachmindjis. He, more so than most, felt the futility of the struggle, the pressure from his elitist compatriots and as a doctor he was by this time more than glad to be free once more² from the hurly-burly of Greek community politics, from which he was absent for three years before 1939. Whatever the case, he decided not to stand in the coming elections of March, 1940. This left his party leaderless and the leftists in a very weakened position. The leftists' spokesmen were hissed and booed (one of them was also assaulted) at a general meeting (4 February, 1940), which was

¹ See the Hellenic Herald, 14 December, 1939, for the opening of Holy Trinity and the Hellenic Herald, 3 January, 1940, for a notice to the effect that both councils have handed in their resignations to the Community trustees and had agreed to call a general meeting on 4 February, 1940, and to set the date for the elections.

² Dr. G. Tachmindjis did not stand for election to council in 1936, while his position as trustee of Holy Trinity did not take up much of his time.

called to prepare for the election¹ indicating that the feeling against the leftists and their allies was clearly growing as was the movement for unification. The Community elections that followed brought to power those who stood for union of the two churches (the most successful of whom topped the poll with 299 votes) and the defeat of the leftists, the best of whom, Andreas Raftopoulos, could only manage 45 votes.² The election results also demonstrated that although the Community had entered into a partnership with St. Sophia through the eleven-member council, it had by no means lost its popular base nor its identity. But the new Community council was

¹ Hellenic Herald, 8 February, 1940. The person assaulted for allegedly uttering an impious remark against the Metropolitan was Jim Mitsopoulos. The chief leftist spokesman was Andreas Raftopoulos who disputed the legality of the meeting, refused to recognise the chairman and insisted on addressing his remarks to the crowd and not to the chairman. The meeting itself was attended by 318 members who were decidedly critical of Raftopoulos and his comrades.

² For the results of the election see the Hellenic Herald, 10 March, 1940. As in every election candidates shared the votes which ranged from 299 to 230 for the fourteen successful candidates and from 79 to 14 for the opposition. But the opposition were not all necessarily against union. Several from the opposition (and most of the leftists) apparently tried to invalidate the election by withdrawing their nomination which would have left less than 28 candidates, that is, less than the number required by the constitution. The returning officers argued that the notices withdrawing the nominations arrived too late to be excluded from the ballot papers. The Ethnikon Vema entered the controversy and asserted that the election was not a valid one because of insufficient candidates, (Hellenic Herald, 14 March, 1940).

nonetheless committed to union which came in 1945 though only through the formal dissolution of the Community and its amalgamation with St. Sophia.¹ In other States, Communities paid much less dearly for their sins against the church in the 1920's.

In the 1930's the community in Melbourne achieved a high degree of co-operation among the various organised groups. This co-operation, being largely around activities undertaken by the Greek Orthodox Community, created a structural base for the church, the function of which was not unlike the State Metropolitan Council that was proposed by the Metropolitan late in 1932. The close relationships between the Community and other societies, however, did not arise as a result of a preconceived or conscious policy pursued by the Community, but grew gradually out of certain needs and in accordance with past practices. The terms of the Community-Metropolis relations were similarly the result of a steady growth rather than the implementation of a set of codes by an authority.

As was seen when the warring factions finally decided to bury their differences in 1930, the Community, or what was then renamed the Greek Orthodox Church of Melbourne, was in debt.² The Community council that took office in 1930 appealed to the Greek societies and

¹ See Chapter V below.

² The Community was still in debt by £110 in 1932, having had to pay several outstanding accounts including £185 legal fees though this account was settled for £80. M.B.M., 17 November, 1932.

to individuals for support to help overcome the financial difficulties it faced in managing what, after all, were common institutions. The response, though slow at first, increased with time: by 1932 a committee made up of representatives, usually the presidents of all Greek organisations (including the president of the Community) and the Greek deputy consul in Melbourne, Andreas Nicolaidis, was set up with the sole responsibility of financing and managing the Greek school.¹ All permanent or bona fide societies were invited to join the school committee including societies founded after 1932: the latter groups were the Pansamian Brotherhood 'Pythagoras' (1934), the leftist Democritos Club (1935), the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion (1936), the Greek Youth Society (1937), but not the Rhodian Brotherhood 'Kleovoulos' (1934), the Cultural Society 'Apollo' (1934) and the Anglo-Greek League (1939), organisations of impermanent existence about which little is known.² Co-operation

¹ M.B.M., 13 November, 1932, and onwards. The money to run the school came from a number of sources: these were from school fees invariably fixed at 1/6d. for each child weekly, 2/-d. for two children of the same family, and 2/6d. for three children; proceeds from occasional collection trays at church; and funds raised by societies represented on the school committee. M.B.M., 10 June, 1936, 10 March, 1938, and passim. Hellenic Herald, 16 June, 1932.

² These three organisations did not appear to have functioned for much more than a year which explains their exclusion from the school committee.

among these diverse groups continued until early 1938 when disagreement arose over the respective rights of the representatives on the school committee. As the Community's strength and influence grew it began to demand a greater say and a greater share in the leadership of the school committee whose chairman had for a number of years been Nicolaidis. The Community's council resented being just one of the many groups represented on the school committee and it often charged Nicolaidis with 'being dictatorial and of aiming to detach the school from the Community where it rightfully belonged'.¹ Other societies or their representatives took a different view and supported Nicolaidis and the existing composition and role of the school committee which had functioned satisfactorily ever since 1932. The Community, however, insisted on its rights and decided to set up a separate school which functioned for the greater part of 1938.² Another attempt to manage the school jointly was made early in 1939 through the Educational League whose committee was

¹ M.B.M., 29 April, 1937, and 10 March, 1938.

² The Community called its new school body Hellenikon Ekpaideuterion Victorias but it was no more than a sub-committee appointed by the council and responsible to it. M.B.M., 10 March, 1938.

partly elected by its own members and partly made up of representatives from all organisations,¹ but this undertaking also floundered due to the unwillingness of the Community to co-operate. The Community's objection this time was the presence on the school committee of a representative from the leftist Democritos Club whose agitations against General Metaxas, King George II, and their representatives in Australia, angered an otherwise nationally-minded (ethnikophrone) Community council.²

Despite the failure after 1938 to administer jointly the Greek school - a failure which was due more to a determination by the Community to assert its authority, rather than to a particular dislike for the deputy consul or the Democritos Club - group co-operation was a reality throughout the decade. Most Greek societies no less than individuals also made valuable monetary contributions to Evangelismos to help pay for renovations and other permanent church fixtures and furnishings - contributions

¹ The full name of the new body was the Educational League of Greeks of Victoria (Ekpaideutikos Syndesmos Hellenon Victorias). It contained as many as 135 members with the right to elect six of its twelve-member council, and apart from the representatives of other societies on its council it was not unlike the Community Educational Association of Sydney. For more details see Phos, 15 February, 1939.

² For the Democritos Club's agitation which included a demonstration during a reception of the Orpheus Club rooms to celebrate King George's name-day and the consequent reaction by the Community council see: M.B.M., 3 and 31 May, 1939; and Phos, 5 July, 1939.

which amount to over £1,000 between 1933 and 1936.¹ Co-operation was also achieved on the following activities: the Grecian Ball, an important annual social event after 1936, from which large sums of money flowed to Melbourne hospitals;² collections in aid of needy Greeks and as was seen in aid of the Greek Air Force; and the joint celebrations of important national and religious anniversaries. By 1936 the spirit of co-operation was such that it prompted serious discussion and planning for a more ambitious project, the erection of a Community centre that was to cost between £11,000 and £15,000.³ Apart from the various other contributions to the Community's treasury, several organisations also willingly offered their premises, lesches, to the Community for its meetings, receptions, and dances. The lesches that were best patronised by the Community were those of Orpheus, Ulysses and Alexander the Great. In return the prestige and income of these lesches increased from their association with the Community and from new customers they gained from among Community members.

¹ Two separate drives to collect money were undertaken. In 1933, £245 was raised to pay for new church pews: the Orpheus Club donated £50 while smaller amounts were given by other societies and individuals (M.B.M., 30 March, 1933). The other collection in the 1935-1936 years yielded £801, (M.B.M., 25 August and passim and the Hellenic Herald, 28 May, 1936).

² The 1939 Grecian Ball organised by a large and representative committee made a clear profit of £500, M.B.M., 14 September, 1939.

³ The proposed building provided for a new church, a school, a hall and the priest's residence. M.B.M., 25 August, 1936.

Such co-operation, which contributed to the formation of a united ethnic community was not only the result of the Community's ability to solicit the support of organised groups on common and practical issues, but it also stemmed from the Community's cordial relationship with national and church leaders in Australia. This in turn enabled the Community to grow from a small and weakened body in 1930 to the largest and most important Greek immigrant organisation by 1940, whose influence and often enough its authority was seldom challenged. The early end of the schism in Melbourne, which prevented group co-operation such as between Ithacans and Samiots, also contributed to an increase in Community influence and authority. Ithacans returned to the Community and it was also significant that the new Greek consul of Melbourne (appointed in 1931 when A. V. Maniachi died) was Anthony J. J. Lucas: what was perhaps more significant was that he chose as his deputy, Andreas Nicolaidis, a Samiot. But the most important factor contributing to the Community's prestige and authority was the amicable relationship it was able to effect with the diocese.

When the Metropolitan arrived in Melbourne early in September he presented the Community with a document, (eggraphon), which ten of its eleven councillors signed willingly.¹ This document, the contents of which are yet to be revealed, was probably an

¹ M.B.M., 18 September, 1932.

agreement by which the Community formally accepted the Metropolitan's jurisdiction but which in no way tied the Community to important financial and other commitments to the Metropolis: the only known financial commitments were Metropolitan dues which were fixed in 1933 at ten shillings for each marriage and five shillings for each baptism, that is, for sacraments that were performed by the Community's rector.¹ A yearly grant to the Holy Metropolis, the amount of which was left to each Community to decide, was not paid by the Community in Melbourne until 1940. Even so, the amount paid in 1940 was only £25 and it was paid to the Metropolitan on the grounds that 'for the last several months the Metropolitan had not been receiving his allowance from the Greek Government'.² From the Metropolis, on the other hand, the Community in Melbourne managed to procure late in 1932 the services of what was then considered to be the most important priest in Australia. He was the Archimandrite Theophylactos, the hitherto locum tenens and rector of the St. Sophia Cathedral, who replaced the 'ageing' Reverend Christophoros Demopoulos.³ A number of factors operated in the appointment and discharge of priests; these included how influential a Community or a congregation was in attracting an important clergyman such as Archimandrite, or the preference of

¹ M.B.M., 31 August, 1933.

² M.B.M., 6 June, 1940.

³ M.B.M., 12 June, 1932.

the dominant group or body in the community,¹ Reverend Christophoros's implication in the dispute of the 1920's, his lowly status in the church and his age, were, it seems, held against him, and what better candidate was there than Archimandrite Theophylactos? The Archimandrite himself was probably glad to leave the faction-ridden Sydney community for some peace in Melbourne.

Be this as it may the Community in Melbourne was elated with its Archimandrite. The priest himself became busily engaged in all phases of Community life, accepted its authority among Greeks and organisations in Melbourne and among Greeks in the countryside which he frequently visited on behalf of the Community.² The Community's council expressed its gratitude to the Archimandrite in a number of ways, including a decision to raise his salary from £20 to £25 per month 'lest he be lost to another church'.³ Generally, the growth of the influence of the Community was not unconnected with the fact that it had a hard-working, zealous and tactful priest in its service, and with the fact that the head of the church conceded to the authority of the Community in most matters including the right to determine what its obligations ought to be to the Holy Metropolis.

¹ This is shown in a number of cases such as the appointment of Reverend Christophoros Manesis in Perth (1926); Reverend Elias Kotiadis in Brisbane (1928) (See Chapter III above); as well as an unsuccessful bid in mid-1932 by several Melbourne Community members to have Archimandrite Germanos Eliou posted to Melbourne from Adelaide - a place he was probably glad to leave. (M.B.M., 16 June, 1932.)

² One country settlement he often visited was Mildura which grew from a handful of men in the early 1920's to about sixty to seventy Greeks of all ages by 1940.

³ M.B.M., 6 May, 1937.

Neither the priest nor the Metropolitan, moreover, raised any objection to a decision, taken unanimously, by 102 members in 1938, to rename the Greek Orthodox Church of Melbourne, the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria;¹ nor was there even a claim on the Community's property by the Holy Metropolis.²

The Community in Melbourne, unlike that in Sydney, did not grow into a mass organisation. After 1930, recorded membership increased with time and probably reached the 500 mark by 1940 but active members, that is, those who were financial and therefore able to participate at general meetings and cast their vote at council

¹ The terms of the resolution that officially changed the name from 'Church' to 'Community', (both names which were used interchangeably ever since 1930), read as follows: "That pursuant to the power conferred by clause 49 of the Constitution, the name of the Church be, and the same is hereby changed to the 'Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria'." M.B.M., 25 September, 1938.

² See the Hellenic Herald, 14 November, 1940, which gives the legal position of the Community. Briefly stated the position was that the Community was a church organisation which under Victorian law was not obliged to be registered as a company. The Community's property was managed by the council but 'held in trust by trustees upon trust pursuant to the provisions of the constitution'.

elections, probably did not exceed 180.¹ After 1930, however, Community membership was becoming more representative of Melbourne's Greeks. The Ithacans who were quite preponderant among Community members and councillors before 1924 and after their return to power in 1930, gradually gave way to other Greeks, though they maintained a relatively strong representation on the council throughout the decade. Community leadership generally reflected the social composition of the whole community which was increasing in numbers. It comprised people from different parts of Greece as indicated by the rise of organised groups, all of which tended to break down a single regional group's power and influence. The president of the Community was nearly always an Ithacan, but

¹ This is shown in the following table:

<u>Year of Election.</u>	<u>Financial Members.</u>	<u>Votes Cast.</u>
1932	120	49
1934	179	157
1936	?	95
1938	103	80
1940	109	109

Source: M.B.M., 11 February, 1932; 3 September, 1934; 30 August, 1936; 12 December, 1938; and the Hellenic Herald, 14 November, 1940. The low vote in 1932 was mainly due to the fact that elections were held at the annual general meeting. Thereafter elections were conducted through the post.

Ithacans did not show any particular dislike of other Greeks, including their old rivals the Samiots, from holding important Community positions.¹ Otherwise Community membership, and in the final analysis, Community leadership, was drawn from the more well-to-do and therefore more permanent residents of Melbourne. The Community's aspirations, moreover, assured its pan-Hellenic character so that even though a regional group, such as Ithacans, could exert some influence, there were no reasons impelling it to act unitedly to advance its own sectional interests.

The Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne had by 1940 evolved into a body upon which much of the life of Greeks centred, Church, national leaders, Greek organisations, and individuals, as well as the Australian public and authorities, in varying degrees recognised the Community's authority and prestige: to the church the Community was its organised parish; to Greek consuls it was the medium through which they contacted Greek nationals and communicated instructions from Greece; to Greek societies and individuals

¹ Both Condogiannis (President) and Papalexandrou (Secretary) were elected early in 1933 and hence held these offices as they did in 1924-1928 with no apparent opposition. But for reasons which cannot be explained, both had resigned their office at the end of 1933. (M.B.M., 12 October, 1933.) Both before 1933 and for most of the 1934-1940 years the presidency of the Community fell to Angelo Lekatsas, an Ithacan, while the position of general secretary was for the most part held by George Karathanasopoulos, who was not an Ithacan. Another Ithacan, Spyros Raftopoulos, became Community president in 1940.

the Community was their representative and their protector in their new social environment; to Australians the Community was synonymous with the Greek ethnic community. The Community's important position in the ethnic community raised greatly the status of its councillors, especially its president, whose status ranked as high as that of the priest and the consul. The status of leaders of other Greek immigrant organisations was never as high as that of the Community leaders, and it was, moreover, judged by the contribution they and their organisation made to the activities, programmes and aspirations of the Community. Status mobility in Melbourne therefore tended to be upwards through the Community council and finally to the Community's presidency.

Dissent from the Greek establishment in Melbourne was insignificant. The leftist Democritos group accepted the status quo and was never a potent force capable of exerting any great influence to change the structure and move into a position of wielding power. Dissent of a different type came from Phos but again it was relatively ineffective being for the most part inspired by the proprietor of this newspaper, who for a number of reasons was unable or unwilling to break into Melbourne's elite in control of the Community. Panayatopoulos was a newcomer to Melbourne and to Australia,¹ who did not, as was normal, set himself up in business, join the Community and other societies and eventually ascend the community's

¹ He arrived at Innisfail in the early 1930's and moved to Melbourne in 1936.

social ladder. His enterprise was Phos; his immediate contacts were members of the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion, which as a group, did not make its influence felt in the community until World War II.¹ Panayotopoulos's personal views on most things were in any case too authoritarian and austere and exhibited all the strong emotions of a Greek nationalist, an ex-soldier, and as such they were ineffective in stirring Greeks into action. Panayotopoulos also seemed to have nursed a personal grudge against Archimandrite Theophylactos which again cut him off from the Community. Lastly, he refused to recognise the authority and influence of the Community - a body he consistently referred to as a church until well after 1938, and its council as a church committee.²

A community structure comparable to that of Melbourne also evolved in Perth, Brisbane and Adelaide, by 1940. One feature of the structure, or what has been termed the Greek establishment, was a growth in the power of Greek Orthodox Communities. As was seen the Perth community, too, became pacified before 1932 and considerable co-operation was effected around the activities of the Community. This was assured by the presence of Reverend Christophoros Manesis and by the predominance of Kastellorizans in

¹ See Chapter V below.

² Phos, 4 February, 1939, and passim.

the Community, in the Hellenic Union and in the Women's Society. The resources of these organisations were in many ways pooled and their activities often co-ordinated for the purpose of maintaining the priest, the school and finally these co-operative efforts produced the new church of 'Saints Constantine and Helen', which was completed by 1937 and fully paid off by the beginning of the war.¹ Constitutionally and in practice, for example, the Hellenic Union was paying to the Community a yearly grant of £100;² the Women's Society paid all of its surplus income into the Community's treasury from where it was ear-marked to maintain the church;³ the Kastellorizan fraternity similarly became a great benefactor of the Community and its church, as did the 'Alexander the Great' fraternity which was able to merge into the structure without difficulty.⁴

¹ By 1936 the total assets of the Community after deducting the bank loan borrowed to erect the church, was reckoned to be £6,237. 17s. 8d. Hellenic Herald, 3 September, 1936.

² This provision was made by clause 14 of the constitution and the amount was paid from 1926 until 1943 by which time the Community had paid all of its debts including those of the new church. Hellenic Herald, 17 June, 1943.

³ The amount raised and paid into the Community's treasury by the Women's Society between 1934 and 1939 was a little over £500. See the financial statements for these years in the Hellenic Herald, 5 October, 1939.

⁴ One Kastellorizan (Angelo Mavromatis, interviewed in Adelaide, November, 1968), formerly of Perth, when questioned about the Macedonian-Kastellorizan relations put it thus: 'The Kastellorizans and the Macedonians make a village' - meaning that they got on well, despite the fact that some of these Macedonians were Slav-Macedonians.

The fact that these different organisations were drawn into the more common ethnic community activities also assured their viability. The youth club, active for a short time before 1932, fizzled out and was not revived until 1939 by which time the youth movement became based on second-generation Greeks rather than on young immigrants from whom most youth club members were drawn in the 1929 - 1931 years.¹ The only other organisation was a cultural society, 'Orpheus', which functioned during 1939 - 1940 and concerned itself with musical and concert performances which caught the attention of Greeks and Australians, both by the quality of the performances and by the amount of money raised by such activities for the war effort.² Yet, 'Orpheus', a pan-Hellenic organisation, was defunct by 1941, as was the earlier 'Byron' society by about 1933. The viable and permanent organisations, therefore, were the Community and such bodies as were allied to, or auxiliaries of the Community, of which the Hellenic Union with its spacious lesche was the most important.

¹ Even though Hellenic Young Men's Association could boast to having over 100 members by 1929, its activities were not reported in the Hellenic Herald after 1931, which suggests that it was dissolved. The Progressive Youth Club (later called simply the Youth Club) founded in 1939, grew only slowly though it became a permanent body mainly because, as similar clubs in other communities, its members were largely second-generation (English-speaking) young men and women. These youth clubs, however, did not flourish until World War II and subsequently. For the formation of the youth club in Perth see the Hellenic Herald, 8 June, 1939, 8 February, 1940.

² For details of the numerous concerts given by Orpheus see the Hellenic Herald, 4 June, 20 June, 1939, 1 February, 6 June, and 24 October, 1940.

Other factors contributing to a united and closely knit community was Perth's remoteness and insularity from the politics of communities in the eastern States, its homogeneous (mostly Kastellorizan) composition, and lastly, the leadership of Petros Michelides, the Greek 'tobacco king', great benefactor and frequently the president of the Community.¹

* Events in South Australia were also in accord with trends in other States: pacification, co-operation and the rise of an influential Greek Orthodox Community in the capital. Kastellorizans, the dominant grouping, retained their traditional hostility to Archimandrite Germanos Eliou; many still refused to have their children baptised and most had boycotted, in the 1932 - 1934 years, the Community they were so enthusiastic in founding in 1930, because of the Archimandrite's presence as rector of the Community. Yet, the Metropolitan's presence in Australia and his visits to South Australia gradually eliminated the conflict between Kastellorizans and the Archimandrite - his own compatriot from Mytilene. By 1938 a complete transformation of the community in Adelaide was achieved which in turn affected Greeks throughout the State. In name and in

¹ Petros Michelides, as has been noted, was an important tobacco grower and manufacturer, and by 1939 Michelides Ltd. was worth £200,000. Hellenic Herald, 12 October, 1939. Among the many gifts to the Community, Petros Michelides donated £1,000 in 1943 which paid off the bank loan used to erect the church. Hellenic Herald, 22 April, 1940.

deed the Community in Adelaide became the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia: it also discarded its former patron St. Demetrios and adopted the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (Taxiarchis). By March, 1938, the Community had erected its own church on Franklin Street (at a cost of over £1,400) - being the result of a vigorous fund-raising campaign in which all organisations, individuals and particularly the priest played an active role: Archimandrite Germanos was despatched on the fund-raising errand to other States and returned with over £250 for the church.¹ The Kastellorizans soon after 1934 began to return to the Community and by 1937 their leader, Michael Kambouris, was the Community's president.

The re-organisation and the subsequent rise in the importance of the Community in Adelaide also had the effect of asserting its authority over the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie which it finally absorbed. Port Pirie, as was noted, had been losing its Greeks as early as 1926 (many of them to Adelaide). The loss of its members and the revulsion² of many to Archimandrite Germanos,

¹ The priest's tour on behalf of the Community took him as far as Perth in the west and Innisfail in Queensland. Among the donors for the church building were the Kastellorizian Brotherhood in Adelaide (£40), and the Apollo Society (£48. 19s. 7d.), the latter going into dissolution thereafter. By May, 1938, £545. 18s. 6d. had been raised for the Community's church. For details of the collection see: Hellenic Herald, December, 1937 - May, 1938. For the Community's reorganisation see: M.B.A., 1934 - 1937 and M.P. Tsounis 'Greeks in South Australia', op.cit., p. 57.

² When the Metropolitan visited Port Pirie in 1933 he had to baptise no less than eleven children. Hellenic Herald, 23 March, 1933.

had greatly weakened the Port Pirie Community, reducing it to not more than a mere committee, usually elected annually without too many formalities by a congregation of a church without a priest. Many Port Pirie Greeks viewed with some envy (if not suspicion) the growing Greek establishment in Adelaide and by mid-1936 both Communities were in open conflict. The immediate cause of the conflict arose from the forceful opening by Archimandrite Germanos of Port Pirie's St. George church for services - an act he was empowered to do by the Metropolitan, by the Community in Adelaide and, it is claimed, he acted with the full knowledge of police authorities; but it was an act which further angered Port Pirie Greeks, many of whom had been refusing the priest's services.¹ Heated exchanges in the columns of Hellenic Herald,² threats and counter threats of going to the courts (and of resorting to physical violence), were the order of the day for several months, but eventually Port Pirie was forced to accept what was in fact the inevitable, namely, the authority of the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia with its base in Adelaide. The Community in Adelaide was the only recognised, the largest and the most organised parish

¹ Michael Kambouris (interviewed December, 1968), told the writer that the Port Pirie Community or its church was in the control of an anti-priest group in 1935 - 1936 and that it was he (Kambouris) who conceived the plan to enter the church after seeking advice from a lawyer and the police. Accordingly, the Archimandrite took with him to Port Pirie a hammer, a screw driver and pincers which he used to remove the door's lock on St. George's church, Though threatened by the locals he proceeded with his tasks unperturbed.

² For the heated polemics see Hellenic Herald, 14 May, 1936, 14 January, 1937, and passim.

in the State and was in possession of a priest whom it could let out on its own terms. If Port Pirie wanted the priest it had to apply for him to the Adelaide Community, pay his return fare and accommodation, his salary during his absence from Adelaide (usually a week), and in addition pay dues to the Adelaide Community for every marriage and baptismal ceremony he performed in Port Pirie - the latter charge being unknown to metropolitan Communities in other States.¹ These seemingly harsh terms were not, however, unlike those imposed on country settlements by Communities in other capitals. Lastly, the Port Pirie Community was reduced to what was known as 'Community Committee' - a body which in theory was accountable to the Community in Adelaide, but which in practice was constituted and functioned in much the same way as before.²

The Community in Adelaide and its professed aim to bring 'law, order and discipline among Greeks in South Australia',³ did not grow into a large body. Its authority and influence stemmed from its position in the Adelaide community and more importantly because of its relationship with the church. In Adelaide the Community managed to assert its authority over the ethnic community, absorbing the Apollo Society, producing a women's auxiliary, the

¹ These dues were ten shillings for each marriage and five shillings for each baptism; all of these charges were in addition to Metropolitan dues. See M. P. Tsounis, 'Greeks in South Australia', op.cit., pp. 53-55.

² ibid.

³ This is how the Community allegedly put its position in the midst of its quarrel with Port Pirie Greeks. Hellenic Herald, 14 January, 1937.

Women's Society of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, and relying for much of its support on the Kastellorizans and the Kastellorizan Brotherhood. No other organisation, except a youth group given to playing soccer, operated after 1939. Adelaide's first and last newspaper venture, Pharos, could only manage to issue seven meagre editions between December, 1935, and May, 1936, before becoming bankrupt. In addition to its small size the Adelaide Community did not contain wealthy Greeks, who, as in other capitals, often became the benefactors and the leaders of the Greek Orthodox Community. The leader of the Adelaide Community, after 1937, as noted, was Michael Kambouris. He was a tailor whose energies and prowess found expression in Community activities over a period of 40 years, at first in Adelaide and subsequently in Melbourne and Sydney, rather than in his trade.¹

In the spirit of the times the opposing factions in the Brisbane community also forgot past feuds and yielded to the forces binding the ethnic community. Little could, in any case, be done by Brisbane egalitarians to disengage the Community from the

¹ Michael Kambouris commenced his Community career in 1926 as the representative of Reverend Christophoros Manesis in Adelaide, became president of the Community in Adelaide, a position he held for most of the time until he left to settle in Melbourne in 1946. His position in the Melbourne Community was not as important as that in Adelaide, but while in Sydney (where he settled early in the 1950's) he rose to the vice-presidency of the Community in 1961 and from there to the presidency of the Confederation of the Greek Orthodox Communities of Australia in the same year.
See also Chapter VII below.

Hellenic Club whose lesche, the Hellenic House, presented the Community with such valuable premises and income.¹ The anti-Hellenic House clique leaders such as Peter Aroney (a Kytheran) and Efstratios Christophidis (a Cypriot) gave up the battle after 1932; both became active in their own regional fraternities, the Kytheran Brotherhood (1934)² and the Cypriot Brotherhood (1936), which they helped found. By the end of the decade they, too, among other individuals and groups, had converged towards the Community. Christophidis himself became president of the Community (1938 - 1940), at the head of a council that was representative of most groups.³ In the meantime the Community was growing though its activities and influence were becoming more and more confined to Brisbane, particularly after 1932 when a Greek Orthodox Community began operating at Innisfail and nearby townships.⁴ The relatively

¹ Apart from regular donations and dividends paid to shares owned by the Community, the Hellenic Club also advanced a £1,523, 15s. 3d. loan to the Community for the church building in 1933. In 1934 the Hellenic Club paid a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. dividend to shareholders. See Hellenic Herald, 25 October, and 15 November, 1934.

² Hellenic Herald, 22 November, 1934, and 21 May, 1936, and passim.

³ White Paper, G.O.C., Brisbane, op.cit., pp. 21-22, and Hellenic Herald, 27 October, 1938.

⁴ For a time, namely, in the 1931 - 1933 years, the Community's council was enlarged to twenty members, several of them being drawn from the countryside. Subsequently (1944) the size of the Community council was reduced to fifteen, five of whom were elected from country settlements close to Brisbane, a practice retained until now (1970). See p. 305 below.

small numerical size of the regional groupings in Brisbane and their inability to give alternative social and cultural activities also ensured the Community of a virtual monopoly in such activities and further helped its growth.¹

In the countryside the only community exhibiting a structure comparable to that of metropolitan communities was at Innisfail. There the Hellenic Society of North Queensland was by 1932 transferred into the Greek Orthodox Community. The Community managed a school by 1933, built a church by 1935, had its women's auxiliary by 1936 and in 1937 the Kastellorizan Brotherhood of North Queensland was founded at Innisfail.² These developments were made possible because of the relative proximity of the smaller settlements of Cairns, Tully, Babinda, Silkwood and even Ingham, the farthestmost settlement about 100 miles south, whose needs the resident priest and the church at Innisfail often served.³ The

¹ The Apollo cultural society was little heard of after 1932 while a youth group that came into being in 1938 functioned for several months only. The name of this youth club was the Youth Educational and Cultural Society of Queensland. Hellenic Herald, 27 October, 1938.

² For details of the formation and some activities of these bodies see: Hellenic Herald, 24 November, 1932; May-June and November-December, 1935; October-December, 1937. The Community in Innisfail also began forwarding an annual grant to the Metropolitan after 1936 (the amount was not disclosed). Hellenic Herald, 5 November, 1936.

³ The combined Greek population of these settlements varied with the cane-cutting season but the number of permanent settlers was sufficiently large (probably as many as 500) to afford to maintain a priest and a church.

activities of other Greek societies in the countryside were also similar to those of Greek Orthodox Communities: their relationship to Communities in the capitals was not unlike those established between the Adelaide Community and the diminishing Port Pirie settlement, though without the associated squabbles and all the exacting terms that fell rather heavily on Port Pirie Greeks. Formal combination in the country settlements were encouraged by both metropolitan Communities and the Metropolitan because it was more suitable to deal with acceptable authorities than with individuals. The arrangement also suited country settlers who, by combining their resources, were able to procure at a cheaper cost the services of a visiting priest and a resident Greek tutor for their children. The Metropolitan himself took a special interest in country settlers and visited them frequently. It was the Metropolitan that often enough called Greeks together to form societies, and framed the constitutions and rules by which such organisations were governed: in the spirit of the times a number of such societies were named 'Omoncoia' (concord).¹

Another type of Greek immigrant social organisation which arose in the countryside in the 1930's and which subsequently had considerable appeal to Greeks in the capitals was the AHEPA movement. AHEPA, Australian Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, was modelled on its American counterpart and exhibited all

¹ Such were the names of Greek societies in Newcastle, Broken Hill, (New South Wales), Home Hill (Queensland), and Geraldton (Western Australia).

the features of Masonic bodies.

In America, AHEPA's founders in 1922, were several Greek businessmen, who felt the need of some protection from such anti-foreign organisations as the Ku Klux Klan. Espousing what Theodore Saloutos calls 'Americanisation, assimilation and adaptation' AHEPA subsequently grew rapidly winning numerous initiates and forming lodges or chapters in every Greek community. Its more conservative rival, GAPAA, founded in 1923, did not enjoy the same growth and influence, nor it seems the numerous other local or regional associations and federations.¹ The originators of AHEPA in Australia were Greek shopkeepers in New South Wales country towns. Because of the small number of shopkeepers at any one town no actual lodges with permanent premises were founded, though the first AHEPA lodge (stoa) is claimed to have been that founded in Scone, New South Wales.² Subsequently AHEPA did develop

¹ Theodore Saloutos, op.cit., pp. 246-257 and passim.

² Peter Aroney (Helleno-Australiana Nea, 10 April, 1950), claims that AHEPA's first lodge in Australia (whose members initiated him) was founded in Scone on 22 May, 1936. While the headquarters of AHEPA and, therefore, its lodge (but without its own premises), were very likely situated in Scone at some time or other, there is no evidence that this was a permanent arrangement. According to the census of 1933 Scone's Greek-born did not number more than twenty - far too small a number to constitute a lodge. Peter Aroney very likely confuses the date with 22 May, 1935, when AHEPA's fourth and largest gathering was held in which over 100 attended, most of whom came from other towns for the occasion. Yet even at this gathering (reported in the Hellenic Herald, 30 May, 1935), there was no suggestion that a permanent lodge was set up in Scone.

into its normal organisational structure with permanent members and lodges, initiation ceremonies, and a hierarchy of elected officials holding office in rotation. Its activities, commencing with its first meeting in Werris Creek, New South Wales, in August, 1934, were mainly social gatherings at which the families of shopkeepers attended and often enough local public figures, the Metropolitan, the Consul General and the proprietors of the Greek newspapers. No less than seven such gatherings were held between 1934 and 1936.¹ AHEPA's activities had apparently attracted the intended attention of British-Australians as witnessed by the following reported comments in a local newspaper:

'It is an axiomatic truth that no organisation can legitimately claim the support of the good people if its principles are not in harmony with the system of government under which it exists... AHEPA's primary objects being "to revive and marshall into active service for Australia the noblest attributes of Hellenism"... Ahepanism, therefore, is₂ a handmaid of Australian life-giving elements...'

Late in 1936 the Hellenic Herald thought that AHEPA would grow to be a 'Greek commercial organisation able to speak on behalf

¹ For reports of AHEPA's foundation and subsequently its activities see Hellenic Herald, 30 August, 1934; 20 December, 1934; 24 January, 30 May, 19 September, 1935; 30 April, 15 and 22 October, 1936. The towns involved in the AHEPA movement were: Werris Creek, Gunnedah, Moree, Scone, Penrith, Tamworth, and Walgett.

² From an article with the caption 'Australianism and Ahepanism' in the Gunnedah Independent Advertiser, 17 January, 1935, and reported in the Hellenic Herald, 31 January, 1935.

of a thousand shop-keepers' but in New South Wales AHEPA's activities did not go much beyond organising social gatherings for which £1,500 were allegedly spent by the end of 1936.¹ From 1936 onwards, however, the movement spread to Brisbane, to Queensland country towns, to Melbourne by World War II and to Sydney and Perth thereafter. In Brisbane the protagonist in the AHEPA movement was Peter Aroney, who more than any other person, helped establish AHEPA on its proper basis.² Even so, the AHEPA movement in Australia did not grow to enjoy the relative position of its counterpart in America: among the large Greek communities in Australia where AHEPA subsequently flourished it became simply another one of the many Greek organisations. In the 1930's the principal Greek immigrant organisation was the Greek Orthodox Community: this was even true of the Community in Sydney despite its St. Sophia opponent.

The ascendancy of Greek Orthodox Communities resulted not only from their special role in the life of immigrants but also because the head of the church won their confidence. Metropolitan Timotheos's moral character compared with that of his predecessor was without blemish. He was also a hard-working cleric, unassuming,

¹ Hellenic Herald, 22 October, 1936.

² See Peter Aroney's own account of AHEPA's growth in Helleno-Australiana Nea, 10 April, 1950.

content with his lot and he remained close to his flock. He was perpetually on the move, visiting settlements and individuals however distant these were from the capitals, going as far as the New Zealand settlements which came under the jurisdiction of his diocese.¹ These frequent visits helped bind otherwise isolated settlements to his diocese and to Communities in the capitals: they also earned the Metropolitan badly needed income from valuable tips given by wealthy shopkeepers who were greatly honoured to have the services of a bishop instead of a priest. The Metropolitan's visit in the riot-stricken Kalgoorlie settlement in 1934 did much to put heart and courage into Greeks and other Orthodox people.² During his visit to Greece, Metropolitan Timotheos spent considerable time touring Ithaca, Kythera, Kastellorizo and Rhodes, the

¹ The largest Greek settlement in New Zealand was that of Wellington where the Panhellenic Brotherhood was founded in 1929. Wellington's Greek consul was J. F. Dyer (1905 - 1935), who was replaced by T. E. Y. Seddon in 1938. Seddon took as his deputy Efstratios Galanis (a Kytheran) in 1939 who had for a number of years served as president of the Brotherhood. A Greek school was operating as early as 1933 and in 1937 it imported a trained school tutor (a young woman) from Greece. No Greek Orthodox Community formed before 1940; its role was performed by the Brotherhood. For information on New Zealand Greeks see: Hellenic Herald, 14 February, 1929; 6, 20 February, 1930; 24 April, 1935; 2 July, 1936; 6 May, 1937; 24 March, 1938, and 19 January, 1939.

² According to one report (Hellenic Herald, 28 June, 1934), 'the Metropolitan's presence gave a breath of life to our community. The fear which reigned supreme in Kalgoorlie after the disturbances of 30 January evaporated as if by magic'. The same report notes that the Metropolitan preached in an Anglican church to no less than 2,000 Orthodox people (most of whom were Serbians), baptised seven children and before leaving he called Greeks together in the International Club to form the 'Union of Greeks of Kalgoorlie'.

birthplace of so many of his Australian flock,¹ His flock was naturally pleased when he returned to Australia. He came with some praise for the Metaxas regime, the Greek government of the day to which he was in any case committed to support, and with greetings from his flock's relations in Greece, and with some bitter tidings, the latter of which he expressed in an address to Broken Hill Greeks. Inter alia the Metropolitan described the plight of many poverty-stricken parents who sold everything to raise their sons' fares to Australia and did not hear from them again.²

The Metropolitan's main source of authority and status among Greek communities was largely due to his position in the Orthodox Church: his other qualities and the unremitting support from Greek consulates simply strengthened his position. Metropolitan Timotheos was the only Orthodox bishop in Australia, recognised as such by all particularly by the Anglican Church,

¹ For reports of his tour in Greece see Hellenic Herald, August, 1937, to January, 1938.

² Hellenic Herald, 3 March, 1938. The Metropolitan's speech at Broken Hill was not necessarily aimed at Broken Hill Greeks because of their gambling habits (for which Greeks elsewhere qualified equally well). He very likely made similar comments on other occasions though these did not see the print. Ageing parents who met the Metropolitan in Greece undoubtedly complained to him of the doings of their 'prodigal sons' in Australia, a common complaint throughout the history of Greek emigration.

which generally speaking, did everything possible to assist the Metropolitan's work. Anglican churches were always at the disposal of Greek clergymen and Anglican clergymen offered their ministrations to Greeks when no Greek priests were available. The Lambeth Conference of churches in 1930 brought closer the Anglican and Orthodox churches at a more official level whereby one recognised the others 'orders and ordinations'.¹ But in Australia the close inter-church relationship arose from the need by the Greek Orthodox Church to procure the badly-needed premises and the patronage of the Anglican Church rather than from a desire for inter-church communion after a thousand years of separation.² The Metropolitan's high church position and jurisdiction was also recognised by other Orthodox groups in Australia. The Metropolitan retained the traditionally close association with Orthodox Syrians: he ordained Michael Shehardie who replaced his late father as rector of the St. George Church in Redfern and as Exarch in Australia of the Patriarchate of Antioch under which St. George came since 1923.³ The Metropolitan also consecrated St. Nicholas Russian

¹ For a short report on the Lambeth Conference see Hellenic Herald, 29 March, 1934, which quotes extracts from the (Church of England) Church Messenger .

² Nothing stopped the Metropolitan from holding joint services with Anglicans and blessing their clergy - acts which were reciprocated by the Anglican bishops. Hellenic Herald, 1 September, 1932; 29 March, 1934; 12 April, 1934, and passim.

³ The ordination ceremonies, for which permission was granted by the Patriarch of Antioch, followed the normal Orthodox procedure. Shehardie was ordained first a deacon then a priest and finally installed as rector of the church. Hellenic Herald, 5 July, 1934.

Orthodox Church of Brisbane in 1936,¹ frequently held joint services with Syrian and Russian clergy at both Greek and non-Greek churches. For all practical purposes Metropolitan Timotheos was the spiritual leader of Australia's Orthodoxy which by 1940 had nine Greek, two Syrian and two Russian churches,² at which all Orthodox professing people could attend.

The Holy Metropolis in Australia, however, was essentially a Greek institution. The Metropolitan's relationship with Greeks, unlike that with other Orthodox people, which was purely spiritual, was intertwined with ethnic communities and in particular with Greek Orthodox Communities. Together with his clergy he had to accept the authority of Communities which owned the churches and

¹ Hellenic Herald, 15 October, 1934. During the ceremony the Metropolitan paid tribute to the very Reverend (Archpriest) Valentine Antoniev who worked so strenuously to build the church. The ceremony was witnessed by the Greek Consul General, Brisbane's Greek consul and Canon T. D. Garland (Anglican Church) among others.

² Greek churches: Sydney (2), Melbourne, Adelaide, Port Pirie, Perth, Brisbane, and Innisfail.

~~Syria~~ churches: Sydney and Melbourne.

Russian churches: Brisbane and Sydney.

A land site to build a Russian church in Sydney was bought in 1940, (Hellenic Herald, 3 June, 1940). Earlier Russians held services in borrowed premises and were conducted by Reverend Inokentios Serisev, an esparantist, who also served at Holy Trinity for several months early in 1932 replacing Archimandrite Athenagoras Varacilas. Hellenic Herald, 12 May, 1932.

which as democratic bodies frequently became the arena in which groups and individuals contended for power. The multiple aims, activities and roles of Communities secularised further his otherwise hierarchical church. It was the Communities which more or less decided the Community-Metropolis relations. All Communities accepted the Metropolitan's jurisdiction and agreed to pay such things as Metropolitan dues for the various religious ceremonies and annual grants to maintain the Metropolitan Institution (Metropolitikos Thesmos).¹ But the amounts of such payments were decided upon by the giver and rarely out of consideration for the needs of the diocese. Attempts by the Metropolitan on at least two occasions to institute auxiliary councils to help him finance and administer the affairs of his church failed.²

¹ The amounts of these grants were fixed by the Community: it is doubtful whether the amount from each Community ever exceeded £100. In the case of the Melbourne Community the annual grant to the Metropolitan was £25. M.B.M., 6 June, 1940.

² The first, the Regional Estate Metropolitan Council (Eparchiakon Metropolitikon Symboulion) proposed early in 1933 was soon forgotten largely because of the split in the Sydney community where it was tried out. The aim was to draw the heads of several organisations and the two churches into the council. (Hellenic Herald, 2, 9, 16 and 23 February, 1933.) The second, was the 'mixed clergy-laity council' which was discussed at a meeting attended by 200 Sydney Greeks on 21 April, 1936. The objection was that the council was likely to be dominated by the clergy and as such it would be a threat to the rights of Communities. The Metropolitan, however, did manage to procure an undisclosed sum of money from the latter effort. Hellenic Herald, 23 and 30 April, 7 May and 13 August, 1938.

In the light of the rise in the prestige and authority of Greek Orthodox Communities, the component parts of Greek ethnic communities were of secondary importance. Localism, though finding expression in ^{the} existence of regional fraternities, was a waning force and did not make its influence felt on Communities and on the diocese. The last serious expression of localism was a petition to the Greek Government by Kytherans to have one of their own members appointed Consul General of Australia when this office became vacant in 1933. The attempt was unsuccessful even though the petitioners pointed out that their candidate, a wealthy merchant, was prepared to give his services free.¹ Though communities were becoming diversified in terms of groups, their activities, ^{converged} on the churches, the schools and philanthropy - the domain of Greek Orthodox Communities. As Greek communities were increasing in size and number so did coffeehouses and their customers; the importance of the 'coffeehouse jury' in the context of community politics, was also growing as were the arrests of coffeehouse gamblers, forty-five of whom were picked up in a single police swoop on a coffeehouse in Russell Street, Melbourne, in 1939.²

¹ Copies of the petition containing the names of 120 Kytherans went to both Tsitisilias and J. Kontoleon (the rival Kytheran politicians) as well as direct to the Greek Government. The petition asserted that 80 per cent. of New South Wales Greeks were Kytherans and that their candidate, Stylianos Andronicus, (the brother of the former acting Consul General, Emanuel Andronicus) was a J.P., well known and respected by all Greeks. Source: Andronicus Papers.

² Phos, 1 March, 1939.

Greek consulates were called upon to do much more as Greek communities grew. This was also true of the Consul Generals especially since the number of Greek ships calling in at Australian ports was increasing. The arrival and departure of Greek ships, however, were often events which concerned the whole community: it meant newcomers, news and tales, sometimes the renewal of acquaintances, receptions for the crew, trade for Greek providers,¹ the settlement of disputes between captain and crew and often enough secretive arrangements to help seamen jump ship and settle in Australia. The increasing demands made on Greek consulates partly explains why the Greek Government refused the free services of a wealthy Kytheran to head its General Consulate in Australia; instead it entrusted the office to career diplomats, John Cocotakis (1935 - 1937), and Emil Vryzakis (1938 - 1946).

The Greek newspapers, as has been argued, had a number of roles to play in the life of the Greeks. They also encountered a number of difficulties, the most important of which was to remain as going concerns - a difficult task indeed in view of the limited number of readers and limited revenue that could be procured from advertisements. Both readers and revenue from advertisements could be better procured if the newspaper succeeded in winning the

¹ A person who fitted into the scheme of things rather admirably was Christy Freeleagus, Brisbane's Greek consul, community leader and provider, at least as early as 1920. (Interview: Alex Freeleagus, June, 1968, Brisbane.) Needless to say Christy Freeleagus had nothing to do in helping Greek seamen abandon their ships.

patronage of influential sections in communities,¹ of Greek Orthodox Community and Greek church and national leaders and eventually of the Greek Government from which probably all Greek newspapers received occasional grants. But the main source of newspaper revenue came from Australia which explains the eternal war between the Hellenic Herald and the Ethnikon Vema and of Phos's hostility to both, and why all newspaper proprietors conducted other businesses, usually shops selling books, other printed matter, records, icons and similar imported articles: some also conducted their travel agencies.

The year 1940 marks the end of an era in the history of Greek immigration and settlement in Australia. The slow uneven yet continuous growth of Greek settlements since the 1890's had by 1940 produced typical Greek ethnic communities in five metropolitan areas of the mainland and in Innisfail, Queensland. The tendency in each of these settlements was to create a powerful Greek Orthodox Community which owned and administered a church and a

¹ The Ethnikon Vema had unsuccessfully approached the Communities in Brisbane and Melbourne and offered them commissions (as high as 25 per cent.) on any advertisements the Communities were able to procure. M.B.M., 28 April, 1931; Hellenic Herald, 7 January, 1932. Regas Omeros similarly approached the Melbourne Community council for moral support in his newspaper venture. The council refused on the grounds 'that it was unconstitutional'. M.B.M., 28 April, 1931. Regas Omeros eventually founded the Pharos in Adelaide which came out in several issues (1935 - 1936) before going bankrupt.

school, which had auxiliary bodies and adjuncts or agencies in the smaller country settlements. Apart from enjoying a virtual monopoly in the means by which the hellenicity of Greeks was to be perpetuated, each Community derived considerable authority from the fact that membership to it was open to all Greeks and from the patronage and support it received from the Greek Church and national representatives. Other Greek societies and institutions not organically or formally connected with each Community also recognised and accepted its important role and authority. The power vested in Communities and exercised by their elected councils bound together the otherwise fragmented ethnic communities ensuring their continuous existence as a sub-culture within Australian society. The suggestion that Greek communities and Greek Orthodox Communities were synonymous was not without foundation, while such tenets as Community rights, authority and bond, became deeply rooted in the idiosyncracies of pre-war Greeks. Greek Orthodox Communities had become indispensable to the whole structure of Greek ethnic communities as they were the very backbone of the Greek establishment that had emerged by 1940.

CHAPTER V.THE TURBULENT FORTIES.

The 1940's were years of rapid changes, in Australia, Greece and the world, all of which affected tremendously Greeks in Australia. Greek ethnic communities which were united and proud during World War II, experienced all the vicissitudes of post-war political upheavals which came from the Greek civil war, an event which was also very much part of the world-wide 'cold war' conflict. Such political conflicts undermined the solidity of ethnic communities and because of other economic, demographic and social changes occurring in Australia, communities became much more diversified social groups within Australian society.

Greece's entry into World War II against the Axis powers greatly strengthened Anglo-Greek bonds of friendship and simultaneously enhanced the standing of Greeks in Australian society. General Metaxas's 'No' to Italy's ultimatum on 28th October, 1940, was resolute and defiant for it was backed by Great Britain. The Greek army repelled the Italian invaders and pursued them into Albania, a feat which won Greeks considerable admiration and liberated intense national pride and enthusiasm.¹ 'No' day subsequently became an important national anniversary, second only to 25th March. Greece, but without General Metaxas who died in January, 1941, also said 'No' to Germany whose panzer divisions

¹ For a brief account of the Graeco-Italian war see W. A. Heurtley and others, *op.cit.*, pp. 140-141.

invaded Greece early in April. British and Anzac troops had by this time arrived in Greece and although the main body of the Greek army was caught in Albania the combined Allied forces managed to stave off for five weeks complete German occupation.¹ Battles such as that of Crete late in May at which both sides suffered heavy losses, cemented further British Anzac and Greek bonds.² Returning Anzacs spoke highly of Greek courage and hospitality before and after the German occupation and how Greeks sheltered Allied soldiers and helped them escape to the Middle East.³ The fleeing Greek monarchy, government and remnants of Greece's fighting forces, were harboured by British and Allied forces in the Middle East, Although Greece was enslaved, Greeks at home and abroad vowed to free her knowing that they had the support of the Allies, especially the English-speaking world in which most Greeks of the modern dispersion lived.

¹ Chester Wilmot, The Struggle for Europe, 1965, pp. 76-77, notes that Hitler had actually used one third of his mobile formation for his Balkans campaign which (force) he intended for his operation Barbarossa against Russia. Though the point cannot be laboured strongly, Greece's stand was not altogether insignificant in helping to postpone Hitler's invasion of Russia and consequently in helping to avert Russia's collapse. For the exploits of the British and Anzac forces in Greece see: Gavin Long, Greece, Crete and Syria, (Australia in the War of 1939-1945, Vol. II), 1953.

² Gavin Long, op.cit., pp. 315-318, and passim.

³ Ibid., and the Hellenic Herald, 25 September, 1941, and passim.

The effect on Australia's Greeks of Greece's stand against the powerful Axis powers and particularly her military victories over the not so formidable Italian forces, was electrifying. Within days of the Italian invasion a Greek National War Relief fund was initiated at a service in St. Sophia, Sydney.¹ The campaign was conducted mostly under the auspices of the Consul General whose office in Sydney remitted £95,956 to Greece by March, 1941.² The response to help the fatherland, however, was spontaneous, indicated by the amounts contributed and the rapidity with which the sums of money flowed in to the General Consul's office.³ Because of this it is not possible to estimate the total amount sent by Australia's Greeks until Greece was subdued but the amount was well above £100,000.⁴ Relief to Greek war victims in Greece and in the Middle East continued to flow in from Australia mainly through the Red Cross during the war and immediately after liberation, but again it is not possible to estimate a total figure in

¹ Hellenic Herald, 7 November, 1940.

² See the Hellenic Herald, 7 December, 1944, which published the financial statement of the campaign.

³ For the various contributors and the associated activities see the Hellenic Herald, 7 November, 1940, and onwards.

⁴ The Melbourne Greek consulate alone had remitted £16,000 to Greece by April, 1941 - an amount raised in Melbourne, Hellenic Herald, 13 April, 1941.

monetary terms. Relief took such forms as private parcels of food, clothing and money, similar aid sent by Greek Orthodox Communities, regional fraternities, combined community efforts, the Australian branch of the Red Cross and finally shipments of wheat and wool by the Commonwealth Government.¹ One authority has estimated the total monetary value of such aid from Australia in the 1940-1945 years to have been as much as £1,000,000² - a valuable sum indeed which compares favourably with America's contribution of £100 million in the same period.³

Activities associated with the war effort had, of course, been undertaken by Greek communities before October, 1940. Financial drives commencing with that on behalf of the R.A.A.F. from mid-1938 onwards continued more or less uninterrupted and there

¹ From the Australian Government in 1941 came £70,000 (wheat) and £35,000 (wool), while in 1943 £250,000 was allocated by the Australian branch of the Red Cross in relief to Greek war victims: other assistance of undisclosed or unknown monetary value was also given by the Australian Government and public agencies during the war. Hellenic Herald, 17 July, 1941, and passim; Angelo Gooma (interviewed November, 1967, Sydney), told the writer that the Australian Government also granted £150,000 worth of wool to Greece immediately after liberation in 1945.

² This figure was quoted to the writer by Angelo Gooma, the secretary of the Greek General Consulate (from the early 1930's to the early 1960's). Interview October, 1967, Sydney. Gooma made the same claim in Phos, 27 March, 1963, and also that another £1,000,000 went to Greece from New Zealand.

³ Theodore Saloutos, op.cit., pp. 348-349.

was little doubt as to where the loyalties of the vast majority of Greeks in Australia lay in respect to the warring nations. Contributions in response to appeals by the Australian Government were generous and came from Greek individuals and organisations, and took such forms as a pledge by '100 Greek shopkeepers in Melbourne to give a day's takings' for the war effort and a similar pledge by two Greek wrestlers to give the proceeds from their wrestling bout.¹ But after 28 October, 1940, activities and efforts to win the war and help their own countrymen in need increased immensely and subordinated most other activities in communities. Greeks also expressed a much greater pride in their national heritage and in their association with the English speaking world. They paraded frequently in streets and at other organised gatherings displaying their national costumes and flags especially for such functions as 'Greek Days' which were sanctioned by Australian authorities to facilitate the collection of money for Greece.² Collection boxes draped in the blue and white Greek flag became a permanent fixture in Greek shops throughout the war period. Greeks and Greek organisations competed to subscribe to war and security loans. Young Greeks enlisted in the Australian army and air force (but few, it

¹ For the pledge of '100 Greek shopkeepers of Melbourne' and Greek wrestlers (Johnny Paradise and Manolis Kritikos) see the Hellenic Herald, 27 June, and 18 July, 1940.

² For detailed reports of the activities of the Greek National War Relief Fund see the Hellenic Herald, 7 November, 1940, onwards.

seems, in the Australian navy), even though a number of these servicemen were not Australian citizens,¹ Even several Greek priests donned the Australian army uniform. The only Greeks who did not share in the initial intense anti-Axis fervour were several members of the Australian Communist Party. These, loyal to their party, but not to the Greek Communist Party, whose gaoled leader, Nikos Zacharaides,² called for struggle against the Italian invaders, opposed the war. The extent of their opposition amounted to no more than issuing an anti-war leaflet - an act which earned them considerable hostility from their compatriots, the internment of one by the Australian security service, and all of which very likely contributed to the decision by Andreas Raftopoulos to commit suicide.³ But after the invasion of Russia the Greek communists also played their part in the war effort activity.

¹ Most Greeks serving Australia had enlisted in the army (as did most other Australians). It is not certain to what extent the Australian Government had the right to draft aliens into its armed forces but in view of the war and the Anglo-Greek alliance, few queried or objected to these wartime measures. The president of the Greek Servicemen's Legion in Perth (Demetrios Joannides), on the other hand, quoted the Army Minister as saying that voluntary enlistment by foreign nationals was discouraging. Joannides chastised Greeks for refusing to join the army, for shirking their duty and for profiteering instead. Hellenic Herald, 2 April, 1942.

² D. G. Kousoulas, Revolution and Defeat, (The story of the Greek Communist Party), 1965, pp.140-144.

³ The person interned for several months under wartime security regulations was Jim Mitsopoulos, a leading Greek communist in Sydney. He was convicted on a charge (which he denied) that he was seen distributing the anti-war leaflet. Soon after his internment Andreas Raftopoulos was found dead in his bed (in Mitsopoulos's own house, Liverpool Street, Sydney), having bled to death from a slashed artery which was self-inflicted. Interview: Jim Mitsopoulos, October, 1967, Sydney.

The outbreak of the war caught sixteen Greek ships in Australian waters. These ships were chartered by the Australian Government as were a larger number by the British Government, to serve the war needs.¹ A number of Greek seamen abandoned their ships (some preferring to remain in gaol than sail the treacherous waters of the war),² but on the whole enough of the crews remained to operate the ships: the seamen were spurred on by appeals³ from their union, a branch of which was set up in Australia, and by a general willingness to fight the Axis powers.

The war naturally brought a regimentation of labour and economic activity but such regimentation did not operate unfavourably as far as Greeks were concerned. Wartime manpower regulations which aimed to enlist the able-bodied man and woman into the armed services and to recruit others into essential industries

¹ Interview: Angelo Gooma, Sozos Regos and others, November, 1967, Sydney.

² According to Angelo Gooma at least five Greek ships were sunk in or near Australian waters during the war. Jumping ship was a common occurrence during the war. Those caught were dealt with but a large number managed to elude the authorities and live in Australia untroubled by wartime regulations. Several Greek seamen were still in gaol in May, 1943, in Fremantle, after being interned two years earlier for leaving their ships. Hellenic Herald, 6 May, 1943.

³ Hellenic Herald, 29 April, 1943.

had the effect of employing Greeks who were otherwise not usefully employed or who were unemployed. Whether they were naturalised Australians or Greek nationals, Greeks were treated as ordinary citizens with all the rights and responsibilities that citizenship status carried. Greeks were certainly receiving better treatment than were many Italians and other 'hostile' aliens who were often drafted to work in such unattractive manual tasks as road-making and receiving the ordinary army rate of 6/6d. a day.¹ As employees, Greeks could work as many hours as they liked and manpower regulations did not prevent many of them from going into business if they wished. Despite price and other controls, those in the catering trades were generally able to reap handsome profits from a clientele in a society which had become more affluent and which included large numbers of Australian and American servicemen eager to spend their money before departing for the front. Complaints against profiteering by foreign shopkeepers while Australian boys were dying in the war, were made on occasions but the wrath fell on Italians rather than on Greeks.² Several Italian shop-

¹ For some of these manpower regulations administered by such agencies as the Manpower Directorate, the Allied Works Council and earlier by other Commonwealth Government departments, see The Sun (Sydney), 27 and 29 April, 1943.

² Sir Charles Marr, M.H.R., (The Sun, 13 April, 1943), stated that a deputation of Ashfield shopkeepers had complained to him that while Italian and Greek shops were overstaffed their (British-Australian) shops were denuded of labour by Manpower. The Sun's cartoonist (16 April, 1943) portrayed the occasion by showing a prosperous and burly Italian shopkeeper saying: 'Aussies do-a da fight, Me keep-a da home fires a-smoke',

keepers, moreover, were apparently caught posing as Greeks by displaying Greek emblems in their shop windows - an exposure in which the editor-manager of the Hellenic Herald, Alex Grivas, took much pleasure in conducting.¹ The only other concern for the rights of Greeks were: agitation by the Returned Servicemen's League branch of Orange (N.S.W.), to prevent Greeks from extending their businesses and purchasing real property;² an objection raised against the setting up of a Greek school in Mildura, Victoria;³ and the lowly status of Greeks in the Australian Army,⁴ Compared with the general elevation in the status of Greeks in the Australian community these complaints were insignificant. A significant complaint came after the war, and this because of a suggestion in a Sydney daily newspaper that 'Australia needs Britons before misfits, . . . or second and third class human material'!

¹ Hellenic Herald, 29 April, and 6 May, 1943; and The Sun, 16 April, 1943. The president of the Australian Fruit and Greengrocers Association suggested that every fruitshop should bear an endorsed badge of the nationality of the owner, Alex Grivas fully endorsed the proposal but there is no evidence that it was implemented. Hellenic Herald, 6 May, 1943.

² Hellenic Herald, 23 September, 1943.

³ See Phos, 1 September, 1943, for the objection raised by several city councillors in Mildura.

⁴ Hellenic Herald, 23 September, 1943.

To this Alex Grivas responded: 'We, the foreigners, for several decades now have been the target of abuse, insults and inhospitable remarks from a large section of the Australian public.'¹

Apart from a gain in social status during the war, Greeks also grew more prosperous. Other wartime effects on Greeks in Australia were that many of them were brought to work in factories from which they were noticeably absent in the pre-war period. This in turn brought more Greeks into metropolitan areas away from the country-side where many had become dispersed in the previous two decades. Such occupational and residential shifts, both of which signify their growing prosperity, are clearly shown by the census figures of 1947.

Of a total of 8,730 Greek-born males and females who were in the work force in 1947, 4,646 or 55.5 per cent. were listed in the 'employer' and 'self-employed' categories: the majority (2,729) were listed as employers.² The only other ethnic group which had a higher representation in these two occupational status categories was the numerically smaller group of Syrians and Lebanese: 60 per cent. of these were employers and self-employed, most of whom probably prospered in their traditional clothing and haberdashery shops. Other more comparable groups were Italians

¹ Hellenic Herald, 27 February, 1947. Alex Grivas wrote this in answer to a correspondent in the Daily Mirror, 21 February, 1947.

² Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. The Census of 1947.

with 47.8 per cent, and Yugoslavs with 41.5 per cent, in the two categories combined. Whereas, however, groups such as Italians and Yugoslavs had achieved their occupational status to a great measure by virtue of their employment in rural areas, Greeks achieved their economic independence through their catering shops. But even in such occupations as 'rural, fishing and hunting' which claimed 1,289 Greek-born, Greeks had done well. The same can be said of 3,388 Greeks who were listed as employees. In a period of a high demand for labour their conditions of work and pay were satisfactory and had greatly improved compared with the pre-war conditions. Yet for a number of Greek employees their status was only a temporary one. The tendency throughout the 1940's was to go into business or purchase real property as soon as possible. Among the 3,388 Greek employees were many who worked in the catering trades for wages, always with an eye to opening up shop themselves in the future. Census occupational classifications in 1947 do not indicate the precise industries in which Greeks laboured, but there is no reason to believe that there was a large-scale entry of Greeks into factories and industry in general. Still the entry of Greeks into industries where unionised labour operated, was a significant departure from the past and a change which pointed to future employment patterns.

By 1947, as Table VI below indicates, Greeks in Australia had become relatively more urbanised than they were in 1933, though the movement was towards metropolitan rather than provincial urban areas.

TABLE VI. THE URBANISATION OF GREEK-BORN, 1933 AND 1947.¹
(Percentage in brackets)

Year of Census	Urban		Rural	Migratory	Total
	Metropolitan	Provincial			
1933	4,095 (49.1)	1,665 (20.0)	2,530 (30.4)	47 (0.6)	8,337
1947	6,982 (56.8)	2,413 (19.6)	2,841 (23.1)	55 (0.5)	12,291

Rural settlements had, as can be seen, increased, but compared with metropolitan urban settlement, this increase was small. Greek migration within Australia in the intercensal period is not and cannot easily be recorded but by 1947 the drift to the cities was clearly evident. This movement in varying degrees also involved other ethnic groups as well as British Australians, and it was caused mainly by the war. Greek ethnic community life and services further attracted Greeks to the cities. The greatest loss in rural settlements occurred in Streaky Bay (South Australia) where Greek-born decreased from 50 in 1933 to 15 in 1947, and several shires in

¹ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. The Census of 1933 and 1947.

Queensland that contained sugar-cane farms. These were Hinchinbrook, whose number of Greek-born fell from 56 to 18, Cardwell from 63 to 13, and Johnstone (near Innisfail) from 245 to 146. In these sugar-cane fields most Greek settlers were very likely cane-cutters whose numbers were high in June, the time both censuses were taken, but the decrease in their numbers in 1947 indicates the general city-ward movement. The movement from the country to the city also weakened the Rhodian settlement of Biloela and Thangool and brought many Greeks who worked at scrub-clearing on Eyre Peninsula (South Australia) to the more urban settlements: both of these movements, however, had started before the declaration of the war.

There were also several notable exceptions to the movement from the countryside to the city. The increase in the number of Greek-born in some rural market-gardening areas was just as spectacular as the decrease in other settlements. Among these were Werribee (near Melbourne) where the number of Greek-born residents increased from 22 in 1933 to 137 in 1947; Shepparton (including the town itself) from 16 to 72; Upper Chapman (Western Australia) from 15 to 101; Manjimup (Western Australia) from 22 to 151; and Queanbeyan (New South Wales) not listed in 1933 contained 42 Greek-born residents in 1947. But in all of these settlements the majority of Greek-born settlers were not Greeks but Slav-Macedonians.¹ This fact supports rather than rejects the contention that there was a

¹ C. A. Price, *op.cit.*,

general movement of Greeks away from rural areas but it also shows that not all ethnic groups were responding in the same way to similar economic or other conditions. The answer to the whole question of group settlement is, of course, to be found in the interplay of the forces of chain migration and settlement. Just as the catering trades accounted for concentrated Greek settlements, market-gardens brought about several Slav-Macedonian settlements. What is more, these latter settlements showed that Slav-Macedonians, many of whom were listed among the Greek-born, were not intermingling with Greeks. Indeed, Slav-Macedonians had by 1946 emerged as a distinct ethnic group extremely well-organised in the Macedonian-Australian Peoples League which had a branch in most of the settlements mentioned above, as well as in most metropolitan areas.¹

By contrast Greek Cypriots listed as Cypriots and who numbered 681 in 1947, mixed readily with Greeks and were considered part of each Greek settlement. Greek Cypriots also shared similar demographic features with Greeks, and the same national identity and consciousness.

As can be appreciated, no Greeks, except a few Greek seamen, migrated to Australia during the war. Nor did Greece, because of the civil war, fit into Australia's programme of large-scale immigration in the years immediately following the end of the war. Still, by 1950 a little over 6,000 immigrants had arrived from Greece. Most of the newcomers were very likely close relatives of earlier

¹ Makedonska Iskra, February, 1948, listed twenty-one branches of the Macedonian-Australian Peoples' League thus showing the existence of as many Slav-Macedonian chain settlements.

settlers, indicated by the fact that half of the new settlers were females. Families, separated by the war, and earlier by the economic depression, were clearly being united again. Among the 6,000 were also an unknown number of Slav-Macedonians, glad to leave a war and a civil war ravaged area. The civil war also partly explains why Greeks themselves were leaving, despite the many obstacles obstructing their way, and also why only 469 departed from Australia in the 1945 - 1950 years. Greek Cypriot post-war immigration which commenced by 1947 added a further 1801 males and 463 females to Australia's Greek population by 1950.¹ The number of Cypriots probably more than matched the number of Slav-Macedonians arriving as Greeks, while the large number of Cypriot males offset somewhat the diminishing male:female ratio among Greeks caused by the entry of so many Greek females in the same period.

In the post-war years immigrants were accommodated and settled without undue hardships in a society which, though experiencing all sorts of shortages, was nonetheless growing prosperous. The existence of Greek ethnic communities facilitated immensely the successful settlement of their new settlers who were assisted to procure housing, accommodation, employment, small loans, interpreters, and finally, sponsors more affluent than the new arrivals themselves, necessary to help bring their close relatives and friends from whom they recently departed. By this time all that sponsors.

¹ (Greek) Cypriot immigration in the 1947-1950 years is given in the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Demography, 1951, Bulletin No. 70. In earlier bulletins Cypriot immigrants were apparently included in the category 'Other British Possessions',

seeking landing permits, were obliged to do was give a written guarantee to the Immigration Department stating that they accepted responsibility for the housing, accommodation and employment of their nominees. A guarantee of employment could easily be procured from any Greek or Australian employer without actually supplying it: housing accommodation, too, could be promised but not used by the nominee. Greek immigration and successful settlement in Australia had, therefore, become easy and incoming settlers were no longer as dependent on their sponsors as they were before the war. All that an intending immigrant required was his fare and a landing permit.

Generally post-war Greek (and Slav-Macedonian) immigration and settlement retained its chain migration features. But a very significant change occurred which intensified migration chains. Although many new arrivals came to join their own folk in such occupations as restaurants, shops and market gardens, an increasing number began entering factories and other industries requiring unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Because of the consistently high demand for labour these migration chains intensified, reaching formidable proportions in the post-1950 period. Yet this type of migration chain was really commenced in 1947, not so much by Greeks as by Greek Cypriots, a fact which explains the comparatively large number of post-war Cypriots and several Cypriot regional concentrations in industrial urban centres. Hence Greek Cypriots from the region and city of Lemessos settled in Sydney. From Paphos they went to Melbourne, especially in the industrial suburb of

Sunshine, while the Adelaide Cypriot community was made up almost entirely of former inhabitants of two small towns, Rizocarpaso and Aradippou,¹ Just as earlier chain settlements depended on the successful settlement of one or two pioneers, so did many of the post-war settlements. But unlike the earlier pioneers, most post-war migrants sought their fortunes by working for wages in industrial establishments owned by Australlans. The chain settlements that began in the post-war years were becoming concentrated in the inner suburbs of metropolitan areas and also in the industrial provincial cities. There was some movement within Australia, usually undertaken in search for a better-paid job, but in deciding to settle down permanently a Greek normally chose a house close to the centre of a capital city and a job offering overtime work. Economically, such a person would not be much below the status of a small shop-keeper.

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During the war conditions called for co-operation and unity of purpose so that areas of conflict in communities tended to be eliminated. Wartime prosperity, so favourable to individual Greeks, also favoured Greek Orthodox Communities. All outstanding debts Communities owed on their church buildings were paid by early 1944²

¹ Interviews with Greek Cypriot community members in these settlements.

² Hellenic Herald, 20 April, 1944.

and funds from their replenished treasuries were diverted to national and war purposes and to finance Greek schools. St. Sophia's debt was also paid, the last instalment being paid by another grant of £2,600 from the Hellenic Club of Sydney in October, 1942.¹ St. Sophia's solvency also facilitated its formal union with Holy Trinity, in 1945, the bone of contention in the 1930's. This union came in the form of a legal merger which was negotiated over a lengthy period between the councils of the two churches and the Greek Consul General and which was not resisted by Community members. This war-time co-operation for unity in Sydney is particularly significant because the legal merger meant the formal dissolution of the Community and its amalgamation into the newly constituted Greek Orthodox Community of New South Wales, a body which legally was nothing more than another name for the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of Australasia Incorporated.² The new Community was now an incorporated body governed by laws pertaining to companies and tied very much to the Holy Metropolis. Constitutionally and legally the Community recognised the Metropolitan and therefore the Ecumenical Patriarchate as its spiritual head; it could not buy or sell church property without the Metropolitan's consent, nor close its

¹ Hellenic Herald, 5 November, 1942.

² The legal documents relating to the merger were supplied to the writer by A. T. George (Georgatos), the lawyer who handled the case. (With his permission copies of these documents were deposited in the Mitchell Library.)

churches to worshippers.¹ These, among others, were the sort of terms the church had sought from Communities ever since March, 1924, and they were in line with those procured from Communities in other parts of Australia in the 1930's even though such terms were not always as clearly defined in their constitution. The Community's new constitution was the brain-child of A. T. George (Georgatos), an Australian-born, a successful legal practitioner and businessman and the Community's president during 1945 - 1947.²

By its new constitution Community membership was limited to one thousand but this did not make it an exclusive body. There was, in any case, a provision to increase the number of members if necessary. Its annual subscription fee of £1 for all 'freeholders, shopkeepers and people of independent means and employers' and ten shillings 'for male employees and for females' were not restrictive.³ The Community's administrative council was enlarged to twenty thus allowing considerable room for office seekers wanting to serve on different sub-committees in charge of the Community's increased activities.⁴ Another departure from past practices was that the

¹ The Constitution of the Greek Orthodox Community of New South Wales.

² Hellenic Herald, 5 July, 1945, and passim.

³ The Constitution of the Greek Orthodox Community of New South Wales.

⁴ The only time the Community council failed to have its twenty member council filled was in 1948. (Hellenic Herald, 12 February, 18 March, and 13 May, 1948.)

Community's membership and activities were becoming more and more confined to Sydney. Most members of Communities in other States similarly lived in or near the metropolitan areas. This was also true in the case of the Brisbane Community whose 1944 revised constitution provided that its members were to live in Brisbane and within boundaries 'specified by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia'¹ which in practice included countryside settlements not far from the capital. The fact that five of the fifteen Community council positions were, as in previous and subsequent years, filled by representatives from these nearby settlements did not appreciably shift the Community's base, activities and function from metropolitan Brisbane. This could only be done if non-metropolitan settlements grew sufficiently numerous to warrant the founding of separate Communities. The only settlements which achieved this position were Townsville² by 1945, and in other States, Port Pirie and Newcastle, by the end of the decade. The last two, however, did not attract a resident priest until after 1950; and Townsville, by the mid-1940's, only because the priest could simultaneously serve the needs of settlers in Ingham and Rockhampton.

¹ The Constitution of the Greek Orthodox Community of St. George, Brisbane.

² Although the Townsville Community was founded in 1946 and could afford a resident priest (who also served the settlements in Ingham and Rockhampton), the church was not completed until mid-1950. M.B.S., 11 June, 1946, 1 April, 1947, and Hellenic Herald, 4 October, 1945, and 6 June, 1950.

Despite several differences among Communities in such things as their constitutions, number of members and councillors and the latter's method of election, all Communities retained considerable uniformity in respect to their aims and roles. Much of ethnic community life centred upon Communities as in the past. Such factors as post-war political divisions, the formulation of a set of rules by the Metropolitan in 1946, and a change in church leadership in 1947 did not substantially alter the function of Communities nor their pre-eminence, influence and authority in the ethnic community. Communities remained the Greek establishment in Australia, a position to which the church had acquiesced through the Metropolitan.

Metropolitan Timotheos remained very close to his flock throughout the war. He was at the forefront of much of the activity of communities and furthermore, initiated moves to found a Greek residential college for boys in Sydney. This rather ambitious project failed but it did occupy his energies for some considerable time indicating his faith in the progress and the further establishment of his church in Australia. In 1946 the Metropolitan formulated his diocese's first rules.¹ Apart from re-iterating in clearer terms much of the existing Community-Metropolis relations these rules also introduced the following

¹ For the full text of the rules known as the 'Internal Rules of the Holy Metropolis of Australia' see the Hellenic Herald, 21 and 28 April, 1946.

innovations. Ecclesiastical courts were set up to act as final arbiters in disputes between clergy and Communities; the performance of sacraments was prohibited outside Greek churches if these were available, except in extreme cases and then only in Anglican churches; and each priest was allowed to have the proceeds of four collection trays in any one year. The new rules generally sought to give more power to the Metropolitan over the clergy rather than over Communities: possibly the only ~~obnoxious~~ ^{controversial} clauses were those concerned with the inception of ecclesiastical courts and the loss in the right to purchase and dispose of church property, but these new regulations were not enforced so that no disputes arose. The publication of these rules caused no serious debate in 1946.¹ The only caustic comment came from Phos² which viewed the new regulations as aiming to satisfy the greed of the clergy - a view which was not inconsistent with the long-term attitude of this newspaper.

No sooner had Metropolitan Timotheos placed the finishing touches on a diocese he laboured to structure for nearly fifteen years, than he decided to leave Australia (in February, 1947), to take up his new appointment as Metropolitan of Rhodes. There is

¹ The Hellenic Herald's (14 March, 1946) only comment was that the rules concerned purely church questions and not 'psalters and Community councils who worked without pay'.

² Phos, 27 April, 1946.

no reason to believe that his unexpected departure from Australia was motivated for reasons other than his desire to accept promotion. He was probably bidding for promotion for some time before - a promotion he earned by his work in Australia. In 1949 Metropolitan Timotheos was apparently considered sufficiently worthy to be elevated to the Archbishopric of America but died soon after and before assuming this important church office.¹ His departure, however, was rather sudden - he had to abandon a clergy-laity conference he called for early February, 1946, in which he hoped to set up a mixed 'clergy-laity council'² - and it caused considerable anxiety among Community circles because there was no prior information of a successor. His departure also caused considerable sadness among his flock, including Panayotopoulos who sought forgiveness for having so frequently chastised the bishop in the past.³

¹ According to the typed monograph history of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia (p.3), Metropolitan Timotheos was elected to the American Archbishopric in June, 1949, but became ill. During his illness he was re-elected to the Rhodes Metropolis, and died in October of the same year while he was in Constantinople.

² Phos, 20 November, 1946.

³ Phos, 5 March, 1947, and Hellenic Herald, 27 February, and 20 and 27 March, 1947.

Australia's next Greek Metropolitan was to be Archimandrite Theophylactos, Melbourne's resident priest. This was announced in April, 1947, though he was not enthroned until June, 1948, and after he was consecrated as bishop, a ceremony for which he had to go to Greece in July.¹ News of the elevation of Theophylactos to the Australasian See was received with mixed feelings and considerable surprise: his promotion from within the Australasian diocese was unprecedented and it somehow denied the aura of respectability that normally surrounds a Greek bishop, much of which comes because a bishop usually descends upon a diocese rather than rises from one. Most of the flock accepted his promotion, many were pleased and his closest associates were undoubtedly elated. There were, of course, the sceptics and the vigorous opponents. Among the former were a number of Community councillors who feared lest the new Metropolitan change the status quo in the Community-Metropolis relations: among the latter was the Phos-party which by 1947 was in control of the Community.² In editorials Phos opposed Theophylactos's promotion on the grounds that Communities were not consulted and because in the course of twenty years Theophylactos had 'naturally developed his sympathies and antipathies'.³

¹ Phos, 9 July, 1947; Hellenic Herald, 17 June, 1948.

² See pp.327-328 below for the rise of the Phos-party in Melbourne.

³ Phos, 7 May, 9 July, 22 October, 1947.

The opposition to Theophylactos but more importantly concern in the changed church leadership, resulted in the calling in May, 1947, of what was then termed Australia's first Pan-Community Conference. It was convened by the Community in Melbourne but the only other Communities which sent delegates were those in Sydney and Adelaide. Questions such as the need for Communities to coordinate their activities, and the setting up of a Federal Community Council, were discussed, but the main business before the conference was Community-Metropolis relations.¹ After lengthy speeches and discussions the main resolution of the conference was to ask the new Metropolitan to draft a set of rules and submit them to Communities for their considerations.² But all was in vain: Theophylactos soon left for overseas and when he returned as Metropolitan the following year all except the Phos-party either welcomed³ him with open arms or accepted their new spiritual leader without fuss.

¹ Phos, 7 May, 1947 .

² This was also the Sydney Community's concern and main reason why its council decided to participate in the Pan-Community Conference, M.B.S., 29 April, 1947.

³ This was especially true in the case of the Sydney Community which before the Metropolitan's arrival had willingly decided to accept full responsibility to provide for the Metropolitan's residence (M.B.S., 3 March, 1948, and passim). The gathering at his enthronement in St. Sophia's Cathedral on 13 June, 1948, was equally impressive. (Hellenic Herald, 17 June, 1948.)

There was no change in church policy under Theophylactos, nor could there be even if he was instructed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to implement a new church system. The Communities still held the power of the purse and Theophylactos knew how zealously Communities guarded their rights and prerogatives. Community-Metropolis relations remained the same as they were before, apart from the rather strained relations between Theophylactos and the Melbourne Community. But the conflict in Melbourne was due to the deep-rooted feud between the Metropolitan and the Phos-party rather than differences over principles. Questions such as what say Communities were to have in appointing a bishop were not, and could not be, posed, though Communities and individuals did and could agitate to get rid of one. Also conflict did arise over the question of who had the right to transfer and appoint priests, as well as disagreements about the payment of £100 annual grant to the Holy Metropolis. Both of these questions were heatedly debated by Theophylactos and the Melbourne Community during 1948,¹ yet it is doubtful whether they would have caused so much controversy had it not been for the sharply divided Melbourne community. The coming to power, in the Melbourne Community early in 1949, of a group headed by Angelo Lekatsas (the Ithacan peace-maker in the 1920's and Community president for most of the 1930's), terminated

¹ Phos, March, April, August-November, 1948.

the Phos-party's influence and the conflict with the Holy Metropolis.¹ It was not church disputes² which divided Greek ethnic communities in the 1940's, but politics.

Political discord among Greeks in Australia in the post-war period was very much a part of the wider world political conflict, and its source is to be found in World War II. Among the numerous organisations which arose to resist the German and Italian occupationists in Greece, the largest was the National Liberation Front, (E.A.M.), and its armed appendage, the National People's Liberation Army, (E.L.A.S.). E.A.M.-E.L.A.S. was, by and large, conceived, organised, and led by the Greek Communist Party, (K.K.E.), but contained many socialists and republicans.³ As a resistance army E.L.A.S. achieved a fine record and received recognition by the Allies and substantial aid from Great Britain as did other Greek resistance groups.⁴ But while fighting the

¹ Phos, 27 April, 1949.

² The only other instance of religious discord, though on a minor scale, was associated with the decision by Archimandrite Metrophanes Nicolaides (rector of St. Sophia) to leave the church in 1949. He was reportedly at logger-heads with the Community council in 1945, (M.B.S., 23 July, 1945, and passim), but his decision to discard the priesthood was due to personal reasons: by 1949 he had procured himself a law degree and a wife. Hellenic Herald, 12 May, 1949, M.B.S., 28 March, 1949, and interview with Metrophanes Nicolaides, November, 1968, Sydney.

³ D. G. Kousoulas, op.cit., pp. 145-187.

⁴ For a full account of the exploits of E.L.A.S. by its own commander-in-chief see: General Stefanos Sarafis Greek Resistance Army, 1951. (English translation) Sarafis was a republican and remained so until his death in the late 1950's.

occupationists, E.L.A.S. was simultaneously consolidating its power over liberated regions of mainland Greece, often at the exclusion of other resistance groups.¹ E.L.A.S.-controlled areas were increasing rapidly as the war was nearing its end, particularly after August, 1944, when the Germans began to retreat to avoid being cut off by the advancing Russian armies in the north. The liberation of Greece by the Allies was a relatively simple and bloodless task: a small British force under General R. M. Scobie accomplished it within a month.² But the problems of post-war Greece were not so simple.

For a number of reasons, including an agreement between Churchill and Stalin in October, 1944, Greece was to be a British sphere of influence.³ It was, therefore, left to General Scobie

¹ C. M. Woodhouse, The Story of Modern Greece, op.cit., pp. 244--253, and D. G. Kousoulas, op.cit., pp. 155-168.

² Not more than '10,000 - 12,000 men, with a few tanks, guns and armoured cars', were thought necessary by Churchill in August, 1944, though he envisaged subsequent re-inforcements. Even so at this stage Churchill was more concerned in dealing with the 'Greek (communist) banditti' than with fighting the Germans who were on the retreat. Winston S. Churchill, The Second World War, Vol. VI, 1954, pp. 97-98.

Constantine Tsoucalas, op.cit., p.85, states that by late 1944 General Scobie commanded no more than 26,000 British troops.

³ This agreement envisaged the following degree of predominance over the Balkans by the Allied Powers: Rumania, 90 per cent. by Russia and 10 per cent. by others; Greece, 90 per cent. by Great Britain (in accord with the U.S.A.) and 10 per cent. by Russia; Yugoslavia and Hungary, 50 per cent. by Russia and 50 per cent. by others; Bulgaria, 75 per cent. by Russia and 25 per cent. by others. Winston S. Churchill, The Second World War, Vol. VI, op.cit., p. 198.

D. G. Kousoulas, op.cit., p. 195, records a somewhat different degree of predominance, namely, 75 per cent. over Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania by Russia, and 100 per cent. over Greece by Great Britain.

to see the inception of Greece's first post-war Government. Negotiations between the Greek Government-in-exile and representatives of Greek resistance groups for the purposes of forming a government of 'National Unity' had been going on for some time. Although an agreement for such a government was made in May, 1944, (in Lebanon)¹ conditions in terms of political power had changed radically by liberation. For one thing the Greek Communist Party was not satisfied at the end of 1944 with the minority of portfolios it was given by the Lebanon Agreement, especially since the K.K.E. now wielded tremendous power through E.A.M.-E.L.A.S. Differences arose between the K.K.E. and General Scobie and the reconstituted Greek Government-in-exile, which returned in October, 1944, regarding the extent of punishment to be meted out to German collaborators and to the 'Security Battalions' which served Greece's quisling government. Indeed, many of these were saved by British forces, rehabilitated and subsequently given positions in the government, and in the armed and police forces.² Another bone of contention was the Greek monarchy. Even though the world was not yet openly divided into two hostile camps, it would not be untrue to say that at liberation Greece was faced with two alternatives: a pro-western or a pro-communist regime. British forces were there to prevent the latter

¹ D. G. Kousoulas, op.cit., pp. 188-191.

² Constantine Tsoucalas, op.cit., pp.80-83.

alternative,¹

It is not intended here to give even an outline of the course and consequences of British intervention in Greece, yet it is necessary to look at several phases of the post-war situation in Greece as the background to events in Greek communities in Australia. British action in Greece necessitated an armed clash with E.L.A.S., the disbanding of the latter army, and considerable persecution of many of Greece's resistance fighters. Whatever the precise causes of this clash and motives of the contending parties, that led to the clash from early December, 1944, onwards, its result was to break the communist and E.A.M.-E.L.A.S. coalition and pave the way for a succession of right-wing and pro-royalist regimes.² By September, 1946, King George II was back on the throne. The more liberal and republican parties such as that represented by George Papandreou, Greece's first post-war Prime Minister, were quickly squeezed out of the political arena. With the sharpening of the world-wide Cold War conflict, the struggle in Greece was fought out between the extreme left and the extreme right. The latter, being in power and notoriously oppressive, gave little choice to the left but to regroup their forces as best they could and take to the mountains. By the end of 1946 Greece was

¹ This becomes clear from an examination of Churchill's policy at the end of the war (and subsequently of United States intervention). Winston S. Churchill, The Second World War, Vol. VI, pp. 92-103, Constantine Tsoucalas, op.cit., pp. 85-100.

² D. G. Kousoulas, op.cit., pp. 219-248, and Constantine Tsoucalas, op.cit., pp. 85 - 101.

in the midst of a fierce civil war,¹ Great Britain pulled out of Greece by early 1947 and her place was taken by the United States which in accordance with the 'Truman Doctrine', and subsequently through its more general 'communist containment' policy, poured large-scale aid into Greece. Denied similar aid from the Soviet Union and her allies, the new communist Democratic Army of Greece and the Greek Provisional Government were pushed more and more to the north and became entrenched near the Yugoslav border. Tito's quarrel with Stalin further denied badly needed supplies to the rebels after 1948, though it was only a matter of time before United States intervention would have achieved the intended results.² The rebels fled into Albania in August, 1949, and became dispersed in east-European countries, leaving behind them many of their comrades in the hands of a hostile regime.

Greeks in Australia or elsewhere were naturally affected by events in their former country. Because most Greeks in Australia came from islands not directly involved in the armed struggle, the conflict in communities was free from personal feuding that a civil war often produces. But the issues over which the civil war was fought caused sharp ideological divisions that became perpetuated throughout the post-war period. Though at first shocked at the sudden turn of events in Greece, subsequently most Greeks in Australia either acquiesced ⁱⁿ to British and United

¹ D. G. Kousoulas, op.cit., pp. 249-270, and Constantine Tsoucalas, op.cit., pp. 102-112,

² ibid.

States intervention or supported this action and that of the Greek Government.¹ They were, after all, guests in a British or English-speaking country; they were not communists or communist sympathisers; they had not experienced the German occupation and whatever their personal attitudes they could not be expressed through their organisations which were mostly non-political bodies. In the case of Communities, the church, consulates and Greek newspapers, there was no choice but to support officially, at any rate, the Greek Government of the day in accordance with long-established practices. But there was a minority who thought and acted otherwise. These were organised in the left-wing organisations of ^{the} Atlas Club in Sydney, ^{the} Democritos Club in Melbourne, ^{the} Panhellenic Society in Adelaide, the Australian branch of the Greek Seamen's Union, the Macedonian-Australian People's League and the League for Democracy in Greece, branches of which functioned in several capital cities. All of these organised groups took a clear stand against Greek Governments and their principal representatives in Australia and generally speaking upheld the cause of Greek revolutionaries.

After the war, Greek ethnic communities, therefore, became rapidly divided politically with a polarisation of the more nationalist-minded, the ethnikophrones, and more right-wing elements occurring around the Greek Orthodox Communities and consulates, and the more left radical elements around the leftist organisations. The two

¹ This was also the attitude of Greeks in the United States, Theodore Saloutos, op.cit., pp. 367-368.

camps were also separated by economic class divisions particularly in the communities of Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, but these differences were not as pronounced as political and ideological differences. These divisions did not mean that there was a general movement of Greeks from one organisation to another in accordance with their political affiliation and beliefs. Rather, the tendency was to use existing organisations and institutions to propagate partisan views and, where this was not possible, to go beyond them: in the case of the radical left their activities often went beyond the ethnic community itself, spilling over into the left section of Australian society. This was inevitable because of the nature of the conflict but also because it was not possible for the left to mobilise ordinary Greek organisations against Greek Governments let alone the Greek establishment. At all events the civil war in Greece placed severe strains on ethnic communities in Australia and undermined greatly their unity. This can be demonstrated by examining the roles played by different groups within communities.

The task of upholding the cause of the Greek Government was undertaken mainly by Greek consulates and the Greek press. The visit to Australia by a Greek parliamentarian in autumn, 1949, allegedly to help combat communist propaganda against Greece, was not a significant measure.¹ Greek Orthodox Communities and the more loyal organisations were sometimes requested to, and did,

¹ He was Demetrios Marsellos, a Kytheran, who spent more time visiting his compatriots than fighting his Government's opponents. Hellenic Herald, 21 and 28 April, and 30 June, 1949, and passim.

support particular campaigns such as those to collect funds 'to assist the victims of communists', to protest at the alleged 'abduction of 28,000 Greek children' by the rebels, and the distribution of pro-government printed material.¹ But the campaigns on behalf of the official Greek Government were more overtly and more effectively waged by the Greek press, particularly by the Hellenic Herald, and by the Phos. Both newspapers consistently attacked the communists and leftists in Greece and in Australia for they likened the civil war to a life-and-death struggle by Greece against the evil forces of international communism, Pan-Slavism and the Bulgarians. Of the two newspapers, Phos was the most vigilant especially when it came to tracking down the activities of Greek communists in Melbourne where, Phos claimed, they were well-entrenched in the Democritos Club, Orpheus, Olympic Athletic Club, Cypriot Brotherhood, and had also infiltrated the Community.² Phos was also unrelenting in its attacks on Slav-Macedonians, a large community of whom was growing in Fitzroy.³

¹ See Hellenic Herald, 25 September, 1947, and Phos, 24 September, 1947, for Queen Frederika's letter of gratitude to Greek consulates for support received in response to her appeal to help victims in Greece. For campaigns demanding that 'abducted children' be returned to Greece, see: Hellenic Herald, 25 November, 1948, 7 July, 1949, 26 January, 9 February and 30 March, 1950, and passim.

² For references to these alleged Greek communists' activities and infiltrations see: Phos, 22 October, 1947, 7 and 28 January, 1948, 19 October, 1949, (in which Phos published the revelations of the Royal Commission on Communism in Victoria), and 23 February, 1949, (which contains an attack on Colonel A. W. Sheppard),

³ Phos, 16 November, 1949.

The intensity of the conflict varied from community to community and with time and depended on how active the extreme wings of each side were. There were few disputes in Brisbane and less in Perth, where there was little or no organised left activity. In Adelaide the extent of left radical activity was at first limited to a petition by 130 Greeks in 1944-1945 requesting the Community to protest through a general meeting, against British intervention - a petition which found its way into the hands of the police and which brought about the expulsion from the Community of its organiser,¹ Subsequently, the formation of the Panhellenic Society in 1946, which represented the left section of the Adelaide community did not become particularly active in opposing Greek Governments. But by joining the Community, members of the Panhellenic Society, were able to neutralise the activities of its more right-wing elements and even succeeded in electing several Panhellenic members as Community councillors. The sharpest phases of the conflict took place in Melbourne and Sydney, that is, in communities where the Greek radical left was better organised even before the war and which was much more willing for a confrontation with its opponents.

¹ The organiser of the petition was Steve Pappas, an active communist. It was rejected by the Community's council because not all petitioners were Community members and also because it would have involved the Community in partisan politics. Pappas was expelled from the Community on the grounds that he 'had committed an anti-national act' but it was obvious that Community councillors at that time were very fearful of becoming involved in what they considered anti-British activities. Interviews: Steve Pappas, Michael Kambouris (president of the Community, 1944-1945), and Peter Manos (Community secretary, 1944-1945). Also M.B.A., December, 1945, - December, 1946.

The Greek radical left had no newspapers but was able to reach a great number of Greeks by personal contact, meetings, and roneoed leaflets, using Atlas and Democritos as bases. This method of communication was facilitated by the fact that most Greeks lived in close settlements and great numbers could be contacted in their coffee-houses and organisations. Greek leftists, especially those who were members of the Australian Communist Party, had or could procure valuable contacts and therefore support from the trade union movement and the left. Many Australian militant trade unionists were, in any case, concerned about the measures taken against former German-resistance fighters, trade unionists and other important Greek public figures, even though they were implicated in the insurrection. Also concerned about the situation in Greece were many philhellenes. Philhellenism runs deep in the British tradition of modern times and it was this force to which Greek leftists appealed during the civil war, particularly in Great Britain. In Australia, Greek leftists found two such philhellenes in Colonel A. W. Sheppard and Clive Evatt, then a minister in the New South Wales Government. Of the two Colonel Sheppard was consistently the most vigorous opponent of Greek Governments which he considered exceedingly corrupt and oppressive, having acquired first-hand information about them as representative from Australia of the Red Cross and U.N.R.R.A. missions in Greece immediately after the war. Throughout most of the Civil War

Sheppard was active as head of the League for Democracy in Greece (with its head office in Sydney), in agitating against Greek Governments and in championing the cause of the rebel army and the Provisional Government in the mountains with which he was in regular contact. (Sheppard, however, incurred the hostility of the communists in the Greek left radical movement after 1949, because of his connection with the Australian-Yugoslav Association, resulting in his expulsion from the League.)¹

Just as significant was the opposition to post-war Greek regimes by militant Australian trade unionists. More so because of the death sentence passed on such prominent Greek trade unionists as Tony Ambatielos, the secretary of the Greek Seamen's Union, (O.E.N.O.),² The Australian branch of O.E.N.O.³ sought and received considerable support from the Australian Seamen's Union and its leader, E. V. Elliot. Elliot's association with Greek militants had always been a close one, particularly with those in

¹ Interview: A. W. Sheppard, November, 1967, Sydney.

² During the war Tony Ambatielos, a communist, became secretary of The Federation of Greek Maritime Organisations, (O.E.N.O.), whose headquarters was in Cardiff, Great Britain. After the war, Ambatielos together with unionists, were charged with treason but were saved by a world-wide campaign waged by militants at the head of which was his wife, Betty Ambatielos. The Australian, 25 February, 1970; The News, 26 February, 1970; The Seamen's Journal, January - February, 1970; and interview: Tony Ambatielos, March, 1970, Adelaide.

³ A branch of O.E.N.O. was active in Sydney as early as 1942. See the Hellenic Herald, 6, 13, 20 and 27 May, 1943, and passim. The Seamen's Journal, 21 April, 1970, p. 66.

his union: Elliot's wife, Dela, was a daughter of a Greek leftist. Australian trade union action, especially that of waterfront unions, combined with action of similar unions in other parts of the world, was effective in bringing pressure on Greek governments and on U.N.O. officials. Possibly the most vulnerable section on which such trade union pressure could be exerted was Greek shipping. The appalling conditions under which Greek seamen had to work and live, the fact that Greek ships were often unseaworthy, and the need for political action in support of gaoled and persecuted Greek trade unionists, necessitated the intervention of waterfront unions, and frequently ended in tying up Greek ships at Australian ports.¹ Tony Ambatielos, however, also owes his life to the intervention of Dr. H. V. Evatt, the president of U.N.O. in 1948, and to his English-born wife, Betty, who struggled to have her husband eventually released in 1964 when Greece was ruled by a more liberal government.²

¹ Ron Giffard, Secretary of the S.A. Branch of the Seamen's Union of Australia, told the writer that his union consistently had to be on watch-out for conditions in Greek ships and that he has intervened frequently to force Greek ship captains to observe what in Australia are considered fundamental navigation codes. The current (mid-1970) boycott on Greek ships, however, is motivated by purely political considerations, namely, to release from gaol, Nikos Kabeodis, a former Greek seamen's union leader. See The Seamen's Journal, July, 1970.

² Interview: E. V. Elliot and Tony and Betty Ambatielos, March, 1970, Adelaide. Tony and Betty Ambatielos came to Australia at the invitation of the Australian Seamen's Union officials to thank them for their past struggles and solidarity and to agitate against Greece's military government.

The migrants in Australia whose own folk were most affected by the Greek Civil War and who strengthened the Greek left movement in Australia, were Slav-Macedonians. Slav-Macedonians had close association with the K.K.E. because of the latter's policy until 1935 of supporting Slav-Macedonian autonomy.¹ Slav-Macedonian autonomy was not and could not be achieved easily in the predominantly Greek-populated section of Greek Macedonia, nor for that matter in Bulgaria which has been able to absorb its Slav-Macedonians. But a small Slav-Macedonian state did emerge as part of the Yugoslav federation after the war.² This state, which acted as a place of refuge for many Slav-Macedonian and Greek rebels during the civil war, further sharpened the current conflict. As was seen, to the ethnikophrones the Civil War was not only a struggle against international communism but also a struggle against pan-Slavism for which there was a traditional fear. Apart from Slavophobia, considerable anti-Bulgarian sentiment was also fostered during the civil war. This sentiment, too, was traditional and was strengthened because of Bulgarian atrocities against Greeks in Macedonia during the German occupation and because Bulgaria became a communist state after the war. Macedonia, the geographical entity, was always a battle ground

¹ D. G. Kousoulas, op.cit., p. 96 and passim.

² For a short history of Macedonia see: Giorgio Nurigiani, Macedonia, Yesterday and Today, Rome, 1967.

for conflicting ethnic, national and big power interests, and the hardest-hit of the many ethnic groups inhabiting the area were the Slav-Macedonians,¹ In the light of post-war world politics, Slav-Macedonians were exposed to many fierce conflicts and dangers, consequently accelerating their emigration. Events in Macedonia also strengthened the ethnic identity of Slav-Macedonians in Australia who had by 1947, as was noted, become organised in a federation. Although Slav-Macedonians in Australia forged a clear-cut organic separation from Greek communities, they did not sever completely their connections with the Greek left radical section, not even after Yugoslavia officially broke away from the Cominform. All Slav-Macedonians from Greece were quite versed in Greek and a small number of them had become sufficiently 'Hellenised' to be accepted by other Greeks. Many Slav-Macedonians joined Greek left-wing organisations and participated in much of their activities.² As a separate ethnic group they were naturally more active when it came to supporting the cause of Slav-Macedonians whether in Greece

¹ An authoritative and detailed account of such conflict is given by Douglas Dakin, The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897 - 1913, Thessaloniki (Greece), 1966. See also Evangelos Kofos, Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia, Thessaloniki, (Greece), 1964.

² Acts of solidarity and co-operation between Slav-Macedonians and Greek leftists in Australia were more frequent in the 1940's because of events in Greece than in later years (see Makedonska Iskra, May, 1948, and passim). But as late as 1953 Makedonska Iskra (October, 1953) still considered it a duty to support the Greek left in its campaign to save its only publication, the Greek-Australian Review, a monthly magazine for which permit to publish was allegedly withdrawn by the Immigration Department.

or in Yugoslavia, where they also sent large sums of money to build a hospital in the years 1947-1948,¹

In the context of ethnic community politics Greek Cypriots also played an important role. However marked their particular Greek dialect was, especially as spoken by those from the more rural areas of Cyprus, Cypriots were generally able to merge in Greek communities. They naturally associated more intimately with one another on a personal basis, in their brotherhoods and coffee-houses, yet their position in communities was not essentially different from that of other regional groups. Cypriots, on the other hand, were different from Greeks in several ways: most started life in Australia as industrial workers - many of them having a knowledge of the English language and of English type trade union organisations and practices; most exhibited strong sentiments against British colonial rule in Cyprus; as British subjects all Cypriots were automatically granted Australian citizenship. After the war the movement of Cypriot independence was strengthened and although this movement envisaged union, enosis, with Greece, many Cypriots were rather sceptical of the wisdom of this policy in view of Greece's unattractive economic and political conditions. For all of these reasons many Greek Cypriots

¹ For reports on fund raising activities to build a hospital in Yugoslav Macedonia see: Makedonska Iskra, 1947 - 1948; and also interview with Laurie Malco, May, 1969, Sydney. (Malco was an officer of the Macedonian-Australian Peoples League for most of the time after 1946.)

in Australia took readily to Greek radical left activities and organisations, where they were quite outspoken in their views and where they achieved positions of leadership.¹

The Greek radical left in Australia, had, therefore, large forces from which to draw activists. However, heterogeneous these forces in fact were, their activities were a constant source of concern to the Greek establishment especially to that section which was committed to the national cause. By far the greatest concern and the sharpest conflict was noticeable in the community of Melbourne. Yet the reason for this was not because Melbourne contained a greater number of Greek leftists and communists than, say, Sydney, but because of the peculiar alignment of groups in the Melbourne community and in particular because of the position and activity of the Phos-party. Phos, which found it almost impossible to break into the community's more elitist group before the war, had, by the end of the war, made considerable in-roads into the community and was in a position of wielding some power. Phos retained its close connection with the Greek-ExServicemen's Legion whose official organ it became for several years after November, 1941, but like other Greek newspapers it strove to serve and

¹ Greek Cypriot leadership was not confined to leftist organisations. Greek Cypriot, Efstratios Christophidis, served as president of the Brisbane Community for several years in the post-war period, as did George Lewis (1946-1948) and Chrysostomos Nikias (1955-1956) of the Adelaide Community.

represent the community as a whole (again adopting appropriate sub-titles towards this end),¹ Among the various groups in Melbourne, a Phos-party consequently emerged which, by 1947, was also in control of the Greek Orthodox Community. In terms of purely community politics this party was held together by strong sentiments against the priest and the consul both of whom were held responsible for neglecting the needs of the school, the Community and the poor migrants; and by the desire to win power on the Community council. At least two Phos-party members also aspired for the position of Greek consul in Melbourne which became vacant when the ageing Anthony J. J. Lucas was killed in a motor car accident in 1946.

Issues such as the Greek Civil War and the change in church leadership simply exacerbated the existing factional fights, as noted in the case of the Phos-party's confrontation with Metropolitan Theophylactos and also in its imbroglio with the Greek consulate. Melbourne's new Greek consul appointed in 1947 was Andreas Nicolaidis, deputy consul since 1931. Nicolaidis was a shopkeeper, a person of average means, quite learned, with a long service to the community.² Politically he might be termed a liberal and no person in Melbourne was better qualified for the

¹ Phos, (1940-1945), discarded the sub-title of 'Official Organ of the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion' in the early 1940's substituting such sub-titles as 'Organ of the Greek Community in Victoria' or 'Greeks in Australia and New Zealand'.

² Source: Nicolaidis Papers.

position of consul in 1947. Yet, two years after his appointment he was dismissed from office. A number of reasons contributed to Nicolaides's dismissal from office, not least of which was the hostility he incurred from the Phos-party because of his close association with the Metropolitan. The Phos also questioned Nicolaides's political reliability and particularly that of his daughter, a member of the Melbourne University Labor Club, who was also outspoken against Greece's post-war regimes.¹ It is difficult to ascertain how effective the Phos-party's agitation was in getting rid of Nicolaides, but in view of the Civil War, it is reasonable to assume that the Greek government did act upon this sort of agitation. The dismissal of Nicolaides caused quite a furor and called for a number of protests including those of the Metropolitan and the presidents of the Communities in Melbourne and Sydney.²

The Phos-party, moreover, demonstrated considerable displeasure at the appointment of Nicolaides's successor. He was

¹ For references to Nicolaides's daughter (and son) and their alleged affiliation to Democritos and communists, see; Phos, 16 April, 1947, and 10 March, 1948.

² Copies of these protests communicated to the Greek Government by telegrams are to be found in the Nicolaides Papers. All stressed the injustice done to Nicolaides and pointed out that there was no question of the former consul's reliability as a trusted servant of the Greek nation.

Eugene Gorman, Q.C., a person not particularly known to the Greeks, but known to the Greek Government if only because he chastised Dr. Evatt's intervention to save Tony Ambatielos,¹ The Phos-party contended that in appointing a foreigner as Greek consul, the Greek Government had insulted its nationals in Melbourne, some of whom were 'wealthy businessmen and scientists' and as such were in a 'better position to serve Greece than was a person who knew no Greek'.² Phos and the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion called a meeting of all ethnikophrones to protest at Gorman's appointment and communicated their strong feelings to the Greek Government in November, 1949.³

The rather presumptuous role of the Phos-party as sole guardian of the national cause against encroachments from whatever quarter these happened to come, greatly undermined the unity of the Community in Melbourne, including that of its more right wing and politically uncommitted section. Many of these latter groups

¹ Hellenic Herald, 9 December, 1948, in which Eugene Gorman reportedly said that Dr. Evatt's intervention to save 'Greek communist seaman leaders has alienated much Greek affection for Australia'.

² Phos, 2 November, 1949. The reference to 'scientists' apparently applied to Dr. Paroulakis, a leader of the Phos-party who had also served as president of the Community in 1946-1947.

³ Phos, 9 November, 1949.

consequently banded together against the Phos-party especially since Phos was also against the Metropolitan. The Melbourne community thus became extremely faction-ridden and remained so for many years. By contrast, although the Sydney community contained as many, if not more, Greek communists and radicals, it did not experience the fierce disputes noticeable in Melbourne. The attacks on the left emanating from the Hellenic Herald's columns were just as vigorous as those of the Phos but these attacks, though specifically aimed at Atlas and the communists, were not personalised polemics. The Ethnikon Vema, which had come under the direction of a more liberal editor, Thanos Nicolaides, did not become committed to giving unqualified support to post-war Greek Governments. Nor did the Ethnikon Vema embark on a consistent war against the radical left in Sydney.

The decade which ended in 1950 had been one of rapid change. It brought into play new forces and with these the interplay of new organised groups. The important changes occurred in the larger ethnic communities. Among the new organisations were: the radical left groups where these did not exist before the war such as in Adelaide and to a small extent in Brisbane;¹ the strengthening of Atlas and Democritos clubs and the emergence of branches of the League for Democracy in Greece; the emergence of the Slav-Macedonian People's League, a federation with a number of branches throughout Australia; and to complete the radical left alliance in ethnic communities, the formation by several hundred seamen of

¹ See Appendix A.

the Australian branch of the Greek Seamen's Union (O.E.N.O.) during the war and its functioning until the early 1950's.¹ Among other pan-Hellenic organisations that emerged were: Greek Ex-Servicemen's Associations in Sydney, Perth, and Adelaide, which like their counterpart in Melbourne, evolved into Greek immigrant societies rather than sub-branches of the Australian Returned Servicemen's League;² Greek branches of the Australian Red Cross; youth and sports clubs catering largely for second-generation Greek-Australians in all five mainland capitals and about which more will be said later; and two short-lived and unimportant organised groups among Melbourne's established shopkeepers, one of which eventually in the 1950's became a branch of A.H.E.P.A. War-time and post-war conditions in Greece necessitating economic and other aid further stimulated the combination of co-regionals in Australia even where the numbers did not warrant the permanent existence of such regional or local fraternities. The numbers did justify the formal combination of Rhodians in Adelaide and

¹ At a ballot to elect the first management committee of O.E.N.O. branch in Australia, 272 members voted (Hellenic Herald, 27 May, 1943). Membership decreased when Greek ships left after 1945 (being no longer chartered by Australian authorities), but the O.E.N.O. branch functioned at least as late as 1952 when its last representative, George Mavris, left.

² This evolution did not always proceed smoothly. The Australian R.S.L. suspended for a time the charter of its Greek Sub-Branch in Sydney because of the latter's failure to comply to certain requirements. One of these was that minutes of meetings be kept in English. Hellenic Herald, 9 and 30 November, and 11 December, 1950.

Melbourne and the Symians in Sydney or even the Ionians (Asia Minor) Greeks in Brisbane.¹ But the same cannot be said of the Chians and the smaller Levisian group² (from Levisi, a town in Turkey opposite the island of Kastellorizo) in Adelaide, both of which became organised in 1945 only to dissolve their fraternities after a year. Factors other than numbers operated to determine the formation and viability of regional fraternities as indicated by the ability of a handful of Sydney Vatiklots (from Laconia, Peloponnesos) to successfully launch in 1946 and maintain permanently their 'Maleas' society³, and of the small Lefkadian fraternity of Melbourne from 1942 onwards. In the case of Rhodians, Symians and Kastellorizans, on the other hand, the viability of their fraternities was ensured because of their national role: this was to agitate⁴ for the speedy incorporation of the Dodecanese Islands with Greece which eventually came in 1947. Yet the number of co-regionals or the size of a chain settlement is easily the most important factor in forming viable regional fraternities. This seems to be so for most such organisations including the Cyprian Society in Adelaide formed in 1947, that is, soon after the first wave of post-war Greek Cypriot immigrants arrived.

¹ See Appendix A.

² The Philanthropic Society of Levisi did no more than collect and send money to needy Levisians in Greece not Turkey. Hellenic Herald, 15 February, 1945.

³ The 'Maleas' fraternity when formed in 1946 was mainly concerned with raising funds for a hospital in Vatika for which £2,553. 18s. 9d. was collected by 1948. Hellenic Herald, 19 August, 1948.

⁴ Hellenic Herald, 11 October, 1945, 8 August, 1946, and passim.

Despite the many changes and political divisions and clashes, ethnic communities did not undergo important structural changes. Greek Orthodox Communities retained their authority and their influence in each settlement and commanded the loyalty and support of most Greeks and Greek organisations. Most Greeks were able to draw a distinction between the political convictions and attitudes to the Greek Civil War of Community leaders on the one hand, and the role of these leaders as administrators of important pan-Hellenic organisations that Communities were, on the other. What the Civil War did was to force people to declare their political ideologies which could now be considered when it came to electing people as Community councillors and as councillors in Greek immigrant organisations. The Civil War and the consequent political conflicts did not in any way bring about important organisational divisions that would not have otherwise occurred as communities were growing. The political conflict in the 1940's was taking place largely within the confines of a clearly defined ethnic community structure: the notable exception was that leftists and Slav-Macedonians sometimes went beyond these confines. In the latter case this was an important departure from past practices because it brought Greek communities more before the public scrutiny, much to the displeasure of the ethnikophrones: it also helped the social integration of Greeks in the general community, a process which also was taking place at other levels, especially through the second generation Greeks, a group which will now be examined.

By the end of the war every metropolitan community had also witnessed the rise in their midst of organisations consisting of second-generation Greek-Australians.¹ These organisations were youth and sports clubs managed by young men and women (usually in their late teens and twenties), most of whom were born in Australia and who identified themselves as belonging to one particular group of people. The activities of such organisations were generally confined to sporting and social activities. As membership was largely drawn from the sons and daughters of Community members, these organisations were expected to act as auxiliaries of, and remain close to, Communities. In fact, youth club membership generally reflected the membership of Communities in the pre-war period with a preponderance of young Kastellorizans in Perth and Adelaide, Ithacans in Melbourne, Kytherans in Sydney, and a regional mixture in Brisbane. Provided youth clubs remained close to Communities, they also were assured of patronage and financial support for their activities which sometimes involved undertaking expensive interstate trips.

Yet second-generation Greek organisations were independent bodies and beyond their more-or-less formal relations with Greek Orthodox Communities (and other Greek societies and institutions), a substantial cultural barrier separated their members from their elders. Although second-generation Greeks acquired some knowledge of Greek from their parents and from Greek schools, their mother

¹ See Appendix A.

tongue was English which they used in their ordinary conversation and in conducting the affairs of their organisations. Their sporting activities were confined to games they learned at Australian schools: only after the entry of post-war immigrants did many of these clubs branch out into such sports as soccer, volley ball and men's basketball.

As organised groups, they participated in much of the ethnic, social, cultural, national and religious gatherings and activities, but they were simultaneously British-Australian bodies and their members had acquired the ways of life of their peer group in the host society. Although individual attitudes varied considerably, second-generation Greeks generally disdained such habits as working long hours in restaurants, spending many hours in coffeehouses, discussing politics and playing cards, and attending long church services in a decidedly unintelligible language. Young Greeks also resented all sorts of restrictions imposed by their elders, particularly on Greek girls who were not allowed to go out unchaperoned: one result of this was the noticeable absence of females from the leadership of Greek youth clubs.¹

But being caught in the conflict of cultures, second-generation Greeks constituted a solid bridge that spanned the wide cultural gulf between Greeks and their host society. They were the medium through which cultural forms in the wide sense passed from the host society into the ethnic community and to a smaller degree in the

¹ Much of this and subsequent information has been procured from field work and from the writer's own experience during his association with Greek Youth Club activities in Adelaide and elsewhere in Australia after 1947.

opposite direction. A number of factors determined the degree of this to-and-fro movement but the overall effect was to help break down the cultural barrier and to accelerate assimilation of Greeks. In this sense second-generation Greeks acted as agents who eroded the solidity of ethnic communities, though in a somewhat different way from that in which this solidity was undermined by post-war political divisions. Yet, because the second-generation was also part of the ethnic community, they, as individuals and as organised groups, were caught in much of their vicissitudes, including the problem of accommodating new arrivals.

In Sydney the Olympic Athletic Club retained its close association with the Community, accepted its financial support and considerable supervision of its activities.¹ Its membership remained Australian-born Greeks and did not attract young Greek immigrants. This partly explains why a number of new arrivals joined the Atlas Club, which, apart from its political activity, offered members considerable recreational facilities in the form of socials, sports teams and spacious and clean clubrooms where, unlike many other lesches, gambling was strictly prohibited. In Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane, the youth clubs similarly remained close to their parent bodies: Because of its soccer team, the

¹ The Community, for example, undertook to pay a £3 weekly salary to a sportsmaster the Olympic Athletic Club needed. M.B.S., 24 January, 1946.

club in Adelaide also began to attract a number of new arrivals. But the body which attracted the largest number of new arrivals was the Olympic Athletic Club of Melbourne. Apart from fielding a soccer team this organisation also enjoyed the use of valuable premises in Bourke Street, a building managed by the Orpheus Club and also which housed the Community. The location and the activities of this club catering for the needs of so many different groups brought it face to face with the main stream of post-war ethnic community life as was seen in its partisan politics.

The overall effect of events since World War II was to produce much more diversified Greek ethnic communities in Australia. Although the various groups which comprised communities had developed much more specialised roles and functions, there occurred considerable group interaction. To be sure there was conflict between the right and the left, the newcomer and the old settler, the first and the second generation, the 'separatist' Slav-Macedonian and the 'unionist' Cypriot, the worker and the capitalist, the Community and the priest, and regionalism and pan-Hellenism. Yet all of these diverse groups could not easily escape the ethnic community. They had to learn to co-exist and to compete for recruits and for a place in each ethnic community.

CHAPTER VI.THE IMPACT OF THE MIGRANT MASSES: 1950 - 1970.

Greek migration to Australia in the post-1950 period constituted a massive movement of people. The number of Greek-born residents alone increased from 25,862 in 1954 to 140,089 in 1966.¹ If one includes those who arrived after 1966, the Cypriot- and Egypto-Greeks and second-generation Greek-Australians, Australia's present (1970) Greek population has very likely passed the 250,000 mark.²

How this mighty stream of people was set into motion and what settlements it precipitated will be seen in due course. This stream, however, was part of a much larger movement of people into Australia: it began to flow in soon after the war and has given Australia a net yield of over $2\frac{1}{4}$ million people.³ But until the

¹ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. The Censuses of 1954 and 1966.

² This is an arbitrary figure merely used to stress a point. C. A. Price (interviewed in February, 1966) estimates the total number of Greeks of all categories late in 1965 at 207,000, Considering post-1965 Greek immigration and 'Greek births' in Australia the figure of 250,000 would not be an overstatement.

³ The total number of the foreign-born population according to the 1966 census was 2,130,921. If the necessary adjustments are made, namely, deduct the number of foreign-born who came before the war and who were alive by 1966, and then add the number of foreign-born who arrived since 1966, the present (1970) figure of foreign-born residents in Australia could be even higher than 'over $2\frac{1}{4}$ million', and possibly has reached the $2\frac{1}{2}$ million mark.

early 1950's most of Australia's new people were Britishers and political refugees or 'Displaced Persons'. Of the old pre-war migration chains only those from Italy were bringing migrants in substantial numbers: the chains from Greece did not bring in more than about 5,000 by 1950.¹ By 1951 the flow of political refugees had practically dried up and although the number of British immigrants was increasing yearly, it was by no means sufficient for Australia's needs. It was at this juncture that Australian immigration policies and programmes began to undergo several important changes.

What was new after the early 1950's was that Australia's economic development became increasingly dependent on a constant flow of immigrants and particularly of immigrant labour. Immigration planners did try to preserve "racial purity" by actively encouraging Britishers and people of 'nordic' stock through a more liberal issue of 'assisted passages', but the 'nordic' source was not inexhaustible. One reason was that in the 1950's and 1960's Australia had to compete with greatly improved West European economies. Both West Germany and Belgium were themselves receiving southern European labour by 1954. Consequently Australia was forced to turn to southern Europe for large numbers of immigrants, and in particular to Italy and Greece. What was

¹ R. T. Appleyard, British Emigration to Australia, Canberra, 1964, p. 51.

also significant was the decision to extend 'assisted passages' to southern Europeans against whose entry, it may be recalled, a number of restrictions operated before the war. Admittedly Commonwealth assistance to southern Europeans was small by comparison, yet it was very effective in procuring a large number of migrants, particularly from Greece,

Post-war immigration policies and programmes also incurred considerable government expenditure, the contracting of actual migration agreements mainly through the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration (I.C.E.M.),¹ and the streamlining of a comprehensive machinery to recruit, transport and re-settle migrants. Australian social attitudes also underwent changes. Fears nurtured by trade unions of cheap migrant labour, the opposition by Jews to German immigrants,² the general distrust by Australians of foreigners, and the numerous problems stemming from massive immigrant settlement, were all thwarted or ignored by government insistence on its immigration policies and in the light of national prosperity to which migrants contributed. No real national or racial conflicts disturbed the co-existence of British-Australians and a million or so non-Britishers, the latter of whom are, according to the 1966 census

¹ For a description of the setting up and the function of I.C.E.M., see John A. Petrolas, *op.cit.*, pp. 281-285.

² See P. Y. Médding, From Assimilation to Group Survival, Australia, 1968, pp. 204-213, for the 'campaign against German migration' to Australia in the early 1950's.

drawn from at least fifty nationalities or ethnic groups.¹ Nor does the Commonwealth Government intend in the foreseeable future to depart from a policy of sustaining the high intake of immigrants even though it may mean, as it has in the past, the entry of a slightly higher proportion of non-Britishers to Britishers, thus upsetting the 1 : 1 ratio which it tried to preserve.

The vast majority of Australia's non-Britishers came from no more than a mere eight countries. This can be seen from Table below (taken directly from census reports) which also shows the important changes in the composition of Australia's population since the war.

¹ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Census of 1966 Bulletin, No.9,1, pp. 10-11. The list of these groups designated by birthplace does not include such ethnic groups as Slav-Macedonians or Croats, so that Australia contains more than fifty ethnic groups.

**TABLE VII. POPULATION, BY BIRTHPLACE: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
AUSTRALIA, CENSUSES, 1947 TO 1966.**

Birthplace	Proportion of total population according to birthplace			
	1947	1954	1961	1966
	%	%	%	%
AUSTRALASIA -				
Australia	90.18	85.68	83.07	81.55
New Zealand	0.58	0.48	0.45	0.45
Other Australasia	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.06
<u>Total born in Australasia</u>	90.78	86.19	83.56	82.06
EUROPE -				
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland (a)	7.14	7.39	7.19	7.87
Austria	0.06	0.12	0.23	0.20
Germany	0.19	0.73	1.04	0.94
Greece	0.16	0.29	0.74	1.21
Italy	0.44	1.33	2.17	2.31
Malta	0.04	0.22	0.37	0.48
Netherlands	0.03	0.58	0.97	0.86
Poland	0.09	0.63	0.57	0.53
Yugoslavia	0.08	0.25	0.47	0.62
Other countries in Europe	0.37	1.31	1.44	1.36
<u>Total born in Europe</u>	8.60	12.85	15.19	16.39
Other birthplaces	0.63	0.96	1.25	1.54
Total born in Australia	90.18	85.68	83.07	81.55
Total born outside Australia	9.82	14.32	16.93	18.45
<u>GRAND TOTAL:</u>	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(a) Includes Ireland (undefined).

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Census
Bulletin, No.9.1, p. 12.

Although Commonwealth assistance to non-Britishers was possibly the greatest stimulant to large-scale immigration to Australia, paradoxically the greatest influx among the major groups was from countries which received the least assistance. As can be seen from Table VIII, these countries were Italy and Greece,

TABLE VIII.¹ ARRIVALS TO AUSTRALIA OCTOBER 1945 - JUNE 1966

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Assisted Passages</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Dutch	87,233	54,383	141,616
German	78,192	28,984	107,176
Yugoslav	32,406	27,730	60,136
Spanish	8,818	4,037	12,855
Italian	44,706	255,325	300,031
Greek	42,486	109,588	152,074

¹ Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, Canberra, 1966, pp. 38-39.

The relatively large influx from Italy and Greece was also due to the unfavourable economic conditions, such as unemployment,¹ in these two nations, especially if these conditions are compared with those in Australia. But just as effective in maintaining the flow of Italians and Greeks to Australia were the workings of chain migration and chain settlement processes, that is, the increasing intensity migration chains usually acquire once chain settlements have become established. The chains from Italy were traditionally larger than those from Greece and many other European countries and this, partly at least, explains the large influx from Italy after 1949. Whereas in the three years ending 30 June, 1953, there were 64,114 permanent arrivals from Italy, the number from Greece was 5,316.² Admittedly in the same period many more Italians than Greeks arrived on assisted passages (approximately 10,000 as against 500), but this was not a significant factor accounting for the great difference in the number of Italian (and Greek) arrivals.

¹ One report placed the number of unemployed in Greece early in 1958 at 300,000. This figure excluded those who were underemployed. Considering Greece's relatively small force of employees the figure was therefore high and it may be noted it existed at a time when the Karamanlis Government was about to face a general election. Hellenic Herald, 20 March, 1958.

² These and subsequent immigration figures are taken from Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, op.cit.

The picture, however, changed dramatically when Commonwealth assistance came into operation after 1953. Commonwealth assistance did not affect appreciably the course of Italian immigration. Of approximately 280,000 arrivals from Italy, between mid-1950 and mid-1966, a mere 44,706 (16 per cent.) came on assisted passages. But Commonwealth assistance did change the course of Greek immigration. In the three years ending mid-1966 the total intake of Greeks was 29,344. Of these, 16,833 arrived on assisted passages. The annual intake decreased in the 1958-1961 period to as low as 5,436 in 1958-1959, but then increased again and reached a peak in 1964-1965 when 17,896 arrived. There were several other significant trends in the post 1953 Greek immigration figures: first, after 1956, the number of those arriving on assisted passages decreased sharply compared with the 1953-1956 period, rarely going beyond the 2,000 to 3,000 range annually; second, in the 1953-1956 period the male:female ratio of Greek arrivals was as high as 5:1, while ^{for} ~~in~~ the next three years this ratio was virtually reversed; third, from ~~1952~~ ¹⁹⁵⁷ onwards the male:female ratio was approximately 1:1; fourth, assisted Greek immigrants were on the whole young people usually in the 15 - 29 year age group;¹ lastly, the departure rate among Greeks, compared with both Greek arrivals and with the departure rate of most other major groups, was very small.²

¹ For example, of those assisted to migrate in 1960, as many as 91 per cent. were in the 15 - 29 year age group. Commonwealth Department of Immigration, The Quarterly Statistical Bulletin, No. 35, July, 1960, p. 17.

² See Appendix B.

From these figures it becomes apparent that the effect of Commonwealth assistance was to initiate new and much larger Greek migration chains to Australia. This was achieved by helping the immigration of several thousand male immigrants in the 1953-1956 period and then more or less allowing chain migration to take its natural course. Assisted, and later other non-assisted, Greek immigrants could themselves nominate wives, sisters, fiances and other close relatives to immigrants on assisted passages, but the great bulk of those who arrived, particularly after 1956, were privately sponsored immigrants.

By the mid-1950's Greek migration to Australia had thus been freed from the rather restricted chains from the former regions and islands of Greece. Several of these, notably the islands of Kythera, Ithaca and Kastellorizo, had in any case practically ceased sending Greeks to Australia several years earlier; Kastellorizo itself had become almost depopulated by the end of the war. The regions involved in the new migration movement were the Greek mainland and more rural regions, and the larger islands such as Krete, Mytilene, Chios, Samos, Rhodes and Cos in the Aegean Sea and Kephallenia and Zakynthos in the west.¹ It was also the mainland regions, particularly Macedonia, which

¹ There are no published immigration data showing the numbers of Greeks in Australia from each region or island. The information on the regional groupings has been procured from field work. The degree of regional concentrations can, in any case, be judged from the regional fraternities. See Appendix A.

witnessed most political upheavals, economic and social changes in the post-war period. Whereas, therefore, such factors as economic conditions in Australia, Commonwealth assistance, and the forces of chain migration accounted for the large numbers arriving in the post-1953 period, the reasons for large-scale Greek migration must also be sought in Greece itself. No purpose can be served by tracing post-war conditions in Greece. For a people already susceptible to emigration, the 'push' and 'pull' forces in migration need not be very great. The decisions to leave Greece by a Greek farmer heavily in debt and with a large family (especially one containing many daughters), a high school graduate uncertain of a career, a dismissed civil servant or employee, and a person or his relatives implicated in the losing side of the Civil War, were relatively easy to make. Especially was this so in view of the comparative affluence promised by migration recruiting officers and discerned among other Greeks abroad. That unfavourable conditions in the more inland rural areas of Greece were the main factors pushing Greeks out was also indicated by the movement of people into the large urban areas of Greece, particularly into greater Athens, and by large scale migration into western Europe during the same period.¹

¹ For useful data on the movement of the Greek population into Athens among other urban centres of Greece, into western Europe and elsewhere, see: Neos Kosmos, 2 May, and 19 December, 1968; 24 April, and 1, 8, 15 and 22 May, 1969; Krikos, July-August, 1958. A report in Neos Kosmos, 2 October, 1969, says that of 1,900,000 aliens in West Germany at the beginning of 1967, approximately 25 per cent. were Italians and 20 per cent. (190,000) were Greeks.

Just as eager to emigrate were Greeks from Egypt and the Middle East whose flourishing communities were disrupted by post-war political upheavals. While large numbers of Egypto-Greeks were re-settled in Greece or penetrated deeper into Africa, the number who migrated and settled in Australia was probably well over 10,000 in the two decades after 1949.¹ Greek-Cypriot immigration to Australia which commenced after the war and which reached a peak in 1951 when the net intake was 1,603, did not become a large and consistent movement of people.² The flow of Greek Cypriots to Australia was frequently interrupted by events in Cyprus; it was arrested somewhat by improved conditions at home after 1965, while the main attraction for Cypriot emigrants was England, where large Cypriot communities existed. Still, by 1966, Australia claimed

¹ Hellenic Herald, 10 January, 1963, placed the number of Egypto-Greeks in Australia in 1963 at 11,000. The figure was supplied to the newspaper by officers of an Egypto-Greek Society. There is no way of checking this figure. The 1961 census placed the total number of migrants from the United Arab Republic since the end of the war at 16,287. This does not leave too many for other migrants from Egypt such as Maltese. There are additional problems when it comes to estimating the number of Egypto-Greeks in Australia. A number of them were re-settled temporarily in Greece before emigrating again to Australia; others were not born in Egypt, in which case they cannot be classified as Egyptian born immigrants.

² See Appendix B.

10,703 Cypriots¹ most of whom were Greeks. Lastly, several hundred Rumano-Greeks arrived in Australia by 1951, most of whom settled in Sydney.²

For a number of reasons assisted Greek immigrants did not take too readily to the whole machinery of Commonwealth assisted immigration, particularly to the end part of this machinery. Many of them were recruited on the grounds that they were agriculturalists, georgoi, skilled tradesmen and domestic servants: the latter group being women who were often obliged to undergo a short period of training in such things as the correct use of household appliances before sailing for Australia. In Australia assisted immigrants were also expected to honour a two-year contract and work in whatever employment they were directed to by immigration and employment authorities. While an unknown number of Greeks traversed the full course of the scheme, probably the majority did not. Many of the jobs to which they were allocated from the central migrant receiving camp at Bonegilla were of a temporary nature, usually seasonal work such as fruit harvesting or more permanent general labouring work in the countryside, or in govern-

¹ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. The Census of 1966.

² The precise number of Rumano-Greek immigrants is not known other than that 600 of them had reached Sydney by October, 1950, and that the Community was requested to find them jobs and houses. M.B.S., 5 October, 1950.

mental works such as the Snowy River Hydro-Electric Scheme, and the S.E.C. works in Yallourn, Victoria. Such employment, though tolerated and often sought by unmarried young men, rarely attracted heads of families whether their families were with them or remained in the migrant camps or in Greece. The place for Greek families was in urban centres with the bread winner, in a home and in the ethnic community. The tendency, therefore, was to break the two-year contract, which could be done with impunity, and to settle in cities.¹ Provided incoming assisted immigrants had relatives and acquaintances in Australia, they could avoid Bonegilla altogether.

Even more abhorrent than Bonegilla was the scheme that operated in the early 1960's by which shiploads of unmarried Greek girls were directed to work in the fruit industry of Berri (South Australia). To Greeks this was the most iniquitous of all schemes. Not only were there fears that Greek girls were exposed to all sorts of dangers, real and imagined, which would adversely affect their honour and that of their compatriots, but there was no guarantee of

¹ Desertions from employment to which assisted migrants were allocated, were reported from the very beginning of the whole Commonwealth Assistance Scheme. In chastising such early deserters the Greek Ambassador to Australia cited "...the case of the five married young migrants... who had arrived on the 'Nelly', had secured satisfactory employment in Mildura, and after a while, under doubtful, to say the least, pretences, had deserted their work to return to the wives in Bonegilla camp. Now those five young migrants, by their lack of stamina had not only harmed themselves, they harmed the fair name of the Greek migrant". Hellenic Herald, 7 May, 1953.

employment and accommodation after the seasonal work ended,¹ With good reason this type of immigration was abandoned.

Despite its massive proportions and Commonwealth assistance which accounted for 28 per cent. of Greek arrivals between mid-1950 and mid-1966, Greek migration to Australia was, as in the past, essentially a chain migration and chain settlement movement.

Those who did not move into chain communities were usually the very first assisted immigrants from a Greek region which had no representatives in Australia: their role was to become the pioneers of subsequent chain settlements. Apart from the 'push' and 'pull' forces cited earlier, the intensity of Greek migration chains was achieved through the system of privately sponsored and largely privately financed immigration. As in the late 1940's landing permits were, except for aged people, easily procured from immigration authorities. So, too, was passage money from personal savings and from loans, especially from the travel loans that were advanced by the Australian Branch of the World Council of Churches.²

¹ Such seem to be the problems related by a number of immigrants including Michael Christopher, an Immigration Department employee, (and a Greek Orthodox Community leader in Adelaide), who was called upon to investigate the situation at Berri in the early 1960's.

² By the end of 1960, 14,046 Greeks had arrived in Australia by using the W.C.C.'s 'Revolving Fund'. Laszlo Benyei, An Integration Study of Migrants in Australia, (Second Edition), Melbourne, 1961, p. 13. Dr. Laszlo Benyei informed the writer (in May, 1970, in Melbourne) that between 1952 and the end of 1969 a total of 38,000 Greeks had arrived on W.C.C. travel loans. Of these 5,000 came from Egypt.

Lastly, the flow of Greeks to Australia was facilitated by improved sea and air travel: the flow also gave rise to several Greek passenger lines and to a host of Greek travel agents.

The impact of mass Greek immigration on ethnic communities will be dealt with later. First it is necessary to see where Greeks settled, what occupations they entered and what effect they had on Australia. This will in turn elucidate the effects on the Greek communities themselves. Because at the time of writing the data from the Census of 1966 on such items as place of residence and occupational categories according to place of birth is unavailable, the analysis that follows is based on the 1954 and 1961 census figures. Notable changes have, of course, occurred since 1961, but by that year the important trends in Greek settlement and occupations were established. Like most other immigrant groups the vast majority, (well over 90 per cent.), settled in urban centres. As in the past the largest communities coalesced in the capital cities. But unlike the past, comparatively large communities formed in such industrialised provincial cities as Newcastle, Wollongong, Geelong, and Whyalla.¹ With the exceptions of the flourishing horticultural settlements of Berri and Renmark and the opal mining town of Coober Pedy (all of which

¹ According to the 1961 Census, 936 Greek-born lived in the Newcastle urban area, 1,552 in Greater Wollongong, and 134 in Whyalla.

are in South Australia),¹ the more rural areas and the smaller country towns and cities did not receive their proportionate share of Greek immigrants.

Again, as in the past, Greeks congregated in the inner and more industrial suburban centres of metropolises. These concentrations clearly are evident from the figures recorded in the 1961 Census Statistical divisions. The figures apply to the Greek-born but there is reason to suppose that Greek-Cypriots and Egypto-Greeks also settled in the main Greek residential areas. In the metropolitan area of Melbourne, the City of Melbourne itself contained 2,118 Greek-born, Fitzroy 3,213, Richmond, 2,994, Collingwood 2,684, Brunswick 1,375, Northcote 1,354, Preston 802, Sunshine 675, Hawthorn 625, Essendon 574, and St. Kilda 550. In Sydney, the city itself contained 8,658, Marrickville 3,065, Randwick 2,017, Leichardt 1,537, Canterbury 584, Parramatta 365, and Bankstown 363. The City of Adelaide harboured 1,279, Thebarton, 1,244, Unley 876, Hindmarsh 719, Kensington and Norwood 405. In metropolitan Brisbane the largest concentration, 1,130, was South City, and in Perth, in the City of Perth itself, where 1,750 Greek-born lived.

¹ The 1961 Census recorded 223 Greek-born residents in Berri and 208 in Renmark. Coober Pedy's Greek population grew substantially in the 1960's. At first it consisted entirely of males whose number was as many as 350 in the early 1960's: by the end of the decade the settlement attracted about twenty families. Interview: Nick Makris and other opal miners of Coober Pedy.

But the Census statistical divisions, being usually the same as the cities and/or the municipalities of the metropolises, do not indicate precisely in which part of the city or municipality the concentrations occurred. They do not, for example, show such densely Greek populated centres as Paddington and Newtown in Sydney, Mile End and Brompton in Adelaide, and the West End in Brisbane, many of which have become a sort of community within the large ethnic community. Nor can Census figures show the actual chain settlements that many of these concentrations have become.

The 1961 Census figures, however, have recorded the main centres of Greek settlement as these emerged in the preceding period and as these remained in subsequent years. As will be seen the effect of these concentrations on the structure of ethnic communities was profound. Census figures also indicate the factors contributing to these concentrations. These were the availability of cheaper housing accommodation, the need to reside close to the place of work and close to community services including those of the ethnic community.

Greek immigrants did not practise the skills for which they were recruited as assisted immigrants, nor those they, as unassisted immigrants, possessed and possibly hoped to practise after settlement. The type of occupations Greeks pursued were dictated by conditions in Australia. Like most other immigrants without

recognised skills and qualifications, the great majority of Greeks entered the unskilled occupations or occupations which had simple working operations.¹ According to the 1954 Census, of the 16,794 Greek-born males, 14,617 were in the work force; the traditional catering trades listed as 'amusements, hotels, etc.' claimed 4,352, while another 2,455 were engaged in commerce. The trend to enter industrial occupations noted in the 1940's is also evident in 1954. Manufacturing, particularly in foundries, vehicles and clothing, claimed as many as 3,835, 'building and construction' 767, and 'transport and storage' 504. Just as important was the entry of Greek-born females into industry. Again the catering trades and commerce claimed 686 and 390 Greek women respectively, but a significant number, 335, worked in 'clothing, knitted goods, books, etc.', that is, in occupations outside the catering trades and outside the immediate supervision of their men folk under whom they usually laboured in the past. Lastly, the rather broad occupational category of 'agriculture, mixed farming' claimed 1,336 Greek-born males in 1954, but there is no reason to believe that the people in these occupations were not substantially the same as those recorded in the 1947 Census. In terms of occupational

¹ Brian T. Carey. Changes in the Australian Work Force. (An Australian Marxist Research Foundation Publication), 1969, p. 3, has estimated that 'in 1961 55.4 per cent, of the migrant force was in manual occupations compared to 40.5 per cent, of the Australian-born work force'.

status of the 14,616 Greek-born males in the work force, 5,282 (36.3 per cent, were in the employer and self-employed categories. No other major ethnic group had such a high proportion of its members in these categories. The 1954 Census figures, however, were not very indicative of occupational trends. They were taken just as large-scale Greek immigration began.

The 1961 Census data is much more informative. The most significant change by 1961 was the large-scale entry of Greeks into manufacturing and other industries requiring workers for general labouring. This trend was more pronounced in the more industrialized States of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, which also attracted most Greek migrants. In Victoria alone 12,358 Greek-born were engaged in manufacturing, of which the clothing industry (categorised in the Census as 'yarn, textile and clothing knitted goods') claimed 4,291. Yet a little more than over 3,000 of these workers were women.¹ The Greek-born males were concentrated in foundries, engineering and metal works, and in ship and vehicle manufacturing, particularly

¹ This is a significant trend showing the increasing number of Greek women entering industry. According to 1961 Census, one half of the Greek-born females in Victoria were in the work force, as were one half of the Polish-born females. Of the total foreign-born females only one in four were in the work force; of the Australian-born only one in five,

in the latter. Food, drink and tobacco manufacturing similarly attracted Greeks, both males and females. Similar occupational tendencies, subject to a few variations, were also obvious in New South Wales and South Australia - relatively more Greeks worked in foundries, engineering and metal manufacturing, in New South Wales, and fewer in clothing, food, drink and tobacco manufacturing, in South Australia. The transport and storage and building and construction industries attracted 2,284 in Victoria, 1,600 in New South Wales, and 750 in South Australia. In other States the number of Greeks in manufacturing industries was smaller both in absolute and relative terms due in part to lack of manufacturing industries.

Despite the notable occupational changes (especially if these are compared with the position in 1947 and earlier), a large core of Greek caterers, nonetheless, remained in existence. The numerical strength of this group had decreased in relative terms, again compared with the position in earlier periods but it has increased rapidly in absolute terms. Hence, the number of Greek-born engaged in amusements, hotels and commerce in the mainland States was 13,285 in 1961. This is not to say that those in the catering trades were people of independent means. Important changes had taken place in the catering trades in Australia which tended to undermine the independent shop proprietors in the various fields

which traditionally attracted Greek immigrants. Among these changes were the growth of large food stores and supermarkets, the increase in the number of clubs in New South Wales, and the introduction of counter lunches in hotels.¹ Yet Greeks were unwilling to abandon their more lucrative occupations as independent caterers and shopkeepers.² As in the past shops gave Greeks the opportunity to earn more, even though it meant working longer hours, and it secured permanent employment for the shopkeeper and his wife or relatives. Above all, shops made Greeks independent of employers and free from numerous economic vicissitudes. Every opportunity to enter shops and other independent means of livelihood was, therefore taken. Apart from the various types of known catering shops, Greeks also set up their own more typical Greek shops dealing in Greek and continental products (many of which were imported), and, of course, the numerous coffeehouses. A more recent trend in the economic life of Greeks has been the tendency to invest their savings in houses other than those they need as living quarters. The size of this Greek landlord class is not known but it has been a growing class in metropolitan settlements.

¹ Such changes also account for the emergence in 1961 of the Restaurant and Milk Bar Association of N.S.W. Hellenic Herald, 1 November, 1962, and passim.

² A more detailed analysis of the occupations of migrants in 1961 undertaken by Jerzy Zubrzycki shows a large over-representation of Greeks in the 'Self-employed Shop Proprietor' category compared with other migrant groups and compared with their representation in other occupational categories. Jerzy Zubrzycki, 'The Place of Ethnic Minorities in The Australian Structure', a paper delivered at the Fifth Conference of the Australian Council of Social Services, Brisbane, May, 1968.

Coupled with 2,389 Greeks engaged in agriculture the strong tendency among Greeks to acquire independent forms of livelihood is clearly established,

In the pre-war period Greeks pursued such occupations because of their inability to enter fields of employment in which unionised labour operated: in the post-war period it was due to their inability alongside other immigrants to enter the more highly-paid jobs where skills such as knowledge of English, trade and professional skills usually determined conditions of work and wage and salary rates. The alternative to shops, businesses and skilled occupations, was to pursue employment offering opportunities to work overtime, and failing this, to seek and hold two jobs.¹ A comparatively small number made the annual trek to the cane-fields, the vineyards, and the orchards, as seasonal workers. If they did, it was only as a short break from their regular

¹ No figures are available to ascertain how many or what proportion have worked on more than one job, though this tendency is not an uncommon practice.

employment in the factories.¹

The composition of Greek communities in terms of occupations and occupational status of their members has undergone important changes in the post-war period. The effect of Greeks and other immigrants on the host society has been to displace a large number of British-Australians from the bottom rungs of the socio-economic ladder just as they displaced them from the inner suburban areas. Although such displacement also meant that there occurred considerable residential and economic integration, there was no corresponding social, political and cultural integration. Greeks actively participated in such bodies as the Restaurant and Milk Bar

¹ The only labour group, known to the writer, which has derived its income almost entirely from seasonal work is that which has operated from Adelaide ever since 1962. It consists of thirteen men and their wives who have been occupied thus: pea-picking near Port Pirie (July-October); cherry-picking in Lilydale near Melbourne (November-January); grape harvesting in Mildura (February-April), and labouring in factories in Adelaide (May-June). Apart from pea-picking the wives (and their young children) have always accompanied the men and by working as a team they have managed to earn good income and good working conditions from growers. Even so, it is unlikely that this group will maintain their annual itinerary for much longer because the children are now approaching school age. What has made possible this group's ability to engage in regular seasonal work is that they are a small group, all are under forty years old, their children were young, all were related (they come from the village of Spathari in Arcadia) and as such they were a united group whose members helped one another considerably. Interview: Con Tzortzis, September, 1969, Adelaide.

Association of New South Wales, in similar organisations elsewhere, and in at least two fishermen's or fish traders' co-operatives which they were instrumental in creating, and in which they were able to elect many of their compatriots to positions of leadership.¹

The large Greek membership of some trade unions had little effect in electing important officials to represent them. This was also true of the majority of non-British immigrants. The important Greek trade union officials to be elected were for the most part Greek Cypriots in Melbourne. The position George Philopoulos holds in the Clothing and Allied Trades Union in Melbourne (and one which eventually got him to the A.C.T.U. conference in 1969), resulted from his appointment originally as an interpreter in an organisation with a large Greek membership.² Neocles Alexandrides (a Cypriot), at first president and subsequently paid organiser of the Australian

¹ The Restaurant and Milk Bar Association of N.S.W., (R.M.B.A.), was formed in 1961 from a number of dissatisfied members of the Catering Trades Organisation, (C.T.O.). Greeks were well represented in C.T.O., holding as many as six of the twenty council positions in 1962, (Hellenic Herald, 1 March, 1962), though in the R.M.B.A., in the same year, Greeks held at least sixteen of the twenty-two council positions including the positions of president, secretary and treasurer. (Hellenic Herald, 15 November, 1962.) Greeks were also well represented in: The Victorian Fish Retailers' Association, The South Australian Retail, Fish, Rabbit and Poultry Traders' Association; The West Coast Fishermen's Co-operative Limited; and The Co-operative Fish Traders Limited (Melbourne). Source: M. P. Tsounis, "Greeks in South Australia", op.cit., p. 45a; and interview with Basil Stephanou, (Managing Director of the Co-operative Fish Traders Limited), May, 1969, Melbourne.

² This is also true of Con George's position in the same union. Interview: George Philopoulos and Con George, April, 1969, Melbourne.

Railways Union in South Australia, could not have been elected by the comparatively small number of Greeks in his union. But Greek votes were effective in a host of minor trade union posts, especially shop stewards or job representatives, though again Greek Cypriots filled many of these positions.¹ The pioneer among post-war Greek trade unionists in Australia was also a Greek Cypriot, Jim Anastasiou, a building construction worker, whom the Federal Government unsuccessfully tried to deport in the early 1950's.² Australian trade unions have, by and large, remained the domain of British-Australians even though some contain a predominantly immigrant membership. A number of barriers prevent Greek immigrant

¹ The following Greek Cypriots are known to have held trade union positions: Nick Pagonis (Electrical Trades Union, Melbourne); Andreas Kyriakou, Varnavas Pagonis and ? Louis (Vehicle Builders Union, Melbourne); Peter Antoniou and ? Yiannoulatos (Building Workers Industrial Union, Melbourne) and Jim Anastasiou in the same union in Yallourn, (Victoria), Mt. Isa, (Queensland), and Sydney; Sam Philips (Liquor Trades Union); Con Socratous (Tramway Employee's Union (Adelaide)); and Takis Komodromou (Locomotive and Engine Drivers' Union (Melbourne)). At least three of these, Nick Pagonis, Andreas Kyriakou and Con Socratous, have also served in the State councils or higher positions in their respective trade unions. Among the Greeks the following are known to have achieved trade union positions comparable to those of Greek Cypriots: Michalis Hatjivasilis (State Council of the A.W.U., N.S.W., in 1969); Demetrios Liakopoulos (Vehicle Builders Union, Melbourne); Gabriel Katsamas (Food Preservers Union, Melbourne); Jim Efthymiadis (Liquor Trades Union, Melbourne); Nikos Rombakis (Miscellaneous Workers Union, Adelaide); Spyros Kokkinos (A.E.U., Melbourne); and Nick Bosinakis (Clothing and Allied Trades Union, Melbourne); Nick Karangis, a Slav-Macedonian, (Miscellaneous Workers Union, and later the A.R.U., Melbourne); Can Zaglanikis V.B.U., Melbourne); and Jim Leftis (Liquor and Allied Trades Union, Sydney). Source: Interview with most of the above Trade Union officials.

² For the 'Jim Anastasiou case' see Sun, 18 December, 1952, (Sydney); Tribune, 3 and 30 December, 1952; Argus, 18 December, 1952, (Melbourne).

participation in trade unions, the most important of which are, lack of knowledge of English and of trade union practices and regulations, their high mobility from industry to industry, and the consequent impersonal relationship between migrant and the trade union institution.

Just as impersonal has been the Greek immigrant's relationship with the government, political parties and other public bodies, provided this relationship is measured in terms of active participation and representation of Greek immigrants in them. All that the Greeks could show by 1969 were a Labour Party senator, a country town mayor, and about ten city and municipal councillors. All except the mayor and four councillors were second-generation Greeks who owe their position more to the Australian elector than to a conscious Greek vote.¹ The Labour Party senator, George Georges, was elected from

¹ The Greek-born councillors were: George Samartzis, Richmond, and Theo Sideropoulos, Collingwood, (Victoria); Michael Thomas, Dulwich, and Jack Carvan (Papaellenas), Penrith, (New South Wales); The Greek-born mayor was Evangelos I. Vangis (a Kytheran) in Nyngan, N.S.W.. The Australian-born councillors were: Theo Taliangis (Unley, S.A.); John Kiosoglou (St. Peters, S.A.); Steve Condous (Adelaide, S.A.); Mick Michael (Perth, W.A.); and John Pitsikas, (Midlands, W.A.). Interestingly, the parents of all Australian-born councillors, except those of Theo Taliangis, were from Kastellorizo. So, too, were the parents of Senator George Georges (Hatzigeorgouras). Although Greek electors were effective (especially when it came to closely contested positions only in municipalities such as Richmond, Collingwood, Dulwich, and certain parts of the City of Sydney, could Greek candidates rely greatly on their own compatriots. In the case of Senator George Georges, his election in 1967 was ensured after he won No. 2 position on the A.L.P. Senate team - a position depending entirely on his standing within his own party. Three Greek-born immigrants who served on the Fitzroy council, being Slav-Macedonians, were not expected to receive the support of Greek rate payers. Source: Interviews with several of the above people; Hellenic Herald, 2 December, 1965; 17 January, and 4 December, 1968; 19 April, 30 July, and 15 October, 1969; and Phos, 7 July, 1966.

Queensland, one of the least Greek-populated States of the Commonwealth of Australia. This is not to say that Australian political parties have not attempted to solicit the vote and support of Greek immigrants. Every political party since the war has become aware of the growing significance of immigrant votes and numerous measures have been enacted to win them.¹ But political parties were Australian organisations, not Greek, and they represented Australian classes and electorates, not particular migrant interests. The best that different party candidates could do in seeking Greek votes was to pose as philhellenes, or support, as the A.L.P. did, such national causes as Cyprus's independence and democracy in Greece.² There is

¹ Among these were: the setting up of the New Australians' Committee (A.L.P.Melb.), and in the case of the Australian Communist Party, of actual Greek branches; co-opting important immigrant community leaders on policy-making bodies of each political party; and advertising in the immigrant press, and/or issuing foreign-language leaflets usually just before State and Federal Government elections. Most of these measures were temporary. The exceptions were: the Greek branches of the Australian Communist Party which functioned in the large ethnic communities for most of the post-war period; and an A.L.P. Greek Auxiliary in Sydney since the war, at the head of which has been Emanuel Andronicus but whose role is concerned mainly with helping the A.L.P. at election time.

² Individual A.L.P. politicians and often enough the A.L.P. itself or branches of it, supported readily both of these causes, Cyprus independence had become part of the A.L.P. platform by the late 1950's, while the Victorian branch of the A.L.P. at its 1968 conference adopted a proposal stipulating that it stand for the restoration of democratic institutions in Greece. M. P. Tsounis, "Greeks in South Australia", op.cit., pp. 80-81. Interview: Demetrios Gogos, editor of Neos Kosmos and member of the Victorian Branch of the A.L.P., who was largely instrumental in getting his party to adopt the proposal on Greece in 1968.

no evidence that a great number of Greek immigrants were being won over as permanent members and political activists in any of Australia's political parties.¹

This general alienation of Greeks from Australian society was an important factor continually pushing them inwards to their own communities. Not only was this true of the mass of newcomers but as ethnic communities grew they also attracted old immigrants and members of the second generation who were otherwise well on the way to becoming assimilated in the host society. The ethnic community became a substitute for the host society which excluded the immigrant at a number of levels. This theme must be postponed² for the time being in order to see what sort of ethnic community structures emerged in the post-1950 period.

The great influx of Greeks in the post-1950 period brought about important changes in Greek communities. Apart from the sharp increase in the size of communities and the creation of several entirely new settlements, there also occurred the expected proliferation of organizations and institutions. As in the past, the three main classes of formal organisations were: Greek Orthodox Communities, regional or local fraternities, and pan-

¹ This, too, is the opinion of Alan Davies, "Migrants in Politics", Dissent, Winter, 1966. For a fuller discussion on 'migrants in public life' see James Jupp, Arrivals and Departures, Melbourne, 1966, pp. 83 - 100.

² See Chapter XIII.

Hellenic organisations of which there were several sub-classes. Important structural changes of ethnic communities also took place. Whereas in the past the normal development in each community tended towards the creation of one Greek Orthodox Community enjoying considerable power and prestige and a virtual monopoly to interpret and to put into practice the national-religious ethos of Greeks, this monopoly ceased after 1959. Instead, a more organised Greek Orthodox Church came to the fore, demanding much of the domain which Communities traditionally came to regard as their own. The new church system implemented by Archbishop Ezekiel after 1959 aimed^{at}, and to a large measure~~s~~ succeeded in, setting up churches wherever the numbers warranted them, and in having these churches tied to the Archdiocese spiritually and, in some real sense, administratively and legally.¹ The Archbishop did not discard the entire concept, the function, nor, for that matter, the name

¹ The rules by which Archdiocese Communities or Churches were to be administered and the rules governing their relationship with the Archdiocese varied considerably. The rules proposed at first by Archbishop Ezekiel envisaged Greek Orthodox Churches administered by councils which were to be partly elective and partly appointed. All Church properties were to be administered by councils on trust by the Archdiocese and could not be disposed of without the written approval of the Archbishop. In the event of a Church becoming bankrupt and dissolved, its remaining assets automatically were to be the property of the Archdiocese. Few Communities adopted in toto the new rules but all pro-Archdiocese Communities had subsequently made provisions in their constitutions accepting the Archbishop's authority in church matters - an authority, which though never tested in legal practice, could be interpreted as having a claim on the properties of Communities.

of Greek Orthodox Communities, but he did call upon the clergy to play a more active role at local church or Community level as well as at other levels of his pyramidal church structure. Explicit in the new church system was that each Community was to be concerned only with one church. Those Communities, such as in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, which owned or could own more than one church, were to erect no more.

Decentralising the religious function of the old Communities in the large settlements was a long-term policy of the church which Metropolitan Theophylactos, try as he may, could not implement. True, the precedent of founding churches outside the auspices of existing Communities was established before 1959, yet the circumstances under which these churches arose were rather special.¹ Intrusions by the diocese into what were considered important Community rights, such as church ownership and administration, were always vehemently resisted. Attempts by the Metropolitan to assert his diocese's authority produced conflict and many disputes in the 1950's and contributed to the formation in June, 1958, of the Federation of Greek Orthodox Communities - a body pledged to defend Community rights and showing considerable hostility to the head of the church. Because of the untimely death of Metropolitan Theophylactos early in August, 1958, one can only speculate on how, and the extent to which, he was prepared to assert the authority of his church, but as will be seen he made some progress towards such a policy.²

¹ See Chapter VII below.

² Ibid.

Generally, however, the church system operating until 1959 favoured Greek Orthodox Communities. Particularly was this so of Communities in the capitals whose membership and revenue (chiefly from church takings) grew rapidly as did their social welfare and school activities, and their assets and their prestige. But these Communities had no church building programme that looked to the future. The Community of Sydney acquired in 1958¹ a valuable new church alongside a small hall and offices in Redfern, but all that the Communities in Melbourne and Adelaide could show by 1958 were an extra church each in hired premises.² The Brisbane Community, as early as 1956, also embarked on a financial drive to build a new church (which was completed by 1960), but only to abandon the old and smaller church building on Charlotte Street.³ Outside the capitals church building was just as slow. The Communities of Newcastle, Mildura, Thevenard (South Australia) and Bunbury (Western Australia), preferred to erect halls rather than churches.⁴

¹ The Metropolitan incidently raised no objection to a third Community-owned church. Evangelos Bollas, op.cit., p. 8.

² The Adelaide Community's new church, procured in 1957, was abandoned by the end of 1958 on the grounds that the lease on the hired premises (on South Road, Mile End) had expired. No efforts to found another church were undertaken by the Community immediately after.

³ See White Paper G.O.C., Brisbane, op.cit.

⁴ These communities began collecting money for the building of halls before 1950. Thevenard had its Greek hall built by 1946; Newcastle acquired its large L-shaped hall in 1957. Mildura by 1953, and Bunbury by 1954. The churches in all five settlements came after 1956; that of Newcastle began being erected in 1969.

Such buildings could and were often converted into places of worship but they were not churches. The only church conscious settlements were those of Townsville, Port Pirie, and Darwin. The Townsville church for which funds were being collected in 1946 and which was complete by 1950 also served the settlements of Rockhampton and Ingham.¹ Post-war immigration on the other hand helped revive the Port Pirie Community which was able to afford a resident priest by 1951 and a new and large St. George church by 1959 - a project which was financially assisted by the Community in Adelaide.² The Darwin community, being greatly replenished from the migration chain started by the entry of pearl divers from the island of Kalymnos in the early 1950's, had a new and spacious St. Nicholas church by 1956.³ What retarded church building in non-metropolitan communities was the uncertain or slow rate of settlement. Non-metropolitan settlements, however, were gradually moving towards the church.

¹ The drive to build the St. Theodores Church at Townsville also commenced early (1945) but the church was not erected until 1950. As sometimes happens the choice of the church's name went to the most generous donor; in this case it was Theodore Kalafatis who gave £1,000 in one lump sum. Hellenic Herald, 4 October, 1945, and 6 June, 1950; Krikos, July-August, 1957.

² The Regional fraternities of Kastellorizans, Cypriots and Icarians, who had members resident in Port Pirie, also raised money towards the Port Pirie church. Interviews with officials of the Community and the regional fraternities.

³ Krikos, July-August, 1957. Also interview with Anastasios Karnesis (a former Darwin resident), May, 1969, Sydney.

Instead of having simply Greek societies, a number of which had been operating since the 1930's, all growing non-metropolitan settlements were adopting Greek Orthodox Communities as the more appropriate form of organisation,¹ Even so, the disinterest in erecting churches in a number of such communities could not but make an adverse impression on the head of the church in 1959.

It was this rather slow process of church building that the Ezekiel or what his opponents dubbed the 'American System' sought to change. The new system also sought to disengage the affairs of the church long embedded in the old Communities of the capitals. In Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, the Archbishop embarked on a comprehensive programme of founding churches in the most densely populated suburbs. The rapidity with which such congregations were organised, new church buildings erected or old ones bought from willing sellers, particularly from Anglican and Protestant denominations, clearly indicated the need for new churches. The speed with which the Archdiocesan programme was implemented also arose from the need to get into a settlement before the opponents, the Federation Communities, who similarly sought to extend their influence. By 1968 the number of churches respectively loyal to the Archdiocese and to the Federation in the three large metropolitan communities were: Melbourne eleven to six; Sydney ten to four; and Adelaide four to two. What won the race for the Archdiocese were: the repeated refusal by the Archbishop

¹ See Appendix A.

to give his blessing and his priests to churches the Federation Communities often wanted to build; the stigma of heresy placed on Federation Communities particularly after their decision to be harboured by the Byelo-Russian Archbishop, Sergi Ochotenko, who also ordained most of the Federation's priests; and the fact that Archdiocese churches or Communities presented locals with opportunities to play a more active part in church affairs unlike the churches of the Federation Communities which were administered more centrally by Community councils,

Outside Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, the Archbishop was just as successful. Apart from such staunch Federation members as the Communities of Newcastle, Geelong, and Whyalla, the remainder deserted it and eventually threw in their lot with the Archdiocese.¹ The Archdiocese, moreover, was able to make notable intrusions in Newcastle, Mildura, Geelong, and Sunshine, where it

¹ The following Greek Orthodox Communities which were represented at the Federation Conference in October, 1959, and as such could be considered affiliates of the Federation, were absent from the Federation conference in April, 1963, and from subsequent conferences: Perth, Kalgoorlie, Albury, Port Pirie, Darwin, Canberra, Innisfail, Lismore, Gippsland, Yallourn, Frankston, and Hobart. Hellenic Herald, 22 October, 1959, and Minutes of Federation Conferences on 3 - 4 October, 1959, and 21 - 22 April, 1963.

managed to form separate congregations and erect churches for them,¹ No important community, therefore, remained without an Archdiocesan branch. In most country settlements (some thirty in fact), the Greek Orthodox Communities listed in Archdiocesan calendars have not grown to fully-fledged Communities. They are simply listed as such in the calendars, and the affairs of each were entrusted to a prominent Greek shopkeeper or businessmen of the town.² It is unlikely that many of Communities are to this day properly constituted formal organisations. Still, the Archdiocese has established the contacts necessary to function in out-laying communities, much more so than has the Federation. Apart from the non-metropolitan fully-developed Communities mentioned so far, the Archdiocese has also laid claim to those in Home Hill, Surfers Paradise, Wollongong, Dubbo, Albury, Wagga Wagga, Gippsland, Shepparton, two in Berri, Renmark, Bunbury, and Geraldton, each of which acquired a church and a resident priest by 1968.³

¹ The Calendar of the Holy Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, 1960-1968. In Mildura Archdiocese loyalists managed to gain control of the Greek Educational League 'Plato' and its hall, transformed the League into a Greek Orthodox Community and subsequently erected a church adjacent to the hall. Their opponents founded a separate Greek Orthodox Community, built another hall and became affiliated with the Federation. Interview: Con Cavouriaris and others.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

By 1968 the relative strength of the two church systems in Australia was as follows. The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand whose jurisdiction¹ extended to India, claimed the loyalty of eighty-nine Greek Orthodox Communities. Twenty-eight of these were in New South Wales, and included the old Community in Sydney with its three churches; twenty-three in Victoria; fifteen in each of Queensland and South Australia; seven in Western Australia; one in each of Canberra and Darwin; two in Tasmania; five in New Zealand; and two in India.² In Mainland Australia thirty-seven Communities were situated in metropolitan areas or adjacent satellite cities. If the old Sydney Community is again included these metropolitan Communities owned a total of thirty-two churches. The remaining fifty non-metropolitan Communities accounted for another twenty-one churches. A church in each of Hobart, Wellington, Christchurch in New Zealand, and Calcutta in India, brought the total of Archdiocese churches to fifty-four.³ By 1968 the Federation's position in respect to churches stood thus: Melbourne five; Adelaide two; and one in each of Newcastle, Geelong, Whyalla, and Sydney. Although it

¹ Until 1962 the Australian Archdiocese had also laid claim to the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church of Seoul, Korea. The Calendar of the Holy Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, 1962 and 1963.

² The Calendar of the Holy Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, 1968.

³ Ibid.

could claim the three churches belonging to the old Sydney Community it could not rely on the loyalty of these three churches' priests who accepted the spiritual leadership of the Archbishop. The Federation, moreover, has failed to procure a recognised Greek Orthodox Church authority to give them the status of an Orthodox Church.

The two church systems, moreover, differed in respect to the source of authority their officers exercised and how such authority was exercised. Given the pyramidal structure of the Archdiocese, the church or Community councils, the State and national mixed clergy-laity conferences and mixed councils were in theory subordinate bodies.¹ In practice there was considerable two-way consultation, debate and group decision making. There was also some defiance of authority at different levels of the pyramid which was not unassociated with the decision to recall Archbishop Ezekiel in 1968 and which again found full expression in the closing of ~~four~~ Archdiocese churches for one Sunday when the Ecumenical Patriarchate decided to re-instate the Archbishop in August, 1969.² The power structure within the Federation was decidedly different. Member Communities were free to secede and were not bound by the decisions of Pan-Community conferences, nor

¹ The development of structure of the Archdiocese will be dealt with more fully in Chapter VII.

² For the closing of the four churches on 24th August, 1969, see Phos, 27 August, 1969, Pyrros, 29 August, 1969, and other Greek newspapers in the same period. For the split in the Archdiocese see Chapter VII below.

by the decisions of the Federation Council. Councils of member Communities were elected by and therefore answerable to Community members. The Federation had no Archbishop to exercise powers over it, while the priests were mere employees of Communities.¹ The other major difference between the two systems lay in the constitutional structure of member Communities.

Federation Communities retained by and large their former charters. The only important amendments made in their constitutions were those which freed them from being spiritually dependent on the Archbishop. The constitutions of Archdiocese Communities, though varying considerably, were different in many respects from those of Federation Communities. In metropolitan Sydney, Archdiocese Communities delineated the areas in which they operated street by street and restricted membership usually to 250.² There is no evidence that faithfuls wishing to join were rejected, nor is there evidence that membership was even more than 250. Legally, but subject to the provisions defining the Community-Archdiocese relations, these financial members also owned the property of the Community, in the sense that members own the property of an incorporated club or friendly society or share-

¹ Archbishop Sergi Ochotenko has never been officially proclaimed spiritual head of the Federation. The Federation has been dependent on the Archbishop to ordain priests and to have them registered as bona fide ministers of religion. In return all that the Federation Communities give Archbishop Sergi is a small weekly salary of \$12,00. Interview: Federation officials.

² Constitutions of Archdiocese Communities, Registrar of Companies, Sydney.

holders the property of a company,¹ In Melbourne and Adelaide the area a Community operated was not as clearly defined except for the fact that they were situated in the more densely populated suburbs. Unlike the Sydney Communities, whose elected councils, for legal purposes, were also the directors of a company, the management of Communities in Melbourne was undertaken by trustees and councils which were not, except in a few cases, periodically elected by financial members. Only in the late 1960's was there a rather slow movement to transform such Communities into more democratic organisations, recruit more members and make officials more answerable to members. In Adelaide the pro-Archdiocese Communities were again constitutionally different from their counterparts in Sydney and Melbourne. Those in Norwood, Unley and Thebarton, at first accepted fully the Archbishop's new rules providing for one half of the councillors to be appointed and the remainder to be elected by fee-paying members, but they, too,

¹ Constitutions of Archdiocese Communities, Registrar of Companies, Sydney.

began to gradually discard the practice of appointing councillors.¹ Membership of the Adelaide Communities was open to all who wished to join. Thus, the constitutional structure of Archdiocese Communities was by no means a uniform one. What mattered in the early 1960's, was to establish a congregation as best one could, make certain that the Community and Church were placed in the hands of Archdiocese loyalists and leave the finer points of administrative procedure, the respective rights of clergy and laity, and legal ownership to be settled subsequently.

The other line of demarcation between pro-Archdiocese and pro-Federation Communities in Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, was that the Federation Communities owned and managed more than one church and many more Greek schools.² These Communities, moreover, despite their heresy, have retained some measure of their former prestigious position within each ethnic community.

¹ All Archdiocese Communities in South Australia are listed in the Register of Companies. Although the practice of electing all councillors was increasingly being adopted in metropolitan Communities in the 1960's the registered rules of each Community still provide that half of the councillors are to be appointed. In non-metropolitan Communities, the rules provide for the election of all Community councillors.

² For most of the 1960's these Communities ran approximately twenty Greek schools: the Adelaide Community managed as many as twenty-four in 1969, though the total number of enrolments, 1,300, was below those of the Melbourne Community's which stood at 1,935 in the same year.

Their steady accumulation of property, especially their acquisition of Community centres, halls, offices, and salaried staff, have presented Greek immigrants and the various Greek organisations with valuable services such as halls for meetings and social dances, office facilities, interpreters and financial assistance. The Greek Orthodox Community in each capital city is still considered by many to be the same as the Greek ethnic community, though less so than in the pre-1959 period.

All large Communities also strove to maintain women's and youth auxiliaries. The most successful in this sphere were the old Communities in Perth, Adelaide, and Brisbane. The Olympic Athletic Club of Sydney had dissolved by 1957 having lasted for as long as fathers of Club members controlled the Community in Sydney.¹ An attempt to create another Community youth auxiliary, EKON, in the early 1960's was a signal failure.² The Melbourne Olympic Athletic Club, though still in existence, has been reduced to a mere shadow of its former greatness.³ It retained its connections with the Community but these, as was seen, were never close and formal. The old Communities in Melbourne and Sydney

¹ See Chapter VII below.

² Interview: Con Rorris, Secretary of EKON, November, 1967, Sydney.

³ Interview: John Zigouras, George Pappas, and others, May, 1969, Melbourne.

The Hellenic Youth Club of S.A., whose relations with the Adelaide Community varied, was similarly weakened by the late 1960's, though much of its role was performed by its scion, the Hellenic Younger Set. Source: Personal observation.

similarly failed to enjoy the services of permanent and formal women's auxiliary organisations. The Archdiocese sanctioned the formation of women's (Philoptochos), and youth (GOYA), organisations for each of its Communities, but few Communities managed to build and retain such permanent auxiliaries as they could call their own.¹ More often than not, however, each Community council and priest could rely on the organised support of the womenfolk, GOYA branches on the other hand, preferred to pool their resources by combining on a State basis, have their headquarters, members and activities in each capital city, and only twice did they come into communion with their interstate counterparts at national conventions.² For the most part GOYA activities were confined to sport and to social dances, in which case they were not different from other youth clubs. Where GOYA differed from other Community youth clubs was that they were, like Philoptochos, Archdiocese bodies, and by 1968 they had also managed to be represented on the Archdiocese Mixed Council, a position Philoptochos had not won.³

¹ One report, (Pyrnos, 18 August, 1967), noted that by 1967 only one-fifth of the Archdiocese Communities (parishes) had GOYA branches. John Kiosoglou, a GOYA leader, (interviewed, January, 1970, in Adelaide), placed the total number of GOYA branches throughout Australia at about 20; (Sydney 7 - 9; Melbourne 6 - 7; Adelaide 3; Brisbane 2; and Perth 1.).

² See Ethnikon Vema, 12 April, 9 August, 13 September, 18 October, 1967, and 17 April, 1968, for GOYA activities in 1967 leading up to their convention in Brisbane at Christmas, 1967. The second national convention took place at the end of 1969 in Sydney, (Pyrnos, 16 January, 1970.). The most active branch was that of Adelaide which has also managed an Australian rules football team since the early 1960's.

³ The Calendar of the Holy Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, 1968.

Despite the many changes and differences in Greek Orthodox Communities, all have several important common characteristics: all were concerned with religion, the Greek school and philanthropy, and have remained by and large the most important and permanent Greek immigrant organisation. The new church system that came into operation after 1959 changed not the role of Communities but their power structure, and in particular the power of the old Communities of Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide. What in effect Archbishop Exekiel did was to decentralise the religious and other functions of the old Communities only to concentrate more power in a church diocese of which he was the head. This called for a greater participation in church affairs at local or parish level - a participation limited only by the need to safeguard the interests of the Archdiocese.

The most numerous of the Greek immigrant organisations founded in the post-1950 period were the regional or local fraternities. No less than 190 of these are known to have been formed and to have functioned, thus bringing the total number of known regional fraternities for the whole of Australia to approximately 230 by 1970. Of those founded after 1950, Melbourne claimed ninety, Sydney about sixty, Adelaide thirty, Brisbane five, Perth and Darwin two each and Canberra one.¹ The increase in the number

¹ See Appendix A.

of such organisations naturally resulted from the large influx of immigrants, especially since many of the regions from which Greeks emigrated were not formerly involved in the migration movement to Australia. Differences between old and new immigrants from the same place of origin, the religious schism and political and personal differences and disputes among co-regionals helped to increase the number of regional fraternities. But on the whole the tendency throughout the period was for people from the same place of birth to get together and combine for mutual aid, to help those they left behind, to preserve their local customs, traditions and culture, to form a body to represent them in the community at large, and to offer opportunities for leadership, office and status.

The first regional fraternities founded after 1950 were usually those representing the large regions from which Greeks emigrated and for which no fraternity functioned before. Among these regions were Peloponnesos, Macedonia and Krete, and also places outside of Greece such as Egypt and the Middle East and Pontos, the Turkish region bordering the Black Sea from where large numbers were resettled in Greece particularly in Macedonia, after 1922. But apart from the fraternities of Egypto-Greeks and Pontians, those representing the large regions did not prove to be stable, large and permanent organisations, especially if these organisations were operating in the large communities. Indeed,

all Peloponnesian Brotherhoods founded by the mid-1950's had become almost defunct by the mid-1960's.¹ The old 'Alexander the Great' fraternity of Melbourne similarly had dissolved by 1968 as did the Union of Northern Greece which operated in Melbourne between 1954 and 1960.² The only viable fraternity representing a large region has been the National Pan-Macedonian Organisation in Melbourne, though, as will be seen,³ its permanency resulted from the wider nationalist aspirations it espoused rather than from the purely regionalist interests that such organisations usually pursue. What was taking the place of these organisations were fraternities representing smaller regions, the prefectures, nomoi, or smaller districts within prefectures known as eparchies, and small islands and towns. This fragmentation became particularly pronounced

¹ These Peloponnesian fraternities were not dissolved formally but their activities ceased by the mid-1960's. As so often happens when Greek organisations go into dissolution their records and sometimes their remaining assets (usually in the form of bank deposits) are lost, forgotten or kept by the last of the organisation's officials.

² For the dissolution of 'Alexander The Great' see story by one of its founders and former officials in Neos Kosmos, 3 June, 1968. The Union of Northern Greece, though a regional organisation, was also a nationalist and a right-wing body which, like its immediate successor the National Pan-Macedonian Organisation, acted as a sort of vigilante against communist and pan-Slavist activity. Phos, 24 November, 1954, 1 December, 1960, and passim.

³ See pp. 503 - 504 below.

among Greek Macedonians in Melbourne, who, by 1969, had founded about thirty fraternities.¹ One prefecture, Kozani, was represented by eight fraternities, one for the whole prefecture and ~~six~~ other smaller districts within it,² The most fragmented group, however, was the Achaeans of Sydney whose prefecture became represented by nine fraternities, and the prefecture Achaea itself, by none. In a number of instances fraternities representing smaller regions were founded before those representing the larger region, while several of the smaller fraternities either dissolved or were absorbed by the larger regional organisation.³ But on the whole fraternities representing smaller districts have proved to be much more viable and permanent.

Attempts have often enough been made to co-ordinate the activities of regional or district fraternities but their co-operation has seldom gone beyond the stage of engaging in such common activities as celebrating an important anniversary and helping

¹ This is the number of fraternities cited so far and listed in Appendix A. The National Pan-Macedonian Organisation, however, claims that thirty-six such fraternities existed in 1969, (Interview: Anastasios Moussias (May, 1969, Melbourne), a leader of the National Pan-Macedonian Organisation,

² See Appendix A.

³ See Appendix A.

needy co-regionals here and in Greece,¹ The National Pan-Macedonian Organisation of Melbourne has also tried to assume the role of leader and spokesman for other Greek Macedonian fraternities of which about thirty are functioning at present (1970), but this has been a rather presumptuous role. There was never a formal and organic connection among these fraternities. This was also true of the Pan-Rhodian societies and their scions in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, and of the numerous fraternities representing the Dodecanese Islands of which Rhodes is the largest. The only reasonably successful cases of co-operation among co-regionals from fairly large regions were the Thessalians and Greek Cypriots. Unlike other united Greek Cypriot fraternities, that of Melbourne split into two separate organisations after 1950, but managed to amalgamate ten years later to form the Cypriot Community of Melbourne and Victoria.² The three Mytileneans' societies of Sydney also amalgamated in the mid-1960's, though this did not bring about a large and strong organisation.³ The Thessalians of

¹ Each pan-Rhodian fraternity, for example, takes the initiative in organising the annual celebration marking the incorporation of the Dodecanese Islands with Greece in March, 1947. All Dodecanese fraternities participate in such celebrations willingly. A Heptanesian Federation formed in Sydney in 1964 to celebrate the centenary of the incorporation of the Ionian island with Greece. Neos Kosmos, 18 June, 1964.

² Interview: Takis Komodromou, May, 1969, Melbourne.

³ Interview: Stratos Mavrantonis, May, 1968, Melbourne.

Sydney, on the other hand, devised a different organisation from other Greeks, and it is the only known fraternity of a large region which has managed to accommodate most of its members even though they originate from four different prefectures of Thessaly. One of the measures, that has apparently brought about this unity, was to allow approximately equal representation from each prefecture on the council of their Pan-Thessalian 'Regas Pheraios' society,¹ Even so, this did not stop the formation of the separatist or localist ' Meteora' group.

The emergence of regional fraternities was a direct result of chain migration and settlement. These chains explain the existence of certain fraternities in certain places in Australia and not in others and also account for much of the fragmentation of the large regional organisations. The determinants of fragmentation depended on the number of co-regionals resident in any one ethnic community: in view of large-scale immigration, it became a relatively simple task to organise a band of fifty to sixty males and found a fraternity. Particularly was this the case when there was a specific reason or cause to form a fraternity, such as a request from home to send financial assistance for some town amenity, the need to help an unfortunate co-regional in Australia,

¹ All prefectures, except Larisa, had three representatives elected on the society council. Larisa, which is also the capital of Thessaly, had four councillors. Ethnikon Vema, 7 June, 1967.

dissatisfaction ^{with} ~~from~~ the leadership and the activities of the existing (larger) regional organisation, or simply because of the inadequacies of an existing regional fraternity to satisfy the aspirations of all local groups. Among such aspirations was to eternalise the name associated with the immigrant's actual birth-place, be this the place-name itself, a pagan god, legendary hero, real historical person, christian saint, war hero, or a mountain. Indeed, no regional fraternity or break-away group was, or could ever be short of an important Greek name with which to designate its identity.

In the maelstrom of large-scale immigration and of ethnic community politics, many regional fraternities underwent further sub-division. The first to split were Greek Cypriots of Melbourne. Their 'Zenon' organisation fell by 1950 under the control of newcomers and leftists thus alienating other Cypriots who formed a rival society 'Troodos'.¹ By the end of the 1950's rival societies also functioned among Melbourne Pontians, Athenians, Chalkidikians (Macedonia), Epirots, and Achaeans (Peloponessos), for reasons which were not unassociated with ethnic communities' partisan politics and the schism.² The

¹ Interview: Takis Komodromou and others, May, 1969, Melbourne. See also: John A Petrolias, op.cit., pp. 109-111. For the founders of Troodos see also the records of this society in the Registrar of Companies Office, Melbourne.

² See Appendix A. For split among Epirots, Phos, 22 June, and 12 July, 1961.

Arcadians of Melbourne similarly split and although the formation of separate Arcadian societies was averted, the opposing factions did not patch up their differences until 1968.¹ By the mid-1960's rival societies again, for the same reasons, were functioning among the Pontians, Greek Macedonians, Kretans and Chians of Sydney, while a split in the West Greek Macedonian Society, 'Pavlos Melas', occurred in Adelaide after 1965.² The last divisive factor was personal differences and squabbles of members as instanced in the split among Mytileneans of Melbourne.³

Yet, despite the involvement of regional fraternities in the politics of the ethnic community, they have, on the whole, exhibited a remarkable ability to preserve their integrity. Even where rival fraternities have been created, attempts at unity and co-operation were never absent and some of these attempts were successful. The reasons for the general unity, permanency and

¹ Interview: Nikos Kyriakopoulos, June, 1968, Melbourne. See also successful moves for unity in Neos Kosmos, 1 August, 19 September, and 21 October, 1968, and Pyrros, 2 August, 1968, and passim.

² Interview: Mick Papajoglou and others, August, 1969, Adelaide.

³ According to the officials of the 'Arion' group which broke away from 'Pittakos', the reasons for the split were due to 'egoisms, continual squabbles, personal passions and interests' of 'Pittakos' officials. Pyrros, 5 September, 1969.

continuity of such organisations, are to be found in the role that regional fraternities play in the life of immigrants, in the regional or parochial bonds of their members (many of whom are close relatives), and in the fact that most fraternities acquire assets and corporate existence. The degree to which these organisations have attained the position of being permanent institutions capable of offering their members meaningful social, cultural and recreational facilities and activities has varied from group to group and with time. Generally, the older and larger the fraternity, the more institutionalised and wealthier it becomes. This has been so in the case of Rhodians in Brisbane and Adelaide, Kytherans and Kastellorizans of Perth, Sydney and Melbourne, Ithacans of Melbourne, Egypto-Greeks of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, and Cypriots of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Further, the older the regional fraternity the more are its activities fashioned to serve the needs of and correspond to the life of its members in Australia. The activities of Kytherans, Ithacans, Kastellorizans and Rhodians especially have rarely in the post-1950 period gone beyond that of acquiring property largely aimed at offering recreational facilities to their members. One reason is that emigration from these islands has in the post-1950 period eased off or ceased so that members no longer see the role of their fraternity simply as an accommodator

for incoming poor immigrants and as continual provider of the needs of their birth-place. Natural calamities such as the earthquake in 1954¹ may, however, stir these old co-regionals into action, as did the troubles in Cyprus stir Greek Cypriots into action to help their country of birth.²

Other regional fraternities whose activities have been largely confined to or in accord with their members' lives in Australia, were those Egypto-Greeks, Pontians and Rumano-Greeks, the latter of whom became concentrated in Sydney. The reason for this is mainly because these groups can no longer consider their place of origin as their 'special fatherland' ~~to~~ which they are committed to assist in time of need and which continually sends migrants to Australia. Of the three groups, the Pontians have been least successful in becoming fully established with lesches and other recreational facilities. Although they are numerous, Pontians are comparatively new arrivals. They also split, and further, many of them preferred to join and become active in other regional societies representing regions in Greece where a larger number were born or grew up.

¹ Most Greeks and Greek immigrant organisations contributed in one way or another to the relief funds for the earthquake victims in 1954, but none more than immigrant Ionian islanders themselves. See list of donors in Phos, 14 July, 1954, and passim. By July, 1954, £130,000 had been collected throughout Australia for the earthquake victims in the Ionian Islands.

² For the role of Cypriot societies around the Cyprus question see Chapter VII.

A number of factors have thus operated to fashion the formation, activities and roles of regional societies. Their viability and permanence have been ensured further by the strong attachment to the actual place of birth or origin, and co-regional loyalties, or what has been termed elsewhere, localism, topikismos. But just as topikismos has often cut across the wider aspirations and interests of the organisations and institutions of ethnic communities in which these local groups settled, so, too, did the politics and issues of ethnic communities cut across and sometimes erode the bonds of regional fraternities. A leader or a member of a regional fraternity, for example, had to decide which group or party to support in many of the power struggles in pan-Hellenic organisations, particularly in Greek Orthodox Communities, or commit himself to one or the other side of the religious schism. A leader or a member of a regional society may himself decide to seek office in a pan-Hellenic body in which case he would rely for support on his immediate compatriots, including his regional fraternity as an organised group. Indeed, during the power struggles in Greek Orthodox Communities of the 1950's and during the schism in the 1960's, parties and factions contesting elections and soliciting support for their cause, were careful to recruit important leaders of regional fraternities. One party contesting the 1958 Community elections in Melbourne claimed every one of its fifteen candidates was a leader or a representative of a regional fraternity or group.¹

¹ Phos, 15 October, 1958.

The separation of the Slav-Macedonians from the Greeks which occurred in the 1940's was complete by the 1960's. Yet the full realisation by Slav-Macedonians of ethnic identity did not take place within the framework of the Macedonian-Australian People's League with its left-radicalism, its agitation in defence of the civil rights of Slav-Macedonians in Greece, and its dream of an independent Slav-Macedonian State, but around the Macedonian Orthodox Church whose seat was in Skopje, the capital of the small Macedonian State within the Yugoslav Federation.¹ The process by which the People's League disintegrated and gave way to Macedonian Orthodox Communities and/or Churches was slow and not without considerable disputes among conflicting groups. These Slav-Macedonian Communities, for example, had to satisfy left and right-wing elements, pro-Yugoslav and Bulgarian and 'independent' Slav-Macedonians, and Slav-Macedonians, who had severed all bonds that bound them to any one of the three or four nations in which they were born.² By the 1960's, however, the different groups had merged. The Slav-Macedonian community of Melbourne had completed its church and hall by 1960, Perth and Queanbeyan in 1969, by which time the foundation for churches had also been laid to serve the faithful in Newcastle, Wollongong-Port Kembla and in Adelaide.³

¹ C. A. Price, op.cit., pp. 316-319.

² Interview: officials and member of the Macedonian Orthodox Community of Melbourne, May, 1969.

³ Ibid., and The Good Neighbour, No. 184, May, 1969.

The emergence of a Slav-Macedonian ethnic community and their churches in Australia did not go unnoticed by the more nationalist-minded Greeks who considered it simply as one of the many pan-Slavic and communist machinations against Greek Macedonia.¹

The third main group of Greek immigrant societies, the pan-Hellenic organisations and the numerous sub-divisions among this group, were just as much part of ethnic communities as were regional fraternities and Greek Orthodox Communities. A number of pan-Hellenic organisations, as was seen, were auxiliaries of Communities. This was also somewhat true of the Hellenic Club in Sydney, until the late 1950's, and certainly true of the Hellenic Club in Brisbane where the Community managed to absorb it and take over the Hellenic House; the relation between the Hellenic Union and the Community in Perth did not change from what it was in the pre-1950 period.² The large Communities by sheer weight of importance and of financial resources in the 1950's, also attracted other sporting and cultural organisations

¹ See Phos, 22 May, 1968, 30 April, 1969, and passim, and Ch. K. Sotiropoulos, The Anti-Greek Propaganda of the Slavs and the "Macedonian" Question (He Antihellenike Propaganda ton Slavon kai to "Makedonikon" Zetema), Athens, 1960.

² The relationship between the Hellenic Club and the Community in Sydney was not as close as that of their counterparts in Brisbane and Perth, but from 1945 to 1957 the Hellenic Club gave the Community considerable support: it made its premises available to the Community for many of its meetings while Club members played a prominent part in Community affairs as members and as leaders. (The first Community council meeting not held in the Hellenic Club was on 24 January, 1957.). See M.B.S., 19 June, 1945, to 24 January, 1957.

and activities. But apart from considerable patronage and limited financial support to such organisations and to their activities, Communities refrained from the policy of directing and administering their affairs.¹ To a small degree this was also true in the case of Community auxiliaries.

Apart from Community auxiliaries and other youth organisations, the latter catering largely for the needs of the second-generation or English-speaking young Greeks, the other main groups or sub-divisions among pan-Hellenic organisations were AHEPA, left-radical organisations and sports and purely cultural and social clubs. Although AHEPA lodges spread in all mainland capitals excepting Adelaide, they had little appeal to post-war immigrants. Their activities were confined to philanthropy, recreation, and occasional grants to different national causes. English rather than Greek has been used as the language of communication, while their regular national conferences held ever since 1954, failed

¹ The degree of intervention by Communities in activities such as sports varied considerably. If youth or sports clubs were auxiliaries they received considerable financial and moral backing. Their support to the annual Pan-Hellenic Games which alternated among the three cities of Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney, between 1953 and 1961, was more limited mainly because participants in these events were drawn from clubs not all of which were associated with Communities.

to yield a programme for action beyond these rather limited aims.¹ Of the leftist societies, the Panhellenic Society in Adelaide was defunct by 1956 but only to give way to the 'Platon' Association in 1957.² Leftist organisations also emerged in the more working class settlements of Newcastle, Wollongong and Brisbane, in the early 1960's, but only that of Brisbane, 'Palana's', managed to become fully established. The purely social and cultural societies, though numerous in the large settlements, did not always become permanent and viable bodies.³

¹ Apart from the male AHEPA lodges, female lodges also emerged by the early 1950's. In the late 1960's the 'young Ahepans' began to make their debut in Brisbane, Melbourne and Sydney, but these appeared to be informal youth clubs largely given to organising dances. For much of the activities and structure of AHEPA in Australia see: The Ahepan, (an illustrated National Quarterly, Official publications of the Order of AHEPA), 1956 onwards; Krikos, July - August, 1957; Ethnikon Vema, especially in the late 1960's. AHEPA's activities were reported in English. AHEPA's most recent activity, which is expected to meet with some support, is a finance drive to help found a Chair of Modern Greek in the University of Sydney. An AHEPA member, Nicholas Lourantos, donated \$100,000 towards such an undertaking in 1968, yet not until early 1970 did AHEPA make a public appeal for more funds. The News, 16 September, 1968, and Nea Patris, 13 February, 1970, and passim.

² Many of the former members of the Panhellenic Society joined up with 'Platon' hence assuring the continuity of a left-radical organisation in Adelaide. Interviews: officials and members of both societies.

³ See Appendix A.

The most numerous of the pan-Hellenic organisations were the sports clubs. Yet the most important of these clubs were not those sponsoring sports known to and played by second-generation Greeks such as Australian rules football, cricket, tennis and track and field competitions. The sport which captured the interest of Greeks and eventually of many second-generation Greeks, was soccer football.¹ Soccer football, it may be remembered, had already by 1947 made an intrusion into the activities of the youth clubs of Adelaide and Melbourne. The Atlas Club of Sydney had managed to establish a soccer team even earlier. All of these teams strengthened with each succeeding wave of immigrants, at first from Cyprus, and subsequently from Greece. By the early 1950's the demand for properly organised soccer clubs instead of what in effect were sub-committees of multi-purpose organisations, was being felt. The demand for soccer clubs arose from the need to have more permanent officers and members and greater financial resources which were necessary for all bona fide soccer clubs affiliated with soccer associations: and above all financial resources were necessary to meet rising expenditure in an increasingly competitive sport made so by the large influx of Europeans. Yet partly because of the insistence of the old organisations on running their own soccer teams, including a number of regional

¹ Although the Greek Soccer Club 'Athena' commanded many immigrant followers in Perth so did the numerous teams managed by the Hellenic Youth Association which sponsored sports commonly played by Australians. The Hellenic Youth Association also had many more registered players than did 'Athena'. See H.Y.A. News, 1968 - 1970, and passim.

fraternities,¹ and partly because of the factions and divisions within communities; Greek soccer teams did not reach first division status until the early 1960's - certainly not until Greek soccer clubs acquired numerous and wealthy supporters and able administrators. By the late 1960's in every capital city of the Commonwealth a Greek team proudly exhibiting a Greek name and the blue and white Greek colours, and supported by fanatical followers, had won a place in first division soccer.² Greek soccer teams, or teams whose supporters and players are largely drawn from Greeks, were also to be found in lower soccer divisions in the capitals as well as in soccer associations outside metropolitan areas.³

The intense interest shown by Greeks in soccer, as indeed by all ethnic groups, stemmed from the awareness - the sporting spirit aside - that their soccer teams represented their nation and their ethnic community. Such awareness explains the fanaticism of the team's supporters, their generous financial contributions to the club, their apparent disregard for the fact that few Greeks may

¹ In 1957, of the five Greek soccer teams in Sydney, three were run by regional societies. These were those from Samos, Kalymnos, and Athens.

² The most successful Greek soccer teams were 'Hellas' of Melbourne and Adelaide.

³ See Appendix A.

actually play for their team and the indescribable display of glee at a win and gloom at a loss. Greek soccer teams are also, perhaps, one of the greatest unifying factors of the ethnic community. Ethnic fanaticism has also lifted immensely the standard of Australian soccer football.¹

Ethnic fanaticism, however, failed to unite Greeks more formally at community and State level, and nationally, despite the need and the frequent attempts to do so. Greek Orthodox Communities did affect some measure of co-operation in the larger ethnic communities by drawing other immigrant societies into some of their activities. Among these were joint celebrations of Greece's two important national days (25th March and 28th October), and the soliciting by Communities of valuable grants from immigrant societies which were used to help pay for the Communities' halls, churches, and schools. Apart from the common needs such undertakings served,

¹ Originally most Australian soccer clubs were district-based, which were not attracting immigrant soccer players. The rise of ethnic soccer teams soon brought about the relegation of district teams to the point where many dissolved. But because the former district teams were in possession of soccer ovals the problem was often solved by the amalgamation of ethnic and district teams. This amalgamation yielded compound district-ethnic names for soccer teams though the tendency has been to abandon or ignore the name of the district.

The Australian Soccer team which toured the Far East in 1968, was comprised of New Australians and returned undefeated.

support to Communities stemmed from the recognition of their special roles and responsibilities. As long as Communities were united, active in and mindful of ethnic community needs, and on good terms with the diocese and consulates, co-operation with and assistance from immigrant societies was more or less ensured. Much also depended on the quality, and group or party affiliation of Community leadership. Much of this co-operation, however, ended with the schism as did the social and status mobility which traditionally tended upwards to Community councils - a mobility which in part was both the result and cause of co-operation between a Community and immigrant societies at ethnic community level. The schism also ended any feasible plans that the Federation of Greek Orthodox Communities might have had in uniting Greeks nationally, a role undertaken more effectively by the Holy Archdiocese.

Other attempts to form federations among Greeks in Australia were even less successful than that of the Federation of Communities. The first of these, initiated by the radical left in 1949 lasted for about two years,¹ The Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations

¹ The name of the federation was the Confederation of Greek Organisations in Australia. It was founded in Sydney in October, 1949, by representatives of leftist or left-influenced societies, used the Atlas Club as its headquarters and managed to hire a part-time secretary for about a year. The activities and tasks of the Confederation, however, were no different from those of left-wing organisations which they could better undertake at ethnic community level and hence the early dissolution of the Confederation. Interview: Tom Kotsornithis, and Jim Mitsopoulos, November, 1967, Sydney.

(1953-1956) and its successor, the Panhellenic Athletic Federation of Australia, (P.A.S.A.), which dissolved in 1963 at the height of the schism, met with considerable support while they functioned,¹ These federations being no more than standing committees consisting of representatives of youth and sporting organisations (drawn for the most part from Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide) managed to coordinate many sporting, and to a smaller degree, cultural activities, at ethnic community level and, nationally, at the annual Pan-Hellenic Games.² These games, usually held during the Christmas week, rotated from city to city, and consequently attracted considerable attention and some financial assistance from Communities and other immigrant societies.³ Such activities brought into close contact people of different backgrounds. Even though games such as cricket

¹ For reports about the formation of both federations see: Hellenic Herald, 26 February, 5 March and 17 December, 1953, and 28 March and 9 May, 1957. The proposal for a youth federation was first put forward by the Hellenic Cultural Society of Sydney (Hellenic Herald, 3 July, 1952.).

² Hellenic Herald, 7 and 14 January, 1954; 25 August, 1955, 31 October, 1956, 14 November, 1957; Australian-Greek, 31 October, 1956.

³ Hellenic Herald, 17 January, 1957; 16 January, 1958, 5 January, 1961, 12 January, 1962, and passim.

and Australian rules football were not sponsored by the Pan-Hellenic Games, Australian-born Kastellorizan, Kytheran and Ithacan youth could compete alongside young Cypriot, Peloponnesian, Macedonian, Epirotic and Egypto-Greek immigrants in track and field events, basketball, volley ball and table tennis. At least this was so until the schism dissolved P.A.S.A. and soccer football dwarfed all other sports.

Other nationally co-ordinated activities among Greeks were those undertaken by the Committee for the Self-Determination of Cyprus, (E.A.K.), (1956 - 1960); the Committee of Cyprus struggle, (E.K.A.), (1964 - 1965); and the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece, (E.A.D.E.), (1967 -). Branches of these committees were again situated in the large ethnic communities where most of the activities were centred though they did manage to undertake such joint ventures as sending a fact-finding mission to Cyprus in 1957 and inviting important anti-Greek junta opponents to Australia in 1967 and 1970.¹ The nature of these organisations did not produce formally constituted federations. Hence the only

1 The 'fact-finding mission' to Cyprus comprised of Don Dunstan (an Australian Labour Party politician and subsequently Premier of South Australia), and Ken Buckley (a Sydney University lecturer). M. P. Tsounis, "Greeks in South Australia", op.cit., pp. 80 - 81.

Four Junta opponents have been invited to Australia so far. They were: N. Nikolaidis who was refused entry in November, 1967, (The Herald, 9 November, 1967, and passim); M. Dragoumis who was allowed to come during April-May, 1970, (Neos Kosmos, 30 April, 1970, and passim); and Tony and Betty Ambatielos who, unlike the first two, were sponsored by the Seamen's Union of Australia (though E.A.D.E. branches supported the visit), during February-March, 1970, (Neos Kosmos, 26 February, 5 March, and passim).

proper Greek federations in Australia have been the Holy Archdiocese, the Federation of Greek Orthodox Communities and AHEPA. Although these federations promoted pan-Hellenic aspirations, and activities, they also represented sectional interests.

Indispensable to growing ethnic communities were the coffeehouses, Greek newspapers and consulates. Coffeehouses became more numerous than formal organisations and also occupied much more of the leisure time of Greek immigrants. In response to the pattern of settlement there was a gradual movement of coffeehouses into suburban areas away from the centre of each city where most were traditionally located. The rent in the more centrally situated premises of the larger capitals was, in any case, increasing too rapidly to make coffeehouses a paying proposition. Those which remained in the centre of each metropolitan area were, with a few exceptions, lesches, which were actually owned by the better organised and larger formal organisations, or those enjoying the patronage of large and well-established clientele. Even so, these coffeehouses or lesches, again, save in a few exceptional cases, were situated in those parts of the city proper where rents remained comparatively low. In Sydney these central parts or streets were Oxford Street; in Melbourne they were close to the corner of Russell and Lonsdale Streets; in Adelaide they were Hindley Street towards Morphett Street. Outside the central parts of cities the general movement of coffeehouses looked to such densely populated

suburbs as Paddington, Redfern and Newtown in Sydney; Prahran, Richmond and Fitzroy in Melbourne; Thebarton, Brompton and Bowden in Adelaide; and West End in Brisbane. Such coffeehouses also meant that they catered for local residents rather than for particular organised groups such as members of a regional society. Again there were several exceptions such as the Greek Macedonian lesche in Fitzroy and their compatriots who founded their coffeehouse or lesche in Newtown (metropolitan Sydney) in 1969. The chain settlements in different parts of each metropolitan area also meant that a person opening up a coffeehouse purely for the purposes of carrying on business, was assured of the patronage of his more immediate compatriots.

The emergence of numerous Greek newspapers resulted from the great increase in the size of communities and from their diversification in terms of organisations, groups, factions, and parties. The old rivals, Hellenic Herald and Ethnikon Vema, which had discarded somewhat the indifferences in the 1940's and the 1950's took an opposite stand on the religious schism. Ethnikon Vema, under the direction of a new owner, threw its irrevocable support behind the Archdiocese, while the Hellenic Herald supported the 'Community cause', thus bringing both newspapers to the comparable positions they held in the 1920's. Phos did not change its policy, nor its owner and manager, nor, except in the late 1950's and early 1960's, did it increase its circulation significantly. A host of other newspapers found their place in the Melbourne community and quickly

undermined Phos's position. The most important of these were: Australian-Greek (1949 - 1957) and its immediate and much more left-radical successor Neos Kosmos; Pyrros, at first politically non-aligned but subsequently a mouthpiece of the Archdiocese and of the Greek Government of the day; and Ta Nea,¹ a pro-Community newspaper but steering a centre course in terms of Greek politics. After 1967 followed Embros and Hellenika Chronika, both of which were published by two of Melbourne's businessmen, and their policies also tended towards the official Archdiocese and Greek Government line. Lastly, another viable newspaper, since 1962, catering for those interested in sport, has been Athletiki Echo. A number of less successful and less regular publications representing Greek Macedonians, trade unions, the Federation of Greek Orthodox Communities, Greek businessmen and organisations, have also been published in Melbourne in the last twenty years.

The two old Sydney papers also met considerable opposition from a flourishing Greek press. The most important new publications were Kyriake (1968), and Kairoi and Nea Patris (after 1967), the last of which grew rapidly and became the first tri-weekly Greek-language newspaper in Australia early in 1970. Other publications such as Estia, Hellenika Nea and Eleftheria, started by Greek business enterprises in the late 1950's as purely advertising sheets and later developing into newspapers which were distributed free of charge, did not last long. In other large communities attempts to

¹ Ta Nea became a daily and was renamed Kathemerini after mid-1970.

found newspapers met with little success. One may exempt Ethniki Salpinx of Wellington, New Zealand, after 1952, and Nea Estia of Adelaide, from the beginning of 1969.

Apart from the numerous needs for and roles of Greek newspapers, their sharp increase in the period under discussion has been made possible by the decision of immigration authorities to ease certain restrictions on foreign publications that operated during and after the war.¹ One of these restrictions, or more correctly, a requirement, was that some part of the printed material had to be in English. This regulation, rarely observed by newspaper owners and seldom policed by authorities, had been discarded by the early 1950's. By 1957 the freedom to publish foreign newspapers was complete, including the freedom by Greek leftists of Melbourne who had difficulty in procuring a permit from immigration authorities, to publish their own newspaper and hence their ability to issue Neos Kosmos.

One further reflection of the growing importance and awareness of the Greek community in Australia may be noted. With the beginning of mass migration to Australia in 1953 came the decision

¹ Another factor making possible the publication of newspapers was the development and the increasing application of photo-offset technique in printing. By 1969 most of the fourteen regular Greek weekly or bi-weekly Greek newspapers in Australia were using the photo-offset method.

to set up a Greek Embassy in Canberra. All Greek consuls including the Consul General in Sydney became forthwith subordinate to the Greek Ambassador, but this in no way affected the role of local consulates as important institutions in and very much part of each community. With the pressure of the growing communities for more consulate services, the consulate staff increased, while Melbourne managed to procure a full-time consul (career diplomat) after 1956.

During the last two decades the entry of a massive wave of immigrants from different parts of Greece and other countries and regions traditionally inhabited by Greeks, brought about enormous changes in Greek ethnic communities in Australia. Apart from the important structural changes particularly evident in the large ethnic communities, this massive wave brought to the surface a number of issues which were related to the role and function of ethnic institutions and organisations in the whole process of resettlement and eventually of assimilation. These issues appeared more clearly and were also debated more fiercely in such institutions as Greek Orthodox Communities and the Greek Orthodox Church, that is, in institutions which were concerned more directly with the transplanting of what has been termed, the national-religious ethos of Greeks. Such issues were not new in the context of ethnic community structure and politics but they were greatly exacerbated in the last two decades culminating in a schism which was much more protracted and fierce than that of the 1920's.

CHAPTER VII.THE GREAT SCHISM.

The religious schism emanating directly from the implementation of the new system of church administration after 1959 was part of a larger division among Greeks in Australia. On the surface, the polemical debate centred upon the canonicity or otherwise of priests, sacraments and national-religious practices. Underneath were the disputes over the rights of the Greek Orthodox Community and those of the Greek Orthodox Church. Lower still were the sharp political and social divisions in ethnic communities. The political divisions were largely wrought in the Greek Civil War and were thrust upon communities by Greece's position in world politics, by its internal politics, by incoming settlers, and by a vocal but divided Greek press. Many of the social divisions were born of large-scale immigration. A wide gulf often separated the newly arrived poor immigrant workers from their older and more affluent compatriots. These political and socio-economic divisions were, moreover, not unrelated to those of the host society. The schismatics had moved by and large to the left of Australia's political spectrum; those in the official Greek Orthodox Church stood close

to the Australian establishment. Other factors contributed to cause and fashion the schism. But it would be true to say that a schism existed before Archbishop Ezekiel arrived. His church system simply exacerbated it and gave it its religious form.

The polarisation of forces around the more nationally-minded Greeks, the ethnikophrones, and the party of the radical left discerned in several communities in the late 1940's, came to stay.¹ As in the past, the natural citadels of the ethnikophrones were the Greek Orthodox Communities where they often clashed with the radical left. To the ethnikophrones, the Greek left smacked of communism and its twin-brother, pan-Slavism, both of which were anathema to all that was sacred to Hellenism: to the ethnikophrones this was also the whole issue in the Greek Civil War. This was not how the average Community member viewed the leftists. Nor could Communities exclude Greeks because of political ideology. The radical left had in any case traditionally made it its business to participate in the affairs of Communities whose increasing importance and role in the life of migrants they had fully realised. If the leftists were not also represented on Community councils, it was due only to lack of numbers.² In the post-1950 period this situation changed.

¹ See Chapter V above.

² Only in Adelaide did leftists manage to become elected on the Community council before the 1950's.

In the 1950's the Greek radical left in Australia grew into a large well-organised force with clear policies and action programmes. Both the Atlas and Democritos clubs increased their membership, first from among Greek Cypriots and later from Greek immigrants. By the 1960's this membership could be counted in hundreds and throughout the period it was an active membership.¹ The activities which attracted immigrants to these clubs were: the congenial lesches which were well-stocked with reading material and other recreational facilities and in which, unlike other coffeehouses, gambling was strictly prohibited; the valuable services club activists gave to new-comers; and cultural and sporting activities the clubs often undertook. Outside their immediate precincts the clubs also undertook such activities and agitation for the release of political prisoners,² and for Cypriot independence. Leftists, moreover, stood for the further

¹ According to George Philopoulos (the president of Democritos in 1969), his club's recorded membership has passed the 2,000 mark. Active membership, however, is much lower. It has been as low as 100 in the 1960's, but in the mid-1950's it was not unusual for the club to have as many as 300 financial members at any one time. The actual number of activists, that is, persons holding office, working on various committees and organising the club's activities, has been as high as 50. The Atlas Club has had an even greater number of members, being as many as 3,000. This Club, unlike Democritos which owns no property, also owns a three-storey building in Crown Street, Sydney, which has been nearly paid off and which is valued at well over \$150,000. Interview: Takis Kaldis, Stratos Mavrantonis, and others.

² The activities were undertaken by branches of the League for Democracy in Greece until these became defunct in the early 1950's. Subsequently such work and agitation was undertaken by the left-wing clubs, by the leftist press, and by the new 'Committee for Democracy in Greece' which emerged in July, 1965, and April, 1967.

secularisation of Communities so that these organisations could concern themselves more with the everyday problems of immigrants. In their wider society the Greek left stood for a better deal for immigrant workers, who, they considered, were exploited by Australian capitalism. Consequently, leftists encouraged immigrant involvement in the labour movement.¹ Having had little success with its earlier publications,² the Greek left, after 1957, became admirably served by Neos Kosmos which by the early 1960's achieved a mass circulation second only to the Hellenic Herald.³ If the

¹ Such policies are evident throughout the history of the Greek left movement in Australia particularly in the post-war period. An informative account of the Atlas Club's activities is given in its 'Souvenir Programme', published for the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary, celebrated in October, 1969. Note also the role of Neos Kosmos during strikes involving Greek immigrant workers such as those in the General Motors Holden plants in Melbourne in October-November, 1964, and in Sydney in November, 1962. Neos Kosmos, 21 November, 1962, and October-November, 1964.

² These were The Australian-Greek (1949 - 1957), a weekly on which they had limited control since they had to more or less satisfy the paper's owner, George Tollis; the Greek-Australian Review (1951 - 1953) a monthly, owned by a non-leftist but managed by the leftists. The owner decided to suspend publication because he was apparently under pressure by Immigration authorities; and irregular editions of Ta Nea, (1954 - 1955).

³ Both Hellenic Herald and Neos Kosmos enjoyed the biggest circulation among Greek-language newspapers. In 1960 - 1961 the average number sold each issue stood as follows: Hellenic Herald 15,331; Neos Kosmos 10,000. Miriam Gibson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, The Foreign-language Press in Australia, Canberra, 1967, p. 143.

number of Neos Kosmos readers was a gauge of its strength, the left could claim thousands of supporters throughout Australia,

On most counts Greek radical left activities were insidious to the ethnikophrones: agitation against the Greek Government was a treacherous act; participation as Greeks in such things as May Day marches and youth festivals in which Greek flags and national costumes were often displayed, and in trade union and leftist and communist political activities, were bringing into disrepute the 'good Greek name',¹ Just as bad and dangerous were criticisms of and acts against Australian immigration authorities and the Australian establishment as a whole.² Unrestrained activities around Cypriot independence were also considered dangerous for they jeopardised the position of Greeks in an 'English' country.³ To

¹ See Phos, 25 August, 1954, for an attack on Greek participants in a May Day march in Melbourne. A Phos photo-reporter had taken close-up pictures of the Greek marchers and 'splashed them' on the front page. Phos noted that among them were prominent members of Democritos, Orpheus and Zenon societies who displayed banners protesting against the Greek government.

² The policy of the ethnikophrone press has always discouraged such activities. This policy has been especially true of Phos and Pyrros. See Phos, 7 and 21 October, and 4 and 11 November, 1964, for its attack on the Greek left which played a prominent part in the General Motors Holden strike. Phos insisted that the Vehicle Builders Union was under the leadership of 'communist nuclei whose aim was to paralyse a flourishing industry'. Phos also carried full-page advertisements for General Motors Holden asking workers to go back to work. For the ethnikophrone press's attitude to agitation against Greek Governments, see: Phos, 5 June, 1963, and Phos, Pyrros and Ethnikon Vema after 21 April, 1967.

³ M.B.M., 27 April, 1952. Phos in the late 1950's opposed agitation on Cyprus mainly, it seems, because on the Committees for the Self-Determination of Cyprus sat many leftists.

the consternation of the ethnikophrones, the left not only carried on their agitation and activities within Communities, but they also moved into positions of procuring the leadership of Communities.

The associated conflicts within Communities in the 1950's were not confined to a battle between the leftists and the ethnikophrones or to the extreme wings of these two groupings. Between these two groups lay the mass of Greek immigrants. What mattered most to this large middling mass were the problems of settlement in a new social environment, to procure the best services possible from such institutions as Communities, and consciously or otherwise make such institutions perform the role for which they were designed. But the post-1950 period was one of tremendous change. Apart from the sharp political or ideological differences, the greatest change was in the composition of Community membership which came with the influx of immigrants. The increase in Community membership rarely corresponded to this influx, but it was sufficiently large to undermine considerably the power older immigrants enjoyed. This general displacement varied, being greater in the large and more industrial settlements and also during periods of conflict when opposing factions recruited their supporters, usually before Community elections.¹ The leadership in Communities was similarly in a

¹ Recruitment to the Melbourne Community between February and August, 1958, a period of considerable conflict, was 1,303. M.B.M., 20 February, to 13 August, 1958. In the Sydney Community 900 new members were recruited during 1956, See pp. 427 - 428 below.

state of flux. It no longer became possible to be elected to Community office on the basis of old alliances and loyalties and on old programmes and policies. In the light of these demographic changes and of the new issues confronting Communities, it became easy for both the ethnikophrones and the left to agitate and involve large numbers of immigrants on a number of issues. The consequent power struggles to control Community councils also agitated and involved the whole ethnic community and eventually the church. This involvement was inevitable because of the inter-relationship of the organised groups comprising the ethnic community. Furthermore, whoever controlled the Community council could wield considerable power over the community as well as over church matters. There was also the ultimate prize of Community presidency to be won, so that the power contests became more fierce as the importance of Communities grew. This at any rate was the position until the actual religious schism commenced.

The most divided community was that of Melbourne. The Phos- party, which fell from power in the Community in 1949,¹ emerged in the 1950's as a closely-knit and potent force. This party could justly claim to be the more extreme wing of Melbourne's ethniko- phrones. The party's undisputed leader was Theo Marmaras, a man of unbounded energy and considerable political acumen who also did

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¹ See p.p. 311 - 312 above.

much to place Australian soccer football where it is:¹ until recently Marmaras was also Melbourne's undisputed 'oyster king', Phos itself recruited a talented Greek journalist² in 1952 and the Phos-party, an exceptionally dynamic priest: he was Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis³ who was transferred to the Melbourne Community early in 1957 from Townsville. The Phos-party's manifesto was anti-communism, the preservation of the national-religious ethos in an uncorrupted form, the co-operation of Community church and consular authorities, and the creation of an ethnic community that would ensure the survival of the Greek race,⁴ Otherwise this party was not different from others: it was an alliance of groups and individuals bent on gaining control of the Community, exerting its influence in the ethnic community and advancing the interests of its own members.

¹ Theo Marmaras was chairman of the Australian Soccer Federation for most of the 1960's, president of Hellenic and later of (South Melbourne) Hellas Club from which he retired in 1969. Neos Kosmos, 11 December, 1969, and interview with Theo Marmaras, May, 1969.

² He was Andreas Andreopoulos (Andrews), an Egypto-Greek, a man of other talents including those of an able interpreter, typist, auditor and secretary. Phos, 3 June, 1953.

³ See pp. 420 - 422 and passim below

⁴ As has been argued elsewhere most Greeks consider the function of their communities as a means of national survival but the Phos-party, alongside other ethnikophrones, were more conscious of this purpose.

Yet the Phos-party's rule in the Melbourne Community was a short one. It still exerted some influence on the 1950 - 1952 council,¹ held power during 1952 - 1954, and for several months only during 1958 - 1959, because the elections which brought it to power were invalidated by a Melbourne court,² Ranged against it were several powerful groups and individuals. Many of these were themselves ethnikophrones though of the more moderate type. Phos's frequent and indiscriminate labelling of its opponents as communists and the party's rather dubious methods in acquiring and holding control of the Community³ had alienated many of the moderates, forcing them to seek allies from the centre and left sections of the community. Although these moderates had few doubts about the extent of communist influence in Democritos, they were not prepared to believe Phos's persistent charges that communists had subverted and taken control of the 'Zenon' Cypriot fraternity, the Orpheus Society, and the Olympic Athletic Club. Less so were they convinced that Metropolitan Theophylactos exhibited communist

¹ The Australian-Greek, 16 October, 1950.

² See M.B.M. in the periods cited in the text. For the 1958 elections and their sequel see pp. 441 - 442 below.

³ In 1952 the validity of the elections which brought the Phos-party to power was disputed. In dispute were 43 missing ballot papers. The question of these ballot papers was debated at a rowdy general meeting which the president, Theo Marmaras, dissolved. The Greek-Australian, 22 November, 1952, and M.B.M., 20 October, 1952, and 5 April, 1953.

sympathies,¹ Two important leaders emerged from the more moderate ethnikophrones. One was Vasilios Logothetis (Logus), an accountant and an old Community identity who became Community president during 1954 - 1956 and 1959 - 1962.² He strove to steer a middle course in the numerous disputes and during the religious schism, but always keeping an eye for the presidency. After his fall from power in the Community he joined the Phos-party which, after 1962, evolved into the Community National Rally, (P.E.S.).³ The other leader was Demetrios Elefantis, a publican. Unlike Logothetis, Elefantis was associated closely with the Phos-party, having served as secretary of the Greek-Ex-Servicemen's Legion in the 1940's (when the party controlled the Legion), but

¹ This charge against the Metropolitan arose because of his association with Alex Doukas, author of Stin Pali Sta Neiata, whom the Metropolitan praised at a reception held in the Community premises in conjunction with the opening of the Community library to which Doukas presented a copy of his book, To Phos, forthwith, the Metropolitan was 'an advertiser of a communist book', Phos, 2 June, 1954.

² Apart from his moderate approach to the disputes, he was also outspoken against apathy in Community affairs and against what he termed the 'three bad categories' of Community members: these were, those who sought self-interest, community office, and those who wanted to turn the Community against the political system of the host society - the former being a strong allusion to the Phos-party, the latter to the leftists. Pyrsos, 15 December, 1961. Interview: Vasilios Logothetis, October, 1968, Melbourne,

³ See p p. 461 - 463 below.

he broke from the party in the early 1950's.¹ He, too, ardently sought the office of Community president and was a skilful and persevering bargainer with church leaders on Community questions. His main support came from staunch supporters of the Community cause and from the radical left. He served as Community president in 1956 - 1958 and from 1962 onwards after ousting Logothetis: Elefantis also became president of the Federation after 1965.

The issues over which these main groupings differed and clashed were numerous. The issue of communism so prominent throughout the post-war period, was exploited to the utmost by the Phos-party. The attacks against the communists, who naturally retaliated, was a general one and extended to all organisations, committees and fields of work in which communists, leftist and other associates were engaged. These conflicts culminated in such things as: the decision by the Phos-party when in power to prevent the Olympic Athletic Club from using the Community hall in Bourke Street on the grounds that the club had engaged in communist activity;² the sponsoring of the rival 'Hellenikos' soccer and

¹ Interview: Demetrios Elefantis, November, 1969.

² The misdemeanours of the Olympic Athletic Club upon which the Phos-party acted were: the Club's paper 'Mercury' printed leftist articles; the Club participated in the Youth Festival of Sydney in 1952; it held a political meeting at which the speaker pressed for Cypriot independence; Club members distributed 'Vote No' tickets before the referendum on communism in 1951; and Club members sang communist songs during a train trip to Adelaide, M.B.M., 27 April, 1952. For the Olympic Club's rebuffs to several of these charges see The Australian-Greek, 19 January, and 9 February, 1952.

sports club;¹ the expulsion from the Community of George Zangalis, a young communist whose greatest sin was that he spoke up for the Slav-Macedonians in his rather famous 'Iskra letter';² clashes in the Greek unemployed committees (1953 - 1955 and 1961 - 1962);³ and the attacks by Phos on the Committee for the Self-Determination of Cyprus. The most bitter clashes, however, occurred within the

¹ 'Hellenikos' (Hellenic) was a club given mainly to soccer and it evolved into the (South Melbourne) Hellas Soccer Club. Apart from the hostility to the Olympic Athletic Club, the Phos-party's leader Theo Marmaras, no less than soccer players themselves, realised the need to disengage the soccer team from what in effect was a sub-committee of the Olympic Club, and place it upon the more proper basis of a soccer club.

² The story of the 'Iskra letter' seems to be as follows: As secretary of the Democritos Club, George Zangalis wrote a letter to the Melbourne branch of the Australian Macedonian Peoples League, on the anniversary of the 1903 Illiden revolt against the Turks - a national day observed by the Slav-Macedonians. According to Zangalis, officers of the League, in translating the letter from Greek to the Slav-Macedonian language for publication in their newspaper Makedonska Iskra in October, 1953, added several rather obnoxious phrases. The phrases, Zangalis disclaims, were those which likened the new Greek rulers of Macedonia to 'new Turks; bloodthirsty colonialists and exploiters'. Greek authorities (who apparently keep a close watch on Slav-Macedonians abroad) procured a copy of the 'Iskra letter', translated it as it appeared and released it for publication. Forthwith the 'Iskra letter' became a sharp political weapon in the hands of Melbourne's ethnikophrones. The writer has sighted the 'Iskra letter' on six occasions in the ethnikophrone press. M.B.M., 12 and 29 July, 1954. Phos, 2 and 25 June, 1954, and 21 and 28 August, 1957; Pyrros, 7 August, 1960, and 15 June, 1962.

³ M.B.M., 25 May, 1953; Phos, 17 June, 1953, and 9 February, 1962.

Community itself where the opposing sides confronted one another and where additional issues were involved. The battles here usually centred upon the points where important decisions were made: the Community's ballot box, the election committee, the council, and above all general meetings which were decidedly stormy and often ended in utter disorder.¹

Yet until 1957 the party clashes were not due to differences over the role of the Community. All saw the need to extend Community services particularly in schools and churches.² Nor were there important differences over such things as Community-Metropolis relations and Community rights. If anyone was critical of the Metropolitan it was Phos's proprietor himself who, among other things, expressed the hope that the Metropolitan's short trip abroad after June, 1956, was also to be his permanent departure from Australia.³ A fairly representative council (1950 - 1952) moreover, ignored persistent calls⁴ by the Sydney Community for a Pan-

¹ The first of such stormy general meetings, which was dissolved by the chairman, took place on 30 August, 1953, (Phos, 2 September, 1953), and it set the pattern for future meetings.

² See also J. A. Petrolias, op.cit., p. 81.

³ Phos, 27 June, 1956. Earlier that year (Phos, 25 January, 1956) Panayotopoulos had also gleefully but erroneously reported that Metropolitan Theophylactos was to be replaced by Metropolitan Spyridon of Rhodes.

⁴ See pp. 425 - 426 below.

Community Conference, one of whose tasks was to consider Community-Metropolis relations. The conflict over Community rights and principles, however, changed abruptly with the advent of Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis.

Immediately after his appointment the Archimandrite made several demands of the Community council then under the control of the Elefantis party. These demands were as unprecedented in their invasion of Community rights and principles as were the methods the Archimandrite pursued. The Archimandrite requested from the council that it surrender the Community's register recording weddings, baptisms and burials; that he be allowed to keep a separate seal and letterheads for Evangelismos church; and that he set up a Philoptochos ladies' society to assist him in his work. The council rejected his requests: the first two because they implied a separation of the Community from its own church; the third because a ladies' society in the form of the Greek branch of the Australian Red Cross was already in existence and had been co-operating with the Community in social welfare work since the war.¹ The council also rejected the Archimandrite's demand for an

¹ M.B.M., 28 March to 29 May, 1957. The Philoptochos Christian Brotherhood of Melbourne was officially declared formed in May, 1957, and was comprised of women who constituted an earlier Christian Brotherhood 'St. Trinity'. This latter body, however, was not conspicuous in the Community and was probably not connected with the Greek Red Cross branch. Its members seemed to have been drawn largely from the womenfolk of the Phos-party. Phos, 15 May, 1957.

increase in his salary since, as he claimed, the Community made £9,000 during Easter services.¹ What intensified the conflict was the Archimandrite's use of the pulpit to deride and scorn those Community councillors he considered to be the enemies of the church.

The consequent squabbles of the opposing factions led by a defiant priest and an equally insistent Community president threw the whole community into turmoil and affected greatly the future course of events throughout Australia. Whereas the council was justified in dismissing an insubordinate priest, several factors operated to save the Archimandrite, but only to prolong the conflict. Among these was a strong Phos-party. Several of the party members sat on the council and gave the Archimandrite their unqualified support. Outside the council the Phos-party challenged the Archimandrite's dismissal; first, at a general meeting on 25 August, 1957, called to ratify the council's decision - and a meeting which ended in disorder;² and secondly, through court action.³

¹ M.B.M., 16 July, 1957.

² M.B.M., 25 August, 1957.

³ The Phos-party disputed the right of the Community council to dismiss the Archimandrite and the right of the Community president to dissolve the disorderly general meeting of 25 August, 1957. That politics were very much a question in this dispute is indicated in the cross examination at court of the Community's president Demetrios Elefantis by the Phos-party's barristers: the questions Elefantis was asked were: was he a member of Democritos; was Democritos communist; did he visit Democritos fourteen days before the Community council dismissed Kourtesis; did the note on the pink paper come from Democritos? For a detailed report of court proceedings see Phos 2, 9 and 16, October, 1957.

While the party lost its case at court, it helped the Archimandrite retain his office for the party commanded a considerable number of followers.

The Archimandrite's other support came from Metropolitan Theophylactos who was called upon to mediate. In seeking a solution the Metropolitan seemed torn between his duty to the church, whose interest the Archimandrite was in substance serving, and the fear of Community opposition the Archimandrite had incurred: he was also torn between his dislike of Phos and the growing influence in Communities of radicals which Phos opposed vehemently. But by persistent pleading for harmony and co-operation he did prevail on the council to drop its decision for the Archimandrite's dismissal (at another general meeting in December, 1957), and on the Archimandrite to try and work with his more immediate employers.¹ Yet the peace which the Metropolitan had affected in Melbourne by early 1958 was an uneasy one. His appeals for harmony were heeded probably because there was a balance of forces in the Community. His failure to punish Archimandrite Ierotheos did not appease this priest's opponents, nor did he resolve the issues that caused the rift. All that the bishop did was to create a suspicion among many Community members and leaders that he had decided to embark

¹ Phos, 22 January, 1958, itself expressed satisfaction at the apparent agreement that was reached and especially at the general meeting's decision not to press for the Archimandrite's dismissal.

upon an anti-Community church policy for whose enforcement he was using Archimandrite Ierotheos as a 'mere pawn'.¹ By mid-1958 the conflict in Melbourne erupted anew, partly because the conflict could not be contained, partly because the Archimandrite, in the scheme of things, was more than just a pawn, and partly because of events in other communities which will now be considered.

In Sydney the mouthpiece of the ethnikophrones was the Hellenic Herald and the main target of attack was Atlas,² The Hellenic Herald, however, refrained from engaging in the personalised attacks against its opponents that was so characteristic of Phos. Leftists and newcomers were never attracted to the Olympic Athletic Club, unlike to its sister club in Melbourne; they preferred either Atlas or the Hellenic Cultural Society (1951 - 1956), for their cultural sporting and social activities.³ There was no split in the Cypriot community as in Melbourne though leftists and newcomers exerted considerable influence in the Evagoras Society of Sydney. Nor was there a war of the Sydney newspapers

¹ The view that the Metropolitan was using Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis as a 'pawn' was expressed often enough by a number of Community leaders including Demetrios Elefantis (who had cause to know), yet, as has been argued elsewhere, it was far from certain what the Metropolitan's long-term church policy was before 1958.

² Hellenic Herald, 15 April, 1948, and passim.

³ Interview: Takis Kaldis, May, 1969, Sydney.

comparable to that of the newspapers in Melbourne. Even though the Sydney community also was divided along political and social lines, the battle to control the Community traversed a different course from that of Melbourne.

The ethnikophrones who controlled the Sydney Community at the turn of the decade were all moderate men, most were old pre-war immigrants, several were Australian-born, and most were wealthy businessmen.¹ A large number were also members of the Hellenic Club and considered the Community as a medium for social advancement rather than as a dynamic organisation intended to play an effective role in a growing community. Having to sit on Community council meetings endlessly discussing such question as church repairs, the price and quantity of candles, the appointment of priests, sextons, psalters and school teachers, and what salaries to pay them, the preparations for the various national anniversary celebrations, and the duties of the Community's office secretary,

¹ In terms of regional grouping the composition of the twenty-member council in 1949 stood as follows: 6 Kytherans, 4 Peloponnesians, 3 Kastellorizans, 2 Ithacans, and the remaining 5 came from a number of places including 2 from Asia Minor. Yet such regional grouping and the force such groupings exerted in the past were no longer significant factors in post-war Community politics. The only thing that is fairly certain of the 1950 Community council in terms of group or party affiliation was that it was backed by the Hellenic Herald. This is not to say that the Ethnikon Vema opposed it, though it may be significant to note that the three pro Ethnikon Vema candidates (including the newspaper's editor) were defeated at the elections. M.B.S., 1949 - 1951; Hellenic Herald, 19 March, 1950, and passim.

must have been considered time-wasting and boring.¹ Indeed, there was a gradual loss of interest by this class of ethnikophrones indicated by a number of resignations from the council during 1950 - 1956, and by a decrease in the number of members who cast their votes for council elections in the same period.² Resignations from the council also resulted from squabbling among councillors over the sharing of important Community offices and from minor disagreements with the Metropolitan, the substance of which are difficult to establish.³ Such disagreements also helped stimulate repeated calls for a Pan-Community Conference by the Community

¹ Such items were the subject of discussion at most meetings, M.B.S. 4, 11, and 24 September, 1951, and passim.

²

Yr. of election.	No. of financial members.	No. of votes cast.
1950	412	216
1952	637	175
1955	?	135

Source: M.B.S., 18 December, 1950; Hellenic Herald, 11 December, 1952; M.B.S., 13 and 16 March, 1955.

³ Seven councillors resigned in mid-1950, (M.B.S., 20 June, 1950). In handing in his resignation the Community's president A, Castrisios stated that he 'reached the conclusion that no progressive committee can work with a stubbornly conservative bishop', (Hellenic Herald, 10 July, 1952). Four councillors had resigned at one meeting earlier for unknown reasons, (M. B.S., 11 February, 1952). In the light of considerable bickering and uncertainties, all that the Hellenic Herald could do in an editorial on 17 July, 1952, was to demand that the church and Community leaders 'had a duty to tell the people what was happening'.

council,¹ Otherwise Community-Metropolis relations in the early 1950's stood friendly and firm and were cemented further by generous contributions mostly from Sydney Greeks to the 'Bishopcourt Fund' - a fund which had yielded the Metropolitan's badly needed residence in Bradley Street, Randwick.²

¹ The only possible cause of a rift with the Metropolitan was the latter's encyclical (published in the Hellenic Herald, 20 December, 1951) in which he instructed those intending to perform religious ceremonies to communicate with the 'Holy Metropolis and not with any person or committee'. This was viewed as a direct affront to the authority of the Community council. The call for a Pan-Community Conference, however, went out in May, 1950, that is, fifteen months before the encyclical appeared. One reason for calling the conference in 1950 seems to have been the concern shown by councillors at receiving a copy of the American Archdiocese's constitution; another was that the Community council did feel some need to discuss current problems with the Metropolitan including those of new immigrants. Whatever the case a Pan-Community Conference was considered a necessity by the Sydney Community and discussion on it was frequent. M.B.S., 4 May and 24 July, 1950; 11 September, 1951; and 12 January, 1954.

² These headquarters, bought in October, 1950, were worth £13,000. They were to be administered by trustees whom the Metropolitan appointed and seemed to have been paid off by 1954. As in the past the Hellenic Club responded generously to the church. It lent the Metropolitan £8,700 to make the purchase, gave £2,000, and its members also gave substantial amounts. The drive for 'Bishopcourt' was conducted throughout Australia but most of the money came from Sydney residents. Source: Hellenic Herald, 24 and 31 January, and 1 March, 1950; 3 May, 1951; 24 January, 13 May, and 4 September, 1952; and 8 January, 1953.

Co-existing with Sydney's ethnikophrones were Atlas's radical leftists. They were consistently being defeated at Community elections though several of them became councillors in 1954 as a result of an equal number of resignations from the council.¹ All told, the leftists proved to be hard-working and sensible councillors and their radicalism as well as their status as wharf labourers, which most of them were, did not lose them much respect. By 1955 and alongside the radical left, the newcomers were making their weight felt in the Sydney Community. Again, due to a number of resignations (and the death of a president), the Community's presidency fell into the hands of a post-war immigrant, and seven council positions, to leftists.² The new president, Michael Vidales, was anything but a leftist, but he co-operated with the left so long as it supported him as president. From early 1956 onwards the council embarked on large-scale recruitment of members after deciding to extend Community membership to 5,000 instead of 1,000 provided for by the 1945 constitution.³ By mid-1957, 5,00

¹ M.B.S., 16 February and 8 April, 1954.

² Eight of the nine leftists who stood for election in March, 1955, were not elected but by August the leftists were on the council. M.B.S., 13 and 16 March, and 22 August, 1955. See also Neos Kosmos, 15 December, 1969. The past president was I. Sakellaridis (Sakell) who died on 9 May, 1955. M.B.S., 22 August, 1955.

³ M.B.S., 22 February, 1956. At one meeting alone (M.B.S., 12 January, 1956) the council approved 200 new applicants to Community membership. For the whole of 1956 the Community gained 900 new members. M.B.S., January - December, 1956.

cast their vote in an election in which about half who stood and were elected, were post-war immigrants. At least four of the twenty new councillors were from Atlas: the Community presidency went to John Issakides, a comparatively new arrival.¹

The advent of the newcomers and the radical left in the Community did not cause the expected hostility from the camp of the extreme ethnikophrones, if indeed there was such a camp in Sydney. So long as the Community progressed and played its manifold role including support for Cypriot independence, there could be few grounds for opposition to the council.² What also averted internal Community conflict was the decision by the Community's old rulers to found their own St. Paul church in the exclusive Rose Bay residential area. The 147 founders of this church (renamed St. George in 1959 and eventually erected in 1962), were careful to exclude their poorer compatriots who lived outside a prescribed area, though associate membership could be accorded to

¹ M.B.S., 23 July, 1957, and passim.

² When the Atlas Club officially approached the Community requesting it to assist in the Cyprus cause, the council agreed without dissent. M.B.S., 12 January, 1955.

such non-residents as the founders and owners would decide.¹ In giving his blessing to this deed the Metropolitan reportedly remarked that although the church's constitution was 'aristocratic or oligarchic', it was better than the 'democratic which often becomes mobocratic'.² Yet the emergence of the Rose Bay church did not at that time cause a furore among Community circles even though it meant the establishment of a separate congregation. Community councillors themselves were not unhappy in seeing several of their former adversaries isolated and subjected to considerable ridicule. The Rose Bay group, however, did contribute further to the rift between the Metropolis and Communities evident elsewhere in Australia.

¹ The constitution of what eventually became The Greek Orthodox Parish of St. George, Rose Bay, provided for five classes of members. These were: foundation members who donated not less than £100 and paid an annual fee of £10 and who also became the ordinary members; . . . junior members who were under 21 years of age, of Greek origin and who paid an annual fee of £1, 1, 0; honorary members who gave special services to the church or who attained an exceptional national position; non-resident members who could join by invitation if they became benefactors, but who could not take part in management; country members who could pay a £3. 3. 0. annual fee, vote, but not take part in management. These rules left the original founders and their successors in control unless persons actually settled in the Rose Bay area and were accepted as members.

² Hellenic Herald, 10 October, 1957.

Until 1958 the Adelaide community was free from much of the dissension and sharp political divisions evident in Melbourne and Sydney. Leftists, right-wingers, old immigrants, and newcomers, competed but on the whole managed to work together to create a progressive Greek Orthodox Community. The Community's spacious hall erected next to its church in Franklin Street in 1957 served many needs of a growing settlement and also helped bind other Greek immigrant societies to the Community.¹ The only cause for dissension was the emergence of the independent St. Nicholas church of Thebarton after 1956. The prime mover and eventually the owner of this church and its adjacent hall, was Archimandrite Daniel Karamanlis. The Archimandrite, formerly Port Pirie's resident priest, broke away from the Metropolis and placed himself under Byelo-Russian Archbishop Sergi Ochotenko.² As junior partner in this venture he chose Archimandrite Makarios Livanos who was ordained by Archbishop Sergi. Their support came mainly from newcomers, several disgruntled members of the Community and the priests' closest friends; many of their supporters had returned to the Community by 1958 thus leaving Archimandrite Daniel in control of St. Nicholas and Makarios unemployed.³ Both the Community and the

¹ M. P. Tsounis, "Greeks in South Australia", op.cit., pp. 64-65.

² Interview: Archimandrite Daniel Karamanlis.

³ For a list of names of former St. Nicholas members who petitioned to unite with the Community, see correspondence files of the Greek Orthodox Community of S.A., 1957 - 1958.

Metropolitan condemned the St. Nicholas church though no punitive church action was taken against these two schismatic clerics.

By early 1958, however, an open rift had developed between the Community and its two new priests. The causes of friction were not unlike those in the Melbourne Community.¹ Significantly both priests had come from Melbourne and were acquainted with Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis, and active in the youth Christian society there, a branch of which they nurtured in Adelaide. They were also post-war immigrants, young, and both studied at the Melbourne University from which one graduated.²

¹ The misdemeanours of these two priests so far as the Community council was concerned were as follows: they were using their own seal titled the 'Greek Orthodox Church of S.A.'; they refused to teach at the Greek schools for which they were being paid an extra £3 weekly; they founded a philoptochos society; one threatened to call the police and evict the Community president from the sanctuary of the church; they did not care about the Cypriot struggle for independence; they appointed their own men to circulate the collection trays; and they appointed their own men to church positions including one of the priest's father-in-law as church sexton; Hellenic Herald, 12 February, 1959. See also Phos, 5 February, and 5 March, 1958, for reports that a philoptochos society was formed and for a notice to the effect that faithfuls were to apply to the priests' and not to the Community's office for sacraments.

² He was Reverend Meltiades Chrysavgis (M.A.), who after leaving the Adelaide Community helped set up the Prophet Elias Church at Norwood. From there he was appointed rector of St. George, Rose Bay (Sydney), early in 1962. Phos, 14 March, 1962.

Yet the cause of conflict in Adelaide was different from that of Melbourne in that a 'pro-priest party' did not precede but followed the priests' arrival in the community. This party also proved to be disloyal to its cause.¹

The community in Perth was free from purely political divisions and disputes. The community remained substantially dominated by Kastellorizans and if there was to be any squabbling it was to be among themselves. This at least seems to be one of the reasons for the formation of a separate church (less than a mile away from the old one) after 1957, at the head of which was Reverend Christophoros Manesis. Reverend Christophoros left Perth in mid-1956 to serve temporarily the Melbourne and Adelaide Communities for brief periods as a relieving priest, yet his absence from a Community he had served ever since 1926 was not unassociated with the squabbles in Perth. Whatever the case, by the time he returned to Perth in April, 1957, a new and younger priest (whose ordination in 1955 Reverend Christophoros, it is alleged, had opposed),² was in his place in the Perth Community. Still he did find enough of his Kastellorizan loyalists to form his

¹ See p. 451 below.

² Hellenic Herald, 5 May, 1955.

church, Evangelismos, which began functioning fully by early 1959.¹ Though resented by the old Community, the existence of this new church did not place severe strains on the Community's relations with the Metropolitan.

The Brisbane Community's relations with the Metropolis were even more amicable. To be sure, Brisbane had its own share of radicals but like Perth it was able to absorb its new post-war immigrants who entered at a relatively slow rate. Unlike the large communities there was no radical newcomer coalition in the Community. To the delight of the diocese the Community in Brisbane embarked after 1956 in the building of a new, spacious and expensive St. George church in the West End area and which was completed in 1960.² By contrast, the next largest community of Newcastle cared more for a Community hall than for a church and although this was not necessarily indicative of this community's attitude to religion, it did not contribute towards the cementing of good relations with the Holy Metropolis.

In the winter months of 1958 the gathering storm that was to shatter a whole generation of established Community-Metropolis relations delivered several more hard blows. The first and most important of these was the emergence of the Federation of Greek

¹ The majority of Evangelismos church's committee were Kastellorizans. Hellenic Herald, 23 June, 1959.

² The White Paper, G.O.C., Brisbane, op.cit.

Orthodox Communities which was founded at the Pan-Community Conference of June in Sydney. The initiative to call this conference was taken by the Sydney Community as early as October, 1947. It was significant that this decision came just after the founding of the Rose Bay church and at the height of the discord in the Melbourne Community.¹ The arguments advanced to justify the formation of the Federation were plausible: it was necessary for Communities to get together to exchange ideas and experiences, pool their resources and thus tackle more successfully their common problems. Nineteen Communities responded and subsequently became represented directly or indirectly at the conference.² The only notable Communities which refused to participate were those in Townsville and in Perth: the first probably because its leaders acted on instructions from Townsville's former resident priest,

¹ As noted elsewhere the Community in Sydney had pressed for a conference of Communities ever since 1950. It abandoned the idea in 1951, revived it at a general meeting in 1954, (M.B.S., 12 January, 1954), and took it up again at a council meeting on 22nd October, 1957, after receiving a written request by the president of the Kytheran Brotherhood in Sydney that the Community effect a better co-operation with inland Communities. The Kytheran president in point of fact suggested a Pan-Community Conference which, however, was to be limited to Communities in New South Wales. Instead, the council decided to call a national conference. M.B.S., 22 October, 1957.

² M.B.S., 11 June, 1958.

Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis;¹ the second, because it could not be convinced that a conference from which the Metropolitan and clergy would be absent, could discuss Community-Metropolis relations.²

Indeed, the Pan-Community Conference was a lay affair as was the Federation it yielded. Both Conference and Federation charters spoke at length on cultivating good relations between Greeks and Australians, helping immigrants with their problems and of founding lay institutions, but very little was said about the church. Not insignificantly the Federation's seal contained the head of the pagan goddess Athena and the torch of liberty.³ Understandably the Metropolitan opposed the Federation from the very beginning. The more so since the Federation entailed considerable power which was to be wielded by his more radical flock. To forestall the Federation the Metropolitan summoned a clergy-lay conference⁴ but it was of little avail. The only positive

¹ In justifying its absence from the Pan-Community Conference, the Townsville Community argued that Greek Orthodox Communities were really church bodies and were known as such to Australian authorities. If, therefore, these bodies engaged in other activities, possible misunderstandings with Australian authorities might arise. Phos, 25 May, 1958. Such arguments were indeed a rarity so that this Community's attitude to the conference must be sought elsewhere.

² Phos, 11 June, 1958.

³ Minutes of the First Pan-Community Conference and the Constitution of the Federation of Greek Orthodox Communities of Australia, cited in the files of the Greek Orthodox Community of S.A.

⁴ Phos, 4 June, 1958.

gesture of co-operation he received from the organisers of the Pan-Community Conference was that they would consider his proposal for the Clergy-Laity Conference at their own conference which they promised to turn into a preparatory conference for his own and subsequent Clergy-Laity Conference.¹ But the Communities were negotiating from a position of strength. The Metropolitan refused the gesture and he also made it clear that he would 'not recognise the decisions of the Pan-Community Conference'.²

Support for the Pan-Community Conference and the Federation was generally widespread. Even the Greek Ambassador attended the opening sessions of the Conference and wished it well, but added that 'the Conference presented an opportunity to prepare yourselves for the coming Clergy-Laity Conference'.³ The only newspaper which spoke out against it was Phos.⁴ While the Metropolitan still commanded considerable support and respect, people could not see anything sinister in the ideals the Federation espoused: nor, for that matter, at the fact that the Federation's

¹ M.B.S., 3 June, 1958. Few details about the Clergy-Laity Conference are available other than what appeared in the Metropolitan's encyclical (Phos, 4 June, 1968) which said that the Ecumenical Patriarchate had proposed a new structure for the diocese. The only specific proposals were that ecclesiastical courts were to be instituted, catechism classes conducted and the rather vague proposal for 'a firm corporation of the Holy Metropolis'.

² M.B.S., 7 May, 1958.

³ Ethnikon Vema, 25 June, 1958, editorially supported the Conference.

⁴ Phos, 4 June, 1958.

Kaldis = left wing = Atlas member
for sec of Fed.

general secretary was Takis Kaldis, an Atlas member, and Sydney's correspondent of Neos Kosmos, for Kaldis was also the Sydney Community's secretary.¹ It was clear that by mid-1958 a united front had been forged, if not against the Metropolitan, certainly in defence of Community rights which had been flouted by several priests. Easily the worst offender in this was Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis. This priest in the eyes of many people had also offended the cause of Cypriot independence, an act which was a further blow at Community-Metropolis relations.

The Archimandrite's misdemeanour in the Cyprus struggle occurred during Sunday service at Evangelismos on 13 July, 1958. He refused to perform a requiem for the souls of those who fell in Cyprus and further, he was accused of calling three car-loads of Victorian police to the church to keep order and to confiscate the proceeds from the church's collection trays which were intended for Cypriot orphans.² The request for the requiem and the collection was made by the Committee on Cyprus and was approved by the

¹ Takis Kaldis subsequently (late in 1959) resigned as secretary of the Federation and of the Community in Sydney so that he could work for Neos Kosmos on a full-time basis. His resignation from these posts, however, was probably not unrelated to a desire to eliminate some of the grounds on which the Federation was being attacked. Particularly was this so in view of Kaldis's participation in the World Youth Festival in Vienna while he was still secretary of the Federation. Interview: Takis Kaldis and Hellenic Herald, 23 July, 1959.

² M.B.M., 15 July, 1958.

Community Council.¹ The Archimandrite's objection rested on the grounds that while the church could not refuse requiem for the souls of particular persons, this was clearly not the case for the unnamed Cypriot heroes. The money from the collection trays, he insisted, was not for Cypriot orphans but was to assist the anti-British struggle to which his church would be no partner.² Such arguments failed to impress an intensely nationalistic congregation which demonstrated its displeasure during and after the services.³

The imbroglio at Evangelismos was another important turning point in the irrepressible conflict. Not only did the Archimandrite stand out as an enemy of the Community but also of the nation. Others thought otherwise. One of those was the Metropolitan, who was at that time in Melbourne to attend the Melbourne community's part of the celebrations organised to observe the tenth anniversary of the bishop's enthronement as Metropolitan of Australia. At a meeting on the evening of 29 July, which continued until well after midnight, the recent crisis and a long list of charges against the Archimandrite were heatedly debated by the Community council and the Metropolitan. To the dismay of most councillors, the Metropolitan absolved the Archimandrite. Again he appealed for peace

¹ M.B.M., 8 July, 1958.

² M.B.M., 29 July, 1958, and Phos, 13 August, 1958.

³ Neos Kosmos, 16 July, 1958, and passim.

and harmony, and stressed that the priest should always be the master in his church, but parted from the meeting with the words that 'everything is possible if there is the desire',¹ Three days later the Metropolitan was dead as a result of a car accident. The driver of the car was Archimandrite Ierotheos.²

With the Metropolitan also perished a church system whose inadequacies he fully realised and a system which he found increasingly more difficult to manage and lead. An alternative church structure was the task of his successor, but even in his own lifetime several important changes were envisaged. Among these were the Clergy-Laity Conference about whose success and authority one can only speculate; his consent for the clergy to assert themselves more at least in purely church matters; his rebuke of the authority of the Federation; and his approval of congregations and churches independent of the old Communities. The circumstances under which such churches had arisen before mid-1958 were rather special. This was also true of the Cypriot-based church of Apostolos Andreas of Sunshine in metropolitan Melbourne - a church founded in 1956 to

¹ M.B.M., 29 July, 1958.

² M.B.M., 4 August, 1958.

which the Melbourne Community raised no objection.¹ But the principle of decentralising existing Communities implicit in such separate congregations was, in view of the rapidly growing settlements, and of the radicalisation of Communities, becoming more and more attractive to the church. What obstructed the wide application of this principle were the enormous powers assumed by Communities against which the Metropolitan felt powerless. Hence the Metropolitan's approval of the activities of Archimandrite Ierotheos including the latter's request to found a separate church in Melbourne as early as July, 1958.²

Although the Archimandrite emerged from the car accident physically unharmed, this was not so with his standing in the Community of Melbourne. Yet his certain dismissal for which members began petitioning in August, 1958, was averted by the

¹ The Greek-Cypriot Community of Sunshine was founded as a fraternity (as early as 1954) but transformed itself into a church - Community subsequently, and began to erect a church in 1956 (Phos, 14 June, 1956). Apart from the relatively long distance of Sunshine from the centre of Melbourne, the Community did not wish to deny the right of Greek Cypriots to found their own church. The Community consequently never considered Apostolos Andreas as a splinter group like those which emerged after 1959. Apostolos Andreas itself retained good relations with the Community and with the Federation throughout its existence.

² M.B.M., 29 July, 1958.

timely arrival of the locum tenens.¹ He was Archbishop Athenagoras Thyateiron, head of the Archdiocese of Western Europe, whose seat was in London to which he appointed the Archimandrite. This transfer was only a temporary arrangement made so that the Archimandrite could be absent from a community in whose recent turmoil he was the central figure and in which the future of his party was not yet certain. By early December the Archimandrite had returned to Melbourne. His return was allegedly necessary because of the postmortem on the Metropolitan's death.² His permanent stay, apart from a possible tacit agreement with the locum tenens, was ensured by the remarkable recovery of the Phos-party. Even allowing for any irregularities upon which the court saw fit to invalidate³ the election of the Phos-party to the Community council in November, it could still match the numbers of its opponents.⁴ In the second ballot in February, 1959, it was narrowly defeated, winning

¹ Approximately 300 members had signed a petition requesting a general meeting to expel the Archimandrite. Despite the presence of the police, the meeting was far from being an orderly one. The meeting, however, approved the holding of a 'referendum' on Archimandrite, and elected a committee to conduct it. But this was unnecessary. Several days after this general meeting the Archimandrite was transferred to London. M.B.M., 17, 18, and 21 August, 1958.

² Phos, 26 November, 1958.

³ M.B.M., 22 December, 1958. (The court case cost the Community £370. 4s. 3d.)

⁴ For the election results see Phos, 9 November, 1958. The number of votes cast was 1,117.

six of the fifteen council positions.¹ The Community presidency in any case did not go to Demetrios Elefantis, the Phos-party's relentless opponent, but to Vasilios Logothetis, who placed himself in the position of holding the balance of power. Encouraged by such victories Archimandrite Ierotheos delivered another blow to his enemies in the Community, one which was favourable to the church diocese and foreshadowed things to come. On 21 December, amid 147 close adherents, he proclaimed the foundation of his own St. John the Baptist church, which was situated in the working class sector of North Carlton.² Apart from Phos, Phos-party and Philoptochos, the Archimandrite now had his own pulpit from where he could preach and make his pronouncements completely free from hostile councillors. All that the Community council could do was to protest to the head of the church and vote £2,000 to open a church in the nearby suburb of Brunswick.³

¹ For the election results see Phos, 25 February, 1959. The number who cast their vote was a record in the Community's history. Out of a total of 3,200 financial members 1,238 voted.

² For a short history of this church, which by 1968 claimed property worth over \$200,000, see Pysos, 4 February, 2 August, 9 September, and 20 December, 1968.

³ M.B.M., 11 February, 1959.

During the locum tenens's short tenure of office (between early August, 1958, and early February, 1959), Community-Metropolis relations deteriorated further. Every sign of infringement of Community rights strengthened the position of Federation loyalists and of the radicals. If the church could draw some comfort from a victory in Melbourne, elsewhere the tide was turning against it. Particularly was this so in Adelaide where the opposing parties had by February, 1959, buried their differences and resolved to unite in defence of their Community.¹ By the time Metropolitan Ezekiel arrived in Australia in April, he was confronted with an even more united Federation of Communities. Much of this unity was forged in the struggle in defence of the Community institution against which hostile acts had been discerned. Much again was the result of the wide publication given to the worst features of the 'American System' which Metropolitan Ezekiel, formerly of

¹ The parties in the Adelaide Community were not as sharply divided as were those in Melbourne. In the September, 1958, elections the 48 candidates competing for the twelve council positions shared the 432 votes in such a way that no clear party divisions could be discerned. At the subsequent election in October (brought about because of an equality of votes for the twelfth council position), the three distinct parties again shared the 603 votes that were cast. These parties were: one pro-priest; another anti-priest; and the third (which was also anti-priest) was, unlike the first two, a party entirely composed of newcomers. Immediately after the election the anti-priest parties combined but could only manage six of the twelve council positions. They eventually agreed to share the spoils of victory with their opponents (retaining the presidency and allowing their opponents to have the offices of vice-president, secretary and treasurer). Phos, 24 September, and 10 October, 1958, and interviews with Community leaders.

Chicago, was coming to enforce.¹ If there were any doubts in the minds of Federation loyalists about the hostile designs of the church, these were soon dispelled.

Barely a month after his arrival Metropolitan Ezekiel announced his new authoritative body, the Mixed Clergy-Laity Council of the diocese.² On this Council sat four clergymen, six laymen and the Metropolitan as permanent chairman. In a large and growing diocese such a body was undoubtedly necessary. This was not the view of the Federation, particularly since it was represented on the Council by one person, and then only indirectly, by the president of the Sydney Community whom the Metropolitan chose. On the other hand, the Rose Bay group enjoyed three representatives; the remaining two laymen were also ill-disposed to the Federation.³ Much worse was to follow. The church's long-term policy of founding churches and/or Communities independently of existing Communities had become the irrevocable programme of the Metropolitan. The Communities in Sydney, Melbourne and

¹ Neos Kosmos, 8, 15, and 22 April, 1959.

² Metropolitan Ezekiel arrived on 25 April and by 21 May he had announced the Mixed Clergy-Laity Council and its composition. Hellenic Herald, 23 and 30 April, and 21 May, 1959.

³ For the composition of the Council see Hellenic Herald, 21 May, 1959, and the Calendar of the Archdiocese, 1960.

Adelaide which had cause to fear and resist most such a policy, complained bitterly to the Metropolitan but in vain. Apart from the existing independent churches founded before the Metropolitan's arrival, organised groups became busily engaged petitioning for others, soon after April.¹ Three weeks after the Holy Metropolis was proclaimed to have been elevated to the status of an Archdiocese on 1 September, 1959, (and with it the status of the Metropolitan), Archbishop Ezekiel also enunciated his new policy and acted upon it.

The first independent Community to receive the Archbishop's official blessing was that of Unley in Metropolitan Adelaide.² In a letter answering the request from his faithful petitioners the Archbishop laid down the following conditions which were to apply in all cases: that the Community was indispensable to the needs of people; that the means to erect and maintain a church and a school existed; and that the Community's foundation was not to contribute in closing down another Community and church.³

¹ Hellenic Herald, 6 August, 1959. There was, of course, counter-petitioning for Community churches such as that by 126 signatories among Port Adelaide residents. Hellenic Herald, 17 September, 1959.

² St. John in North Carlton (set up by Archimandrite Iretheos Kourtesis in December, 1958) was accorded recognition a little earlier. Hellenic Herald, 10 September, 1959. According to Neos Kosmos, 2 September, 1959, the Archbishop had also given permission to form a Community at Brunswick, Victoria, though this body did not begin to function until the following year.

³ For the full text of the Archbishop's letter to the Unley group see: White Paper (Lefkoma), Decade of the Greek Orthodox Community St. Spyridon, 1969, (Nea Hestia Press, Adelaide), pp. 8-9.

In the same letter the Archbishop apologised for not answering immediately the request of the faithful because, he wrote, 'it was necessary to examine the Adelaide Community's point of view so that there would be no friction and misunderstandings...'.¹ Archbishop Ezekiel could not have offended the Adelaide Community more. Not only was he told of the Community's opposition to splinter groups, and of the Community's willingness to build more churches if these were needed, but several weeks earlier the Archbishop had given his word that he did not contemplate enforcing the 'American System'.² To add insult to injury the protagonists who formed the Unley and other para-Community churches were persons who either were ousted from, or failed to gain, Community office in previous elections.³

¹ Interviews with the Community president, Miltiades Hatjivasileiou (H.Milton) and other Community officers and members.

² *ibid.*

³ At least one of the founders and subsequent leaders in each of Archdiocese church-Communities of Norwood, Unley and Thebarton, were unsuccessful candidates in the 1958 Community elections. Source: Phos, 24 September and 20 October, 1958; and constitutions and related documents of such church-Communities in the Registrar of Companies Office, Adelaide.

To the old Communities, therefore, the pro-Archdiocese churches were nothing but splinter group, paraphyades, instigated by the Archbishop himself and placed in the hands of a few recalcitrants who were seeking revenge.

As the Archbishop's church system gradually emerged in theory and in practice, the mounting opposition hardened.¹ Sixteen Communities, including that in Perth but not that in Brisbane, were represented at a Federation Conference in October, 1959, and became signatories to a declaration condemning the 'American System',² The press, with the exception of Phos, was similarly unanimous in its condemnation, by the end of 1959. Even the Greek consul in Adelaide was at first critical of the new system,³ In the struggle in

¹ This opposition, as has been noted, was evident even before the Archbishop's arrival, but it became widespread soon after April, 1959. In Adelaide, in July, that is, two months before the Archbishop gave his open blessing to the Unley church, at an extraordinary general meeting of the Community at which an estimated 500 attended, it was resolved to fight the 'American System', with all possible means. One of this means was to form a fairly representative Committee in Defence of Community Rights! It was mainly a propagandist committee whose statements were given wide publicity by the Greek press. Similar committees were formed in Melbourne and Sydney. See Hellenic Herald, 16 July, 1959, and passim.

² Hellenic Herald, 22 October, 1959; and Neos Kosmos, 21 October, 1959.

³ Neos Kosmos, 2 September, 1959.

support of the Community institution, past political and personal differences were soon forgotten. To the left the 'American System' symbolised all the reactionary forces; to the liberal it was archaic and oppressive; to the Community officers it was a threat to their authority and prestige; to Communities in the capitals it was an obstacle to their further expansion. Among the system's opponents there was also a section of older ethniko-phrones who adapted to the changes in Communities in the late 1950's and who were consequently pushed into positions of leadership in Communities. Apart from those in the Melbourne Community, possibly the most representative of this class was Alex Grivas, the owner of Hellenic Herald with which he was associated ever since the newspaper's foundation late in 1926. Grivas had built his newspaper's enormous influence by a policy of always espousing the cause of Communities, reporting their activities and by regular visits to Greek settlements throughout Australia. This gained him valuable knowledge of their problems as well as valuable personal and business contacts. He was consequently in a position to give authoritative advice, leadership and guidance to the Federation to whose meetings and conferences he was invited. At one such meeting he was deputed by five outlying Communities to represent them.¹ Until his death in 1963, he was the

¹ This was at the October, 1959, Federation meeting. Among the Communities he represented were those of Hobart and Innisfail. Hellenic Herald, 22 October, 1959.

Archbishop's most feared opponent.¹ Old ethnikophrones, like Grivas, not only opposed the American system because it threatened Community rights, but they could not think in terms of an ethnic community where more than one Greek Orthodox Community operated. Grivas himself was involved personally in the struggle against Metropolitan Christophoros Knetes, and also was fully aware of the difficulties encountered in uniting two hostile congregations in Sydney before 1945. Consequently, the coalition against Archbishop Ezekiel included more than just the radical left.

No better illustration of what may be termed a broad coalition can be given than that in Adelaide where the Greek Orthodox Community was also the first to rebel against and break away from the Archdiocese. The history, size and structure of the ethnic community itself favoured such a coalition. The Community centre, next to its church in Franklin Street, its school and social welfare programmes, were services which were greatly appreciated and which satisfied most of the ethnic community's needs. The bulk of Greeks lived relatively close to such facilities so that there was no apparent need to decentralise the Community's activities. Even though the size of the ethnic community had increased sharply by the late 1950's, the Community

¹ Alex Grivas was stabbed to death at the age of 73 years, together with his mistress, by the latter's husband, a Bulgarian, Hellenic Herald, 31 January, and 7 February, 1963.

managed to absorb by and large the mass of newcomers. Community leadership, moreover, was shared. Although Kastellorizans were traditionally over-represented on the Community's council, they ruled by the consent of members who recognised them as Community founders and builders.¹ After their leader, Michael Kambouris, left Adelaide in 1945, Kastellorizans were quite tolerant of a 'stranger' as Community president for most of the post-war period. Like most other groups and older immigrants Kastellorizans competed for Community office often standing on opposing 'tickets'² and were elected on the basis of their past service to the Community, their standing in the ethnic community various societies and organisations, that is, on their personal

¹ On the average the number of Kastellorizans on the Community council rarely fell below three. This was even true in the post-1953 period during which the Kastellorizan fraternity consisting of no more than about eighty families in a settlement comprised of thousands of heads of families.

² These 'tickets' (syndyasmoi) did not, except during 1958, contain the names of persons belonging to a distinct party. Although such 'tickets' were circulated before and on election day, the parties or alliances usually broke down. Not only because voters refused to follow the precise instructions of who to vote for indicated on such tickets, but the candidates themselves sometimes switched their allegiance and regrouped at the last minute in expectation of higher personal votes. It is truer to say that candidates usually polled on their individual merits. However, a block vote such as that exercised by the left could and did often effect composition of the Community council. Generally, however, what always distinguished the Community council in Adelaide was its representative nature.

merits. At all events in the Adelaide community there was a merging of groups unlike the divisions along regional, class and ideological lines evident in other Communities. That the Community was a unifying force was also evident by the abrupt end to the parties that had occurred during the 1958 elections and their subsequent coalescence early in 1959. With the strengthening of the coalition the hegemony of the Community in the entire settlement was substantially retained. When the council decided to sever the Community's relations with the Archdiocese, only two councillors resigned in protest. Few other members joined this protest and not one of the eighteen societies indicated their disaffection. So assured was the council of the correctness of its decision which in effect turned the Community into a schismatic body, that it did not bother to summon a general meeting until January, 1961.

The reasons advanced by the Community council to justify its complete break from the Archdiocese were well-grounded. Not only did Archbishop Ezekiel 'repeatedly attack the Community and harm its interests ever since his arrival' but he also arbitrarily ordered the replacement of the Community's priest. The priest in question was Reverend Stylianos Stenos who, upon the Community's request, had been appointed to Adelaide from Port Pirie, which community he had served for several years. As the Archbishop explained, all that he required of Reverend Stylianos was to

accompany him back to Port Pirie for one Sunday and conduct a joint church service in accordance with established church practice for it was the Archbishop's first visit there, while Port Pirie's resident priest was himself a newcomer. Such arguments, however, failed to impress the Community council which interpreted the Archbishop's order as a direct challenge to its authority and as a trick to take away its priest. Equally objectionable were the insults the Archbishop allegedly hurled at the aged and respected Reverend Stylianos Stenos because of his insistence that the Community council should be consulted and give its approval to his transfer. Possibly worse still was the Archbishop's intent to install in the Community, during Reverend Stylianos's absence, a priest whom the Community had cause to dislike. This priest was the former Archimandrite Makarios Livanos who was re-ordained by Archbishop Ezekiel and who adopted the name Methodios.¹

Whatever the Archbishop's intentions, the council's case and the particular circumstances² surrounding the momentous

¹ For a full text of the Adelaide Community's decision, its communication to the Archbishop and the latter's reply to it, see Phos, 15 June, 1950.

² The whole episode was not without its accident. Tony Stenos (son of Reverend Stylianos) informed the writer that his father failed to receive a telegram in time (because it went to the wrong address) from the Archbishop requesting a further meeting with Reverend Stylianos to patch up differences before the Archbishop left Adelaide. The Archbishop interpreted this as further defiance which was certainly not the Reverend Stylianos's intention.

decision of 9 June, there was no trust between these two authorities: the schism had reached a point of no return. Consequently Archbishop Ezekiel could not but refute the council's argument and condemn the rebellion. He gave both Reverend Stylianos and the councillors four days to return to the church or face the full consequences of the Holy Canons. As they refused to return Reverend Stylianos was placed in idleness, argia, and the councillors were excommunicated (in absentia) at an ecclesiastical court held in Sydney in September, 1960.¹ Among those excommunicated was also Demetrios Elefantis who was charged with blasphemy. Soon after Reverend Stylianos's re-instatement, the Archbishop also decided to put into idleness Reverend John Armenis and Archimandrite George Skandamis, excommunicate Reverend George Gonis (an ordainee of Archbishop Sergi).² Even though most people ridiculed and laughed at the excommunications (including those who were excommunicated) the Archbishop's measures were exceedingly unpopular and their effect was to widen the schism and elevate the subsequent polemical debate to a more religious level.

The Federation council to which the Adelaide Community appealed for support expressed its solidarity. The Community in Newcastle, acting on such solidarity rather than on important grievances, decided to withdraw from the Archdiocese in July.³

¹ Phos, 15 June, and 21 December, 1960.

² Phos, 22 June, and 21 September, 1960.

³ Phos, 20 July, 1960.

Indeed, this Community's only grievance was that its priest (who was sacked after the break with the Archdiocese) had set up a Philoptochos society which 'sowed sperms of disharmony among the womenfolk'.¹ Yet the Federation's condemnation of the Archbishop made little difference to the course he had mapped out for his church. The response from other Orthodox Church authorities to which the Federation and the Adelaide Community appealed to redress their grievances was negative.² More importantly, among the twenty-nine Greek Orthodox Communities which participated in the First Clergy-Laity Conference in September, 1960, there were several former members of the Federation. Among these were the Communities of Brisbane and Hobart as well as of Perth which, a

¹ Hellenic Herald, 9 June, 1960. The Community's statement in Hellenic Herald outlined the Community's policy reiterated often enough at general meetings that it never had and would not tolerate societies other than those the Community itself approved. The Community's Women's Auxiliary, a sub-committee, was in any case in existence and was quite capable in meeting the ethnic community's needs.

² Apart from continuous protest telegrams and letters to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Government, the Adelaide Community also applied for protection and guidance to the church of Greece. Its primate, Metropolitan Theokletos answered saying it could not invade the precincts of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Phos, 28 September, 1960.

year before, was on the Federation's side.¹ The representatives of these Communities were not on unfriendly terms with the Federation: during the conference the representatives reportedly spoke to the Archbishop in an attempt to patch up the differences. But the tide had started to turn in favour of the Archdiocese. Admittedly the Communities represented at the conference were the smaller and newly-found bodies, many of which were without priests and churches, but it was not an unimpressive conference. In addition to the sixteen clergymen the conference was assured of Greek Government support and had the necessary aura of authority and respectability if not the direct consent of a large section of the Greek population. No important documents and decisions flowed from this conference save to re-iterate what was said and done in the previous year. The composition of the now permanent mixed Clergy-Laity Council was much the same as before, the policy of founding churches was to be continued, catechism classes were to be extended, the schismatics were condemned and another warning of communist infiltration in Communities was sounded.² Encouraged

¹ Phos, 21 September, 1960, and passim. A number of Federation loyalists were elected on the Community council in 1961 but these were powerless in getting the Community to break with the Archdiocese (Phos, 1 November, 1961). One of the reasons was that in Brisbane (as in Perth) the Archdiocese did not form para-Community churches so that there were few grounds upon which to oppose the Archdiocese. The extent of protest against the Archdiocese from Perth came in the form of a strongly worded 'open letter' by the Community's honorary president (Evangelos Argyropoulos) deploring the Archbishop's support of Melbourne's 'P.E.S. mafia' and his failure to unify Perth's two churches. Hellenic Herald, 20 September, 1962.

² Phos, 21 September, 1960, and passim.

by the success of his first conference more than by any real need, the Archbishop decided to summon a Clergy-Laity Assembly which took place in January, 1961, in Brisbane. Its composition, deliberations and findings were not appreciably different from those of the conference in September, 1960.¹

Both conferences thus assured Archbishop Ezekiel of his strong position sufficiently, at any rate, for him to wave the olive branch. Before his temporary departure from Australia in May, 1961, he reiterated what he had been saying as early as September, 1960, that his intentions were not and never were to control Communities and their properties, and that he would revoke the punishments he meted out against the rebellious councillors and priests. All that he requested was that they return to the official church where they would be pardoned,² Such conciliatory

¹ For a full account of the proceedings in the Clergy-Laity Assembly see Phos, 25 January, 1, 8, 15 and 22 February, 1961. The Federation council asserted (Hellenic Herald, 16 February, 1961) that thirty-four Communities refused to participate in the First Clergy-Laity Assembly in Brisbane, implying that the Archbishop could not, after all, claim widespread support. Yet the Communities listed as being absent were, apart from ten or so which remained loyal to the Federation, five in Western Australia (including that in Perth) nine in New South Wales, three in Victoria and that of Darwin, most of which were too far or too small (being mostly countryside Communities) to afford the expensive trip to Brisbane. All newly-formed Communities in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney, as well as all Queensland Communities, sent delegates. Another possible reason explaining the absence of what were otherwise pro-Archdiocese Communities, was the belief that they could not see the necessity of a second conference.

² Hellenic Herald, 4 May, 1961.

gestures fell on deaf ears. The Federation not only disputed the right of the Archbishop to inflict such punishment but they would not be content until his new churches 'the splinter groups', were dissolved and until Archbishop Ezekiel was recalled.¹

The struggle between the Archdiocese and the Federation for hegemony in ethnic communities in the 1960's was bitter, it generally favoured the rule of extremists in both camps and these two camps became irreconcilable. In Sydney the Archdiocese succeeded in undermining much of the Community's and the Federation's strength simply by denying priests for their intended churches in a number of suburbs. Apart from the financial losses incurred in such church ventures, both bodies also lost considerable prestige.² Yet the Community's failures were not only the

¹ See Neos Kosmos, 5 September, 1962, and Hellenic Herald, 25 March, and 6 September, 1962, for the Federation's demands.

² The Federation's financial losses were not so great because its churches which functioned during 1963 - 1965 in North Sydney and Bankstown were in hired premises. (Interview: Michael Kambouris). Those attempted in Kingsford, Rozelle, Marrickville, and Leichardt were Community ventures, and it was here that most of the costs were incurred. (M.B.S., 11 May, 1960, 16 March, 1962, and 27 August, 1963, and passim.) In Leichardt there also occurred a regrettable episode. Community members turned up in force and demonstrated during a church service conducted at the Leichardt Town Hall by an auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese. The service was planned by way of inaugurating the Archdiocese's new church there. Phos, 11 and 18 March, 1962. For a brief history of the squabbles in Bankstown see Phos, 5 January, and 20 May, 1964. For petitions and counter-petitions for a church at Marrickville see Hellenic Herald, 16 March, 1961.

result of the Archbishop's policy and his ability to enthuse his followers who took the task of church organisation and administration seriously and expertly,¹ but also the result of its own indecision. The Community refused to break away from the Archdiocese even after a constitutional amendment² in 1965 made this possible, and procure priests from Archbishop Sergi as did other Federation Communities. While the Community's school programme was comparable with that of other Communities it had little

¹ The formulation of the constitutions of Archdiocese Communities in metropolitan Sydney was entrusted for the most part to A. T. George, the Archdiocese's legal advisor. As noted in Chapter VI, such Communities were so far as Australian law was concerned, proprietary companies but with the necessary constitutional provisions to bind these bodies spiritually to the Archdiocese. These Communities were constitutionally not unlike that of Rose Bay. From an analysis of the names of the founders and managers of these Communities (recorded in the documents in the Registrar of Companies office in Sydney) it appears that they did not attract the bulk of the Sydney's old ethnikophrones. This group as noted earlier in the text became concentrated in the Rose Bay district. Shopkeepers and other businessmen did constitute the great majority of founders and managers of such Communities as East Sydney, Northern and Western suburbs and Bankstown, but in the Communities of Marrickville and Belmore workers were reasonably well represented in the leadership. Yet the guidance by such old ethnikophrones as A. T. George and the Archbishop, as well as the fact that these Communities did not altogether discourage immigrant participation in their affairs, were important factors contributing to their stability. This clearly was not the case of Archdiocese Communities in Melbourne.

² See p. 474 below.

to show in terms of services to migrants, buildings and halls,¹ Such failures were also both the result and cause of its disunited leadership. John Issakides, the moderate Community president (1957 - 1961), who, like Logothetis in Melbourne, still believed that some understanding could be reached with the head of the church, was ousted from power by the much younger Demetrios Tsingris.² Tsingris was a trained theologian who was hired as secretary of the Archdiocese from which he broke because of disagreements with the Archbishop over the new church system.³ He married into an old and wealthy Sydney family but his main support came from the radical left of Atlas. Tsingris, however, quarrelled with Community and Federation leaders and eventually with Atlas and fell from power in the 1967 elections. His fall was followed

¹ After considerable procrastination (in fact from 1959 onwards), the Community's present centre on the corner of Oxford and Dowling Streets was finally purchased in 1966 at a cost of £90,000 for which only £10,000 was available and has so far (1969) been paid. Even so this centre's only use is that it houses the Community's office - the building itself was and remains a picture theatre. A much more useful Community centre is the small hall which is adjacent to the Community's church in Abercrombie Street, Redfern. These premises, however, were acquired earlier (the church in 1958 and the hall in 1961). M.B.S., 8 June, 1957, 24 June, 1959; 4 September, 1966, and passim.

² Hellenic Herald, 21 December, 1961.

³ Tsingris also opposed on theological grounds, the Archbishop's ordination of a priest because the person concerned was less than 25 years old, the age limit stipulated by canon law. Hellenic Herald, 12 and 26 January, 1961.

by a more militant Community president and council.¹ In the 1960's it can be truly said that the Sydney Community became a 'besieged castle' concerned more with internal power struggles than with the struggle to consolidate its position in the second-largest community in Australia,² Thus, unhindered, the Archdiocese consolidated its position in the ethnic community.

In Melbourne the conflict was much more bitter. The expansion of the Archdiocese strengthened the hand of the militants in the Community, resulting in the fall of the moderate president,

¹ In the December, 1963, elections in which 1,627 members voted, Tsingris's party was opposed by that of Michael Kambouris who was then the vice-president of the Community and president of the Federation. The parties or more correctly their leaders, differed in tactics (and also clashed as persons) rather than in their attitudes and policies to the Archdiocese. The large number of votes cast (1,627) and the distribution of votes among candidates (ranging from 1,002 to 954 in the case of the Tsingris party and from 646 to 561 for the Kambouris party) nonetheless indicated considerable differences and division among the contestants. One reason for this was due to the fact, evident from an analysis of the candidates' names, that Tsingris represented the left and the newcomers, and Kambouris represented the older and the more conservative migrant with whom he, as an older resident of Sydney, was well acquainted. See Phos, 8 May, 1963, and January, 1964; Hellenic Herald, 21 November and 19 and 26 December, 1963; Neos Kosmos, 15 December, 1963; and interviews with party leaders. In the 1967 elections Tsingris's fall resulted from a revolt against him by a majority of councillors led by the vice-president, Panagiotis Gerontakos, who charged him, among other things, with mismanagement of Community affairs. Ranged against him was also the more militant left from Atlas; the more moderate left, however, together with the Hellenic Herald supported him. The more militant left headed by Gerontakos took complete control of the Community in the 1969 elections in which only 430 members voted. See Kyriake, 14 December, 1969; Nea Patris, 17 November, 1969.

² This is how A. T. George put it to the writer, and all told it is an appropriate summary of the situation.

Logothetis, early in 1962,¹ But unlike in Sydney the Archdiocese loyalists did not abandon their claims on the old Community. The Phos-party broadened its base and transformed itself into the National Community Rally, P.E.S., an organisation which by mid-1962 claimed over 2,000 followers,² The expressed aim of P.E.S. was to rescue the Community from the hands of what it considered

¹ A total of twenty-nine charges, mostly of mismanagement, were levelled against Logothetis. His fall from power, however, resulted from the fact that the majority of the councillors no longer trusted him in the struggle against the Archdiocese. For a list of the charges and Logothetis's answer to them see Phos, from 31 January to 11 April, 1962.

² Community National Rally (Paroikiakos Ethnikos Synagermos), P.E.S., and not Philanthropic Educational Society as its English subtitle would suggest) emerged just before Vasilios Logothetis (Logus) fell from power in February, 1962. Although Logothetis was listed as one of its leaders, most of these were prominent Phos-party members. The patron of P.E.S. was Melbourne's Greek Consul D. Skouroliakos. By mid-1962 P.E.S. had a popular base and was assuming a new organisational form. It created branches or sections in a number of suburbs and its activities were to be organised by section leaders or cadres at combined meetings. It boasted 250 cadres, stelechoi, by September, 1962, many of whom appear to have been newcomers and relatively unknown in community politics. The activities of P.E.S. included the listing of names they hoped to recruit to the Community; publishing their irregular newspaper Ho Koinotikos, (The Communitie); raising funds for the court case; holding regular meetings and passing resolutions condemning the schismatics; and when it failed to take over the Community it settled down to being just one of the many societies given to organising an occasional social and cultural function until it became defunct in 1964. P.E.S. in Sydney which was created soon after its counterpart in Melbourne, did not prove to be as influential and massive though it outlasted P.E.S. of Melbourne by a year or so. Source: Ho Koinotikos, February and January, 1962. Phos, 9 February, 21 March, 4 April, 19 September, 1962, and passim. For P.E.S. activities in Sydney see Phos, 28 November, 1962, and 20 April, 20 May, 1963, and 5 May, 1965.

were 'traitors, communists and atheists'¹ and to avert what by late 1961 had become an inevitable measure, the break of the Community from the Archdiocese. In the subsequent struggles P.E.S. failed to capture the Community. By a careful selection of recruits to the Community and of co-options to the council to fill in vacancies caused by resignations of several Phos-party councillors, the Community council under the leadership of Demetrios Elefantis, frustrated its opponents and eventually broke from the Archdiocese.² The Supreme Court in Melbourne also rejected³ a list of claims by P.E.S. which sought to reverse the Community's schism

¹ For an indictment of the Community Council, 'the thirteen conspirators', see Pyrros, 1 June, 1962.

² The Archbishop was notified officially of the Community's decision to withdraw from the Archdiocese on 7 October, 1962, but the decision to do so was taken at a general meeting of members on 5 August, 1962. This latter meeting also amended the Community's constitution (articles 47 and 59) so that the Community would no longer be dependent on the Archdiocese for priests and spiritual guidance. Constitution of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria and Phos, 14 November, 1962.

³ The presiding judge (in this case, the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Herring) in rejecting the claims against the Community Council made the following comments: "...it was regrettable to all Christians that this unhappy dispute should exist and the motion submitted to the court sought to resolve an ecclesiastical dispute between two sections of the Greek Community. No order of the court could end it." Hellenic Herald, 22 November, 1962.

and to recruit en masse its followers.¹ The final 'betrayal' to the Archdiocese was the Community's decision to procure priests from Archbishop Sergi.² After November, 1962, Archbishop Ezekiel also was debarred from Evangelismos and other Community churches.³

The Melbourne Community's rebellion sharpened the conflict at all levels and in a number of other settlements. Just as P.E.S. strove but failed to capture the Community so did Archdiocese opponents fail to stop the formation of Archdiocese churches and, as in the case of Prahran,⁴ take control of them. Nothing, moreover, could stop P.E.S. men from taking control of

¹ Phos, 14 November, 1962. According to Phos, 17 October, 1962. P.E.S. membership had reached the 2,500 mark.

² See Ethnikon Vema, 30 May, 1962, for the text of the Federation's decision to apply to Archbishop Sergi for priests and the associated reaction to this decision.

³ Phos and Neos Kosmos, 21 November, 1962.

⁴ For the struggle to capture the Prahran church see: Hellenic Herald, 5 July, 1962; Pyrros, 27 July, and 31 August, 1962. Similar struggles occurred in Bankstown, metropolitan Sydney (Phos, 15 January, and 20 May, 1964) and interview with Reverend Diogenes Patsouris; and Thebarton, in Adelaide (Phos, 30 August and 27 September, 1961; Hellenic Herald, 31 August, 1961; and interview with George Drakopoulos, an active participant in the associated squabbles in Thebarton).

Archdiocese churches¹ as soon as these were founded, and the Elefantis party from being repeatedly elected unanimously due to lack of opposing candidates.² In the Adelaide Community the schism resulted in the election of the Archbishop's most fierce opponents, particularly those who were excommunicated. A common saying among aspirants to Community office in Adelaide ran as follows: 'if you want to get elected you had better see that you get excommunicated'. The schism was also evident in a number of smaller communities. In Mildura the schismatics formed their own

¹ The extent of P.E.S. control of Archdiocese churches in metropolitan Melbourne becomes apparent from an analysis of published names of P.E.S. leaders or cadres (Phos, 25 September, 1962) and Archdiocese church councillors in Yarraville (Phos, 26 May, 1962); Prahran (Phos, 26 July, 1962, and Pyrsons, 27 July and 31 August, 1962); Oakleigh (Phos, 22 January, 1964); North Carlton (Pyrsons, 9 August, 1968); Northcote, Preston and Thornbury (Pyrsons, 5 July, 1968); Brunswick (Embros, 3 October, 1968); and Mentone (Nea Patris, 3 November, 1969).

² The first of such unanimous elections took place in November, 1962, when a little over 1,000 members cast their vote. Neos Kosmos, 28 November, 1962. Subsequently Community elections were merely a question of finding the required number of councillors and declaring them unanimously elected.

separate Community.¹ In Geelong, Renmark, Whyalla, Port Pirie and Mount Gambier, where the opposing factions clashed to hold the existing Communities loyal to either the Archdiocese or to the Federation, the unsuccessful faction either boycotted the work of the opponents or set up a rival organisation: in Whyalla, Port Pirie and Renmark, such organisations were soccer teams.² The politicising of Greek soccer teams was also indicated

¹ The split in the Mildura community had started before 1959. The radicals had lost control of the 'Plato' Greek Educational League and its hall as early as 1958. Their more ethnikophrone opponents transformed 'Plato' into a church-Community, built the 'Evangelismos' church next to the hall, procured a resident priest and held the Community loyal to the Archdiocese. Their opponents founded a separate Greek Orthodox Community of Mildura in 1962 and built a separate hall. This Community's religious needs have been served by a travelling priest either from the old Community in Melbourne or from that in Adelaide. The ferocity of the split in Mildura was demonstrated by the smashing of the plaque fixed to the outside church wall on the eve of the church's opening ceremony which was to be conducted by Archbishop Ezekiel in 1961. Each side blamed the other for this vandalism. Interviews: Archimandrite Makarios Livanos, Con Cavouriaris and others; Phos, 1 November, 1961, (which blamed Communist vandals for the plaque smashing).

² In Port Pirie, Archdiocese loyalists took control of the community early in the schism while their opponents held the Olympic Torch (later the Hellas) soccer team. (Interview: Nick Monogios and others.) In Whyalla it was the other way round: the Archdiocese loyalists were excluded from the Community (they also unsuccessfully made their claims in an Adelaide court) but managed to have some say in the 'Whyalla Thunderers' soccer team until 1967 when they also managed to procure considerable control of the Community. Interviews: Peter Kourakis, Nick Manos, and others. See also Hellenic Herald, 2 July, 1967, for the Whyalla Community election results. In Renmark two rival Communities and two rival soccer teams operated for a great part of the 1960's. Interviews: Con Capetas and others.

by the great care taken to exercise control over major soccer clubs in metropolitan areas. Pan-Hellenic (Sydney) Hellas and Alexander the Great (Melbourne) were held by Archdiocese loyalists, while Hellas of Adelaide has been controlled by Community members. It was also in the early 1960's that opposing sides clashed for leadership in regional societies, many of which were consequently split.

The Melbourne Community's rebellion also invited a stronger condemnation from Greek church and secular authorities. Yet this condemnation was not in the form of excommunications of Community councillors. With the exception of Demetrios Elefantis,¹ the Archbishop refrained from this type of ineffective banishment. A much more effective punishment of the schismatics was the official pronouncement by the Ecumenical Patriarchate that the Byelo-Russian Archbishop Sergi was, as far as official Orthodoxy was concerned, uncanonical or non-existent and the priests he had ordained were consequently pseudo-priests.² Equally effective were the frequent statements by Greek consulates that marriages celebrated by these priests were invalid and the warnings to Greek girls lest they be tricked into such marriages.³

¹ Demetrios Elefantis was excommunicated on a charge of blasphemy in September, 1960.

² Phos, 3 October, 1962.

³ Pysros, 6 July, 1962, and Phos, 27 August, 1962.

Conformity to Greek civil and church canon law was further ensured by the refusal of Greek consulates to give certain consular services to Greek nationals¹ undergoing uncanonical marriage ceremonies and by the social stigma on these marriages as well as on the children born of such wedlock. While large numbers² defied the ruling of these authorities a greater number were deterred from patronising schismatic churches. The Greek Government's involvement in the schism was in any case clear by 1960 and by a grant of £500 from the Greek Embassy in Canberra to help the establishment of an Archdiocese church in Newcastle.³ A final blow to the schismatics was their failure to found an independent church authority in Australia when the opportunity presented itself.

Even before Melbourne's rebellion, Federation leaders were considering an independent church. The problem apparently

¹ One measure Greek consulates frequently enforced was to refuse to issue a passport to married women (wishing to travel to Greece) if they were married in schismatic churches. If such women refused to have their marriages validated (by undergoing a simple ceremony), passports were issued to them in their maiden name.

² The estimated number of invalid marriages and baptisms by 1969 stood at 13,000. Interview: Demetrios Elefantis.

³ Phcs, 21 September, 1960.

was to procure a willing Greek bishop 'smuggle' him¹ out of Greece, bring two other Orthodox episcopates together and synodically declare the formation of a 'proper' church. While the Federation failed to procure a bishop from Greece it was presented with the services of Metropolitan Photios Koumides, formerly of Paphos (Cyprus) who was alleged to have had fallen out of favour with the Cypriot Ethnarchy Council. Before he was invited to Australia by Federation leaders he had also broken with the Archdiocese of America (which he had served in a minor post), having placed himself at the head of several recalcitrant church-Communities.² His decision to come and lead the Australian schismatics was thus not unassociated with his relegation in the Orthodox Church. Yet this cleric's arrival and stay in Australia landed him (and the Federation) in a much worse position. There was little trouble

¹ According to Michael Kambouris whose responsibility it was (as president of the Federation, 1961-1963) to find a bishop, he actually found a willing candidate in Greece in mid-1961. This candidate accordingly performed all the necessary tasks such as shaving his beard, applying for a landing permit as a tourist under an assumed name but with intentions to stay in Australia permanently. He was found out just before his departure. This unsuccessful cleric appears to have got himself into considerable trouble because (so the story goes) he dared not present himself to his church authorities until a full six months growth of his beard restored some of his former respectability.

² Phos, 19 August, 1964.

in declaring the Independent Greek Orthodox Church of Australia at a meeting with Archbishop Sergi and Bishop Dionisije (a Serbian exile) in Adelaide in November, 1964,¹ but the matter became much more complicated. Because Metropolitan Photios entered uninvited the domain of another Orthodox diocese he was in terms of canon law considered to be automatically defrocked. Such a pronouncement came from the Ecumenical Patriarchate and more effectively in an affidavit signed by Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus.² The latter declaration carried the further stigma of traitor on Photios which Archbishop Makarios never implied but which was made explicit by Archdiocese loyalists.³ Due to sheer bungling by Metropolitan Photios and Federation officials, the independent church did not

¹ Bishop Dionisije was reportedly head of the Serbian Orthodox Church Abroad. For this and for the declaration of the independent church see: The News, 2 November, 1964; and Hellenic Herald, 29 October and 19 November, 1964. The church was apparently intended to include Photios's parishes in America, hence the name: The Independent Greek Orthodox Church of Australia and America,

² For a copy of Archbishop Makarios's affidavit which together with other affidavits (including that from the Ecumenical Patriarchate) were considered sufficiently important to warrant a speedy trip abroad by Archbishop Ezekiel and one other person from Sydney, see Phos, 28 October, and 4 and 11 November, 1964; Ethnikon Vema, 4 November, 1964,

³ See copy of leaflets denouncing Photios Koumides as a traitor to Cyprus which were produced and distributed by the Greek-Australian League 'Concord', a branch of P.E.S. in Sydney. See also Phos, 19 August, 1964, and passim.

receive recognition as a bona fide church by the Commonwealth Attorney General's Department.¹ Archdiocese loyalists in Sydney also succeeded in procuring an Equity Court injunction preventing the Archbishop from entering the Community's church in Redfern.² This injunction which was not challenged in a higher court, apparently rested on the grounds that the Community constitutionally still recognised Archbishop Ezekiel as its spiritual head. Lastly, there was considerable haggling between Archbishop Photios and the Federation leaders over such questions as rights, responsibilities and financial obligations.³ In less than a year Metropolitan Photios returned to America disappointed, leaving behind him a greatly saddened and frustrated flock. This is not

¹ There are many accounts of why the application to register the independent church was unsuccessful. It seems true (as Dr. Charles Price suggested to the writer) that the Attorney General may have objected to Archbishop Photios issuing encyclicals in the name of his church before it was in fact formally recognised as a bona fide church authority, and secondly, that there were errors and insufficient details in the application. Otherwise there could be no objection as far as Australian law was concerned in such becoming recognised.

Mick Christopher (interviewed January, 1970, Adelaide), gives a similar account but added that it was the Federation leaders' incompetence that brought about the failure to have the independent church properly constituted and eventually recognised by the Australian Government.

² The News, 2 November, 1964; Phos, 25 November, 1964; The Australian, 2 November, 1964; and The Sydney Morning Herald, 18, 19, and 20 November, 1964.

³ Interview with the then Federation and Community officers.

to say that an independent church headed by Photios would have solved such problems as invalid sacraments and canonical priests, but it would have presented the schismatic Communities with a badly-needed Greek religious leader and would also have enhanced their bargaining power with official Greek church and Greek Government authorities.

Metropolitan Photios also left behind a greatly strengthened Archdiocese. The second Clergy-Laity Assembly of the Archdiocese held in Sydney early in October, 1965, was attended by forty-nine clergymen, and 118 laymen who represented eighty-nine Greek Orthodox Communities. Probably most Communities conducted Greek afternoon schools and fifty of them had their own churches.¹ Other Archdiocese agencies were less impressive: its small St. George monastery in the Blue Mountains surrounded by 'thirty hectares of land', reported at the congress, evolved into nothing more than a resort for occasional Sydney picnickers; the St. Andrew Theological College could only boast of two students who were studying abroad and one of whom was an Australian convert to Orthodoxy; its three kindergartens and the 'House of the Greek Immigrant Woman' were not, and never grew to be important institutions.² The assets of the Archdiocese during its first

¹ See Report of the Second Clergy-Laity Conference, in booklet form, Adprint Pty. Ltd., Melbourne, 1965.

² Ibid., and Calendar of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, 1968 - 1969.

six years increased only from £18,000 to £60,000 approximately.¹ The real strength of the Archdiocese, however, lay in the achievements of its clergy and loyalists at parish level and not in the value of property and institutions it owned and managed itself. These achievements, as has been argued, resulted from the Archbishop's bold and decidedly successful policy of decentralising the religious functions of the old Communities in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide - a policy approved by Greek church and secular authorities and by parishioners because of the services presented to them in their place of residence. Just as significant was the support the Archdiocese received from the ethnikophrone press which after 1961 also included Ethnikon Vema and Pyrsos and Australia's wealthiest Greeks. Among these were A. T. George, (Australian-born, a former president of the Sydney Community (1945 - 1947), legal advisor to the Archdiocese ever since 1959 and chief architect of constitution of the Rose Bay and other Sydney Communities; Michael Paspalis, M.B.E., Darwin's millionaire; the Varvaressos family in Sydney; Con Liascos in Adelaide; and a host of others drawn from the Hellenic Club in Sydney, P.E.S. in Melbourne, wealthy Kastellorizans in Perth and elsewhere. The class that was displaced or ousted from Communities by the left-newcomer coalition in the late 1950's was in the 1960's regrouped by the Archbishop, given opportunities for leadership and management at different levels of the Archdiocese and awarded with

¹ Report of the Second Clergy-Laity Assembly, op.cit., pp. 35 - 36.

honorary offices and medals.¹ This phenomenon was especially noticeable in the Sydney and Melbourne Communities. In the Adelaide and Newcastle communities the Archdiocese was less successful in attracting the majority of its wealthiest Greek residents. In such older settlements as Perth, Brisbane, Innisfail and Darwin where there was no split or not a serious one, the loyalty of wealthy Greeks to the Archdiocese was more or less assured by virtue of this class's leadership in the existing Communities.²

¹ The names of what has been termed 'Australia's wealthy Greeks' are as they appear in the various records. Apart from Greek newspapers such records included: The Calendar of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, 1960-8; the constitutions and other relevant documents of Archdiocese Communities and/or churches in the Registrar of Companies offices in capital cities; and the Hellenic Club (Sydney) annual reports which give a list of its members. The Archdiocese and particularly Archmandrite Ierotheos Kourteassis were generous in honouring P.E.S. leaders in Melbourne. Nine of them were awarded the 'Golden Cross of the Millennium of the Sacred Mountain' in a single ceremony in September, 1969. Nea Patris, 1 September, 1969.

² Archbishop Ezekiel did give (in 1966) his consent to his more wealthy flock residing in Mt. Gravatt and environs (in metropolitan Brisbane), to set up the separatist 'south side parish' but the project was abandoned in the face of severe criticism by many members of the old Community. The scheme for a separate congregation was revived soon after the Archbishop's re-appointment in August, 1969, but not without renewed opposition indicated by the current conflict in Brisbane. (Phos, 6 July, 1966, and Hellenic Herald, 4 February, 1970.) In the period under discussion, however, there was no exodus of old immigrants and Archdiocese loyalists from the Community. This was also true in the case of the Perth Community despite the separatist Evangelismos church. The Community consequently grew enormously in wealth including a Community Centre completed late in 1969 at a cost of something like £250,000. (Hellenic Herald, 13 August, 1969, and interview with Con Berbatis, May, 1970.) In Darwin the only reported loss to the Community was the millionaire Michael Paspalis who seems to have fallen out of favour with the Community's officers. (Neos Kosmos, 1 June, 1970.)

Consideration
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 By the mid-1960's the schism among Australia's Greeks was complete. The Second Clergy-Laity Assembly was scarcely over when a general meeting of the Sydney Community overwhelmingly voted to amend the Community's constitution so that this body could become completely free from the Archdiocese.¹ By the same constitution Community membership was limited to 1,000, a number largely comprised of the Archbishop's most bitter opponents many of whom were radical leftists. Even so, fears² that the Sydney Community would take advantage of its new legal position and leave the Archdiocese proved to be unfounded. Sydney Community

¹ Hellenic Herald, 14 October, 1965. The relevant Clause 3A (a) of the Community's constitution read as follows: '....it shall be an object of the Association to promote, establish, maintain and develop in New South Wales a Church which shall in all matters of faith and worship observe at all times the dogmas, holy canons and memorial usages of the Eastern Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Church but which in all matters shall be independent of control by the Patriarchate of Constantinople or any archbishop or bishop resident outside Australia and in particular shall be independent of control by the said persons or any of them over the appointment or qualifications of any archbishop, bishop, priest or other officer of the Church whether lay or clerical.'

² Hellenic Herald, 4 November, 1965, reported that Archbishop Ezekiel urged 700 or so members of his flock (assembled at the Sydney Town Hall to commemorate 'No Day') to rise and demonstrate against the Community leaders whom he blamed for the amendment in the Community's constitution. Yet this was the only important expression of concern and fear evident from the side of the Archdiocese.

leaders apparently were not willing to risk a substantial income assured by hiring canonical priests even though it meant, as argued elsewhere, tolerating a limit on the Community's expansion in terms of church building. Nor were they prepared to leave a church authority and become spiritually headless, a-cephaloi, which was the lot of other Federation Communities. Their policy was to 'fight the Archbishop from within', a policy which did not at that time impress their comrades in the Federation, but one which could pay dividends and point the way to the future. Indeed, by 1966 the Federation leaders were beginning to adopt a policy which envisaged returning to the Archdiocese so that their Communities would be in a similar position to that of the Sydney Community. The main problem was how to return to the official church without losing face and their rights.

The subsequent negotiations to terminate the schism were prolonged and fashioned by a number of new events and factors but on the whole they failed to achieve positive results because of several irreconcilable issues. The Federation no longer demanded the dissolution of the Archdiocese churches in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide and their absorption by the old or central Communities. Nor did the Federation raise an objection to Archbishop Ezekiel being the rightful representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. All that the Federation Communities demanded was for the Archbishop to take them back into the official church as

they were, which meant accepting their priests as being canonical, recognising as valid some 13,000 marriages and baptisms these priests had performed by 1969 and recognising and respecting the constitutions and rules by which Communities were governed.¹

The Federation also proposed that each side refrain from building churches near one another. While the Archbishop agreed to the latter proposal he was adamant in his demands that the Holy Canons be observed. Specifically this meant that priests ordained by Archbishop Sergi had to be re-ordained just like Archimandrite Methodios Livanos was. Invalid religious ceremonies were similarly to be made canonical while the Archbishop further insisted that recognition of his spiritual authority must be made explicit in the constitutions of Communities. Apart from these purely ecclesiastical principles obstructing the path to peace there were the social and political divisions of the two camps as well as personal animosities among their respective leaders. These divisions became even sharper after the military coup in Greece on 21 April, 1967. Many leaders of

¹ These terms had been adopted by the Federation as a whole in 1967 and were proposed to the Archbishop as a basis for a settlement. At a number of meetings between Federation and Archdiocese representatives, these proposals were discussed but the church repeatedly refrained from committing itself in writing. Interview: Demetrios Elefantis and Federation leaders.

Federation Communities, particularly that in Sydney, openly supported, and several became active, in the movement to restore Greek democracy.¹ Both precedent and conscious intent, especially from the more extreme ethnikophrone wing, prevailed on the Archdiocese to stand on the side of Greece's military government.² Even so, the desire for some sort of settlement was growing, particularly in view of the Federation's failure to establish a church authority of its own but also because of several problems the Archbishop faced.

¹ Among these were the presidents and several councillors of Federation Communities in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, many of whom became leaders of the 'Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece' - bodies which were constituted immediately after 21 April, 1967. The representation of Federation Communities on these Committees was not a formal one and although it also decreased with time the willingness of many leaders and members of Federation Communities to be identified with the cause for Greek democracy was clear. Interviews with Community leaders concerned. See also Neos Kosmos and Hellenic Herald from May, 1967, onwards.

² Much of the initial Archdiocese support for the Greek junta stemmed from King Constantine's willingness to work with the new regime. In Melbourne in May, 1969, thirteen Archdiocese churches officially expressed their 'respect and dedication' to King Constantine, as did a crowd reportedly numbering 5,000 which assembled outside the Greek consulate to celebrate the king's name-day. Phos, 10 and 24 May, 1967. Yet even after the king broke with the regime (on 13 December, 1967) the Archdiocese's relations with the military regime remained cordial. This was shown in many ways including Archbishop Ezekiel's willingness to address a pro-junta rally (in Sydney in April, 1970) which was organised to mark the third anniversary of the military coup. Ethnikon Vema, 11 May, 1970, and Neos Kosmos, 21 May, 1970.

The first of these was to terminate the schism and hence enhance his standing in the world's Orthodoxy. Just as important to the Archbishop was the need to do something about the growing discord within his own camp particularly in Melbourne. At the centre of this discord evident at least as early as November, 1966, was none other than Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis.¹ A number of priests, including the auxiliary bishop Dionysios Nazianzou, objected strongly to the rapid rise to power of Archimandrite Ierotheos, a priest they considered was illiterate, immoral and uncouth.² Among the honours Archimandrite Ierotheos amassed were those of Archdiocese Committeeman for Victoria, and Archimandrite of the Ecumenical Throne.³ The first honour which was also an important diocese administrative position undoubtedly

¹ Reverend Constantinos Thermos, the rector of the Archdiocese church in Richmond, Victoria, (interviewed in November, 1969), told the writer that an opposition against the Archbishop began forming as early as October, 1965, but this opposition did not become open until Phos began its attacks on Archimandrite Ierotheos and Pysros. Phos, 30 November, 14 December, 1966.

² Phos, 6 December, 1967, and passim. See also Pysros, 28 June, 1968, for an attack on bishop Dionysios who, Pysros claimed, was responsible for the split in the Archdiocese; and Pysros, 30 May, 1969, for an attack on the Patriarchal Exarch, Metropolitan Iakovos, because of the latter's 'recognition' of the pro-Phos Community council and priest in control of the Prahran church, all of whom Pysros considered usurpers of power.

³ The calendar of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese ~~of~~ ^{of} South Australia and New Zealand, 1967, p.44.

should have gone to Dionysios, a position which was, in any case, promised to him by the Archbishop at the Second Clergy-Laity Assembly in October, 1965.¹ By the end of 1968 the Archimandrite's newly-built St. John church could justly claim to be the centre of the Archdiocese in Melbourne, and not St.

Eustathios of South Melbourne as was intended. The Archimandrite's real power, however, derived from his influence in at least seven Archdiocese churches in Melbourne, which the Archimandrite apparently succeeded at placing in the hands of loyal P.E.S. men.²

This power the Archbishop could not very well ignore, but it was a power which generated a solid opposition to him. This opposition's sharpest weapon was Phos whose conflicting economic interests with Pyrsons, a paper very much at the disposal of Archimandrite Ierotheos, added to the discord.³

¹ Report of the Second Clergy-Laity Assembly, op.cit., p.12, and Phos, 10 December, 1969, which editorially, accused Archbishop Ezekiel of not honouring his promise of October, 1965.

² This claim was also made by Pyrsons, 20 December, 1968. St. Eustathios was purchased in 1967 and has been listed as the Archdiocese's offices in Melbourne ever since. Although this church's rector, Archimandrite Chrysostomos Vagiatzoglou, performed much of the clerical and public relations work of the Archdiocese, his influence within the Melbourne branch of the church seemed to be very little and insignificant compared with that of Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis.

³ Phos's virulent attacks against Archimandrite Ierotheos from 1966 onwards aimed, among other things, at dislodging his men from the Archdiocese churches they controlled since the early 1960's. Phos claimed to have succeeded in the aims in at least two churches, namely, Yarraville and Prahran. Phos, 29 May and 3 July, 1968. See also Pyrsons, 30 May, 1969, for an attack on what Pyrsons claimed was the illegal council of the Prahran Community, and Pyrsons, 23 February, 1968, for its attitude to the fall of the Yarraville church to Phos supporters.

By 1967 there was, therefore, considerable disaffection from the head of the Archdiocese, against whom a reformed Phos-party had crystallised. This was also indicated by Archbishop Ezekiel's failure to have his Deed ratified by his own Communities.¹ This Deed or Covenant sought to further tie his organised parishes to him and to his successors so that the Archbishop could press for what was termed a 'statutory corporation' of his Archdiocese. Yet it was not an established Greek Orthodox Church in Australia that his priests and faithful followers feared, but a clause in the Deed which stated that the tenure of every priest would be determined by the Archbishop.² This particular clause undoubtedly would have equipped the Archbishop with sufficient powers to discipline all recalcitrant priests and further strengthen his power over Communities. Such problems and the internal discord in his church were important factors that prevailed on the Archbishop to try and come to terms with the schismatics.

¹ The only Community known to have ratified the Deed was that of Mentone in metropolitan Melbourne. See the Constitution of the Greek Orthodox Community of Mentone and Districts "Taxiarhes" War Memorial Church, (published in book form), Melbourne, 1966.

² *Ibid.*, p.25.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate itself viewed the state of its Australian diocese and the negotiations that were being conducted ^{as} sufficiently important to request both Archbishop Ezekiel and Demetrios Elefantis, the Federation's president, to appear before it in Constantinople and there reach some agreement. Yet the mission to Constantinople early in 1968 was as fruitless in ending the schism as were the negotiations before and after the mission. On his return to Australia, Elefantis claimed that agreement which substantially met his Federation's demands was in fact reached, and contended that such an agreement was recorded in the minutes of the meeting in Constantinople.¹ The church has denied the existence of, or has failed to produce, such minutes containing the alleged agreement.² The matter was further complicated by the resignation of Archbishop Ezekiel soon after his meeting with the Patriarch, for reasons which are not clear but which seem to be related to alleged disagreement about the terms of settlement, his failing health and his failure to

¹ Interview: Demetrios Elefantis and Neos Kosmos, 25 December, 1968.

² *ibid.*

* The visit earlier (in 1966) of Dr. Paul Anderson, at the request of the Australian Council of Churches and with the agreement of the Ecumenical Patriarch, is considered by C. A. Price to have also been an important episode in the whole series of the negotiations. (Personal communication with C. A. Price.)

pacify his faction-stricken diocese.¹ Just as baffling were the terms and tactics for a settlement undertaken by the Ecumenical Exarch, Metropolitan Iakovos, during his stay in Australia between November, 1968, and July, 1969. The Exarch's solution was through kat' oikonomian, a special dispensation, which in the case of priests (easily the biggest obstacle), implied their re-ordination but this would not be made explicit in a public statement to be published after the settlement.² This scheme about which there was considerable misunderstanding, yet for which all seemed prepared, ended rather ignominiously on 25 June, 1969, in Melbourne. All ten uncanonical priests met the Exarch at the appointed

¹ In Phos, 17 April, 1968, Archbishop Ezekiel states that the reason for his resignation (which he handed to the Ecumenical Patriarch on 27 February, 1968) was his failing health. While this was very likely true, there is no doubt about the enormous problems and fierce discord in the Archdiocese about which he could do very little, and which, needless to say, took their toll on the Archbishop's health. Pyrros, 15 March, 1968, while admitting that the Archbishop's health was not the best, said that the Archbishop's resignation was brought about by circumstances created by '...communists...and by the various Brutuses and intriguers...whether...higher or lower clergy...'. Phos, 6 March, 1968, said that the Archbishop's resignation was 'a prudent act' and congratulated him.

² Interview: Reverend George Pappas and Federation Community leaders, May, 1969, Adelaide.

time and place expecting a formal and speedy recognition by the church's official representative only to be told that they must undergo a full re-ordination, according to church custom and practice.¹

What obstructed negotiations to end the schism in June, 1969, was not so much the irrevocable ecclesiastical principle and formalities, many of which the Exarch seemed willing to waive, but the deeper and more real divisions among the flock. Few Archdiocese loyalists, particularly the priests who were heavily committed and almost unanimous in their condemnation of the schismatics, were prepared to see them accepted back into the

¹ Ibid. and Neos Kosmos, 3 July, 1969; Pyrros, 4 July, 1969; and Hellenic Herald, 2 July, 1969. The Exarch's scheme, though bold, was rather vague from the very start. At a meeting between the Exarch and Federation leaders on 15 December, 1968, in Sydney, it was agreed to issue a joint public statement saying that settlement was achieved on the basis of 'what was decided in Constantinople' (Hellenic Herald, 18 December, 1968). But as noted in the text (p. 481 above) there was no such written agreement or decisions. Consequently each side was free to give its own interpretation to the terms of settlement. Despite the conflicting views expressed, negotiations did, nevertheless, proceed. In the course of the negotiation the Federation officials and priests believed that their demands were to be met and that the meeting scheduled for 25 June would be purely a formality, necessitated only by the need for the priest to receive official recognition in the Archdiocese. It is at this juncture that the Exarch's scheme and his role is vague if not enigmatic. Precisely how he proposed to simultaneously uphold the Holy Canons and satisfy the schismatics who flouted them, will never be known. For different and conflicting accounts of the abortive attempt to end the schism see Neos Kosmos, 3 July, 1969; Pyrros, 4 July, 1969, and Hellenic Herald, 2 July, 1969, and Nea Patris, 27 June, 1969.

official fold unpunished. Validating the heretical acts of the schismatics implicit in the Exarch's solution was tantamount to betrayal of the whole national-religious cause. Just as obnoxious to the faithful leaders of Archdiocese churches was the awareness that once recognised the Federation Communities stood to gain greatly in strength and prestige. Not without good reason tremendous pressure was placed on the Exarch at the last minute¹ to abandon his dangerous solution to the religious schism. This lobbying also co-incided with a simultaneous movement spear-headed by Archimandrite Ierotheos to bring back to Australia Archbishop Ezekiel.² The precise motives and interrelationships of the groups engaged in the inner church lobbying in the winter of 1969 are difficult to ascertain but their results are fairly obvious. The Exarch had to retract his course, announce the end of his mission a month later and thus pave the way for the return of Archbishop Ezekiel in September, 1969. Although Archbishop Ezekiel returned with a

¹ The opposition to a settlement as planned by the Exarch was evident all along (Pyrros, 17 January, 1969). The final blow to the plan, however, came two days before 25 June when a meeting of Archdiocese clergymen held in Melbourne resolved to oppose it, and to communicate their resolution to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

² According to Hellenic Herald, 30 July, 1969, a petition to bring back Archbishop Ezekiel was well under way. This is also the view of Reverend Constantinos Thermos (interviewed November, 1969) who added that the principal instigation of Archbishop Ezekiel's return was Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis.

desire to resume negotiations - he reportedly also admitted that as a human being he, too, had erred in the past¹ - his terms for a settlement were not substantially different from his unacceptable proposals made before his resignation.² Nor did the Archbishop appease his fierce critics in the Melbourne branch of the Archdiocese. As a protest against his re-appointment five of his churches closed their doors to the faithful on Sunday, 24 August, 1969.³ Several days earlier in a front page editorial Phos struck the following characteristically fierce note against Archbishop Ezekiel: 'Known for his medieval perceptions, intemperate despotism, his tragic extremes, and his extreme monkish empathy, before coming to Australia, he has announced that he comes an avenger, butcher, and sacrificer of Greek Orthodox people in the idolatrous altar of his egopathia and the serving of the most base human weaknesses of his patrons.'⁴

¹ Hellenic Herald, 1 October, 1969.

² According to Nick Manos (president of the Community in Adelaide) who spoke with Archbishop Ezekiel soon after his return, the Archbishop insisted on re-ordination of priests, applying Holy Myron on uncanonically baptised children, issuing new marriage certificates and constitutional changes in Federation Communities recognising his authority.

³ Phos, 27 August, 1969.

⁴ phos, 20 August, 1969.

Yet such scathing invectives against Archbishop Ezekiel did not distract him from the course he and the Ecumenical Patriarchate had mapped out to bring some order into their Australiasian diocese. One effective measure in this course was to appoint Bishop Dionysios as Metropolitan of the newly created diocese of New Zealand:¹ another was the appointment of Bishop Aristarchos (formerly auxiliary bishop of the Patriarch of Alexandria) in charge of the Victorian branch of the Archdiocese.² The latter measure simultaneously stripped³ Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis of much of his power and also placated his opponents within the Archdiocese. While these measures brought considerable peace in the Archdiocese, they were of little concern and of no direct benefit to the schismatics in the Federation whose demands were not met. The only course left open to Federation leaders was to press for a new spiritual leader - a course they embarked upon more earnestly late in 1969. Again the Federation looked to America where they managed to procure the services of Archbishop Spyridon, head of the Independent church. Unlike Photios, however, Spyridon was

¹ Hellenic Herald, 18 March, 1970.

² Voice of Orthodoxy, April, 1970.

³ Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis relinquished his title of Archimandrite of the Ecumenical Throne and his position as Archdiocese Committeeman for Victoria. Nea Patris, 20 April, 1970.

consecrated a bishop by two non-Greek episcopates of Orthodoxy,¹ and he also differed from Photios in that he vehemently opposed ecumenism - a movement which he saw as a threat to Greek Orthodoxy. Again like Photios, Spyridon was declared to be uncanonical by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Archbishop Ezekiel.² Whether or not the Federation will be more successful in establishing an independent Greek Orthodox Church in Australia under Spyridon than it was under Photios is not certain. What is certain at the time of writing in mid-1970 is that the religious schism which, officially at any rate, commenced exactly ten years earlier in Adelaide, is far from being terminated.

As has been argued, the causes of discord among Australia's Greeks were deep-rooted. Apart from the social and ideological divisions and the organisational fragmentation of ethnic communities, the schism also stemmed from the different concepts and principles that were to guide the structure, role and function of the Greek Orthodox Church. Although the debate often concerned the purely administrative side of canon

¹ See Cambana (New York), 2 and 16 April, 1969, for Archbishop Spyridon's consecration and his religious policies.

² Nea Patris, 25 May, 1970.

law and seldom Orthodox dogma and religious practices as such, the schism was really about the rights, prerogatives and powers of opposing authorities operating within ethnic communities. The long-term effects of the juxtaposition of what was a new and in many ways foreign system of church administration are yet to be seen but it was clear that the enforcement of this church system could not but generate opposition because it was contrary to the existing church system around which ethnic communities were, by and large, structured. The schism was also very much related to the impact that large-scale immigration had on ethnic communities and the associated problems of fashioning common institutions and authorities in a rapidly changing social environment. Indeed, it is significant that the schism was more pronounced in the larger ethnic communities where a combined force of Community loyalists and leftists offered a solid opposition to an authoritarian church system the essential base of which was Australia's more affluent Greek ethnikophrones.

CHAPTER VIIIASSIMILATION OR PRESERVATION

So far, in the writing of this thesis, a number of problems and themes have been considered, the most important of which concerned the interrelationship of the processes of Greek immigrant assimilation and conversely the preservation of what was broadly termed the hellenicity of Greeks. Throughout the research attention has been focussed on ethnic communities because these are a reality of Greek migration and settlement and because it was within the framework of ethnic communities that much of the processes of assimilation and preservation could be observed, assessed and understood. It has been argued that Greek ethnic communities abroad formed and functioned for a number of reasons but chiefly because of the cultural and, in the first instance, the linguistic barrier that separated Greeks from the rest of the populations in the societies in which they settled. Provided also that ethnic communities reached a certain population density and continued to grow through immigration they became self-sufficient in ways which ensured their existence as a permanent sub-culture in the host society. More will be said of the Greek sub-culture in Australia later. Here it is necessary first to deal with several problems and limits to the study of both the Greek sub-culture and Greek immigration assimilation.

As the analysis was confined, by and large, to ethnic communities - and to only a few of them at that - Greeks outside their precincts were necessarily excluded. The story revealed concerned those who actively participated in ethnic communities, not those who were ^{disgusted at the frequent quarrels and withdrew,} ~~passive,~~ or simply disinterested or who were possibly assimilated and severed all connections from ethnic communities, institutions and Greek affairs. The research can claim to have revealed the main patterns in Greek migration and settlement, the typical ethnic community structures, and life and activities within these structures. Yet like the history of all peoples, that of Greeks in Australia could be written merely on the basis of the visible data available. Furthermore, the main group considered was adult Greek immigrants: the broad, and now rapidly-growing second-generation 'Greek-Australian' category did not receive the detailed treatment it deserved as a special yet an integral section of ethnic communities. Much more investigation is necessary to reveal the more precise nature of this category of people, its relationship with, and degree of involvement in, ethnic communities and also to ascertain its role in the process of Greek immigrant assimilation. As a study in immigrant assimilation this research is limited in scope and methodology, both of which were influenced by the nature of the immigrant group examined and by what the writer thought was important and relevant to the study of Greeks. As such the

research cannot claim to have posed all the questions that could be posed in the study of an immigrant group, nor to have supplied complete answers to the questions that were posed. There are additional reasons why this is so.

Complete assimilation of immigrants by a receiving society is the result of a long, complicated and multi-stage process. The process is fashioned, accelerated or retarded by numerous factors many of which are variable. The degree of assimilation, moreover, attained, during given periods of time, varies with groups and individual immigrants. Much, for example, depends on the age of immigrants upon entry and their cultural backgrounds; the size of the immigrant community which receives the new settlers; the prevailing attitudes of the host society whether to immigrants in general or attitudes to particular immigrants; and the availability of opportunities for economic, educational and social advancement and the consequent degree of satisfaction of the various needs of immigrants. This research did consider several stages or phases in immigrant assimilation which social scientists have apparently agreed to discern though it avoided the more specialised terminology that is used to describe them.¹ The terms describing the different stages in assimilation as these were understood and sometimes used by the writer were 'economic incorporation' to denote mainly the occupational position of Greek immigrants; 'social integration'

¹ For a summary of these stages in assimilation see C. A. Price, op.cit., p.201.

to denote the degree of participation and the position of Greeks in the various sections and levels of Australian society but particularly in the more organised sections of society; and 'acculturation' to denote the degree to which Greeks adopted Australian cultural and behavioural norms and ways of life. Also considered were such things as residential and marital tendencies but only in so far as these were relevant to the study of ethnic communities.

Assimilation may also be a two-way process in which case immigrants may affect changes in the society that eventually absorbs them. As no important changes in Australia's predominantly Anglo-Saxon society and culture can be attributed to non-Britishers, assimilation inevitably tended towards and has been generally gauged by the standards of the host society. This research could not avoid such an approach. What it did avoid were certain methods that are sometimes employed to measure one or more stages in assimilation. One such method purporting to gauge acculturation is to ascertain the progress immigrants make in adopting between two points in time what may be termed typical Australian behavioural norms. However accurate such measurements may be, the methods and techniques used are those of specialists or certain sociologists working in particular fields of immigrant assimilation. Their methods, moreover, are more usefully employed in the study of small manageable groups of

immigrants considered over a comparatively short period of time.¹ As such they were omitted from this research on additional grounds, which indicate the writer's more particular approach to the study of Greek immigrant assimilation.

First, this research was concerned with a relatively large group of immigrants: it was also a diverse group of people, a factor which must be borne in mind should attempts be made to categorise Greeks into one homogeneous group. Second, the time-span considered was lengthy - about three quarters of a century in fact - in which case the cultural and behaviour patterns and the economic, social and political life of both immigrant and native would be expected to change. Third, and more importantly, while it may be possible to measure accurately such things as the acculturation of immigrants and their Australian social and political attitudes, these measurements do not always tell much about the concomitant process, namely, the retention by immigrants of their former culture in all its varied forms. The processes of adoption and rejection of culture are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In other words it is possible for immigrants to be simultaneously both Greek and Australian. They could for that matter be neither,

¹ For a brief but informative account of these and other methods in the study of immigrant assimilation see Jean I. Martin, Refugee Settlers, Canberra, 1965, pp. 80 - 102.

but considering the nature and function of ethnic communities the need to be a Greek and an Australian at the same time is the precise position in which Greeks found themselves.

With some justification the study of Greek immigrant assimilation can be more fruitfully approached in terms of ethnic communities and of the consequent dual social and cultural situations of Greeks. These ethnic enclaves must also be seen in their full historical context. This means seeing ethnic communities as emerging in response to the transplantation of Greeks in Australia and simultaneously as part of the Greek diaspora. The latter factor is important because in fashioning their ethnic institutions in Australia Greeks were often acting consciously on precedents set by diaspora Greeks in previous centuries - probably much more so than other immigrant groups except perhaps the Jews - and always in order to create the means by which their culture and identity could be fostered, preserved and perpetuated. The consequent belief in their ability to survive as a distinct people with a viable culture was reinforced further by the nature and quality of the host society as immigrants themselves experienced and conceived it. Apart from being vastly different, Australian society was also the dominant society and culture so that it was necessary to devise all manner of defensive measures. The written constitutions of

most immigrant organisations invariably spoke of the need to preserve the culture, ethics and customs of members, cultivate respect for Australian law and offer mutual aid and protection to members. Other features of the host society which contributed to combination among immigrants and to the perpetuation of the Greek sub-culture were that it was often insensitive to the special needs of immigrants who consequently felt excluded, discriminated against and relegated to an inferior social status; it was sometimes a hostile, intolerant and xenophobic society, not always philoxenic (hospitable) as Greeks in particular would have it; and was found wanting, at least by Greek standards, in several important qualities and human values including the close family and kinship ties and the reputed Greek quality, philotimo, which literally means love of honour, but which is probably better interpreted as 'doing the right thing'. The attitudes of immigrants and natives about one another were constantly changing and varied with time, place and individuals. But generally Greeks did not experience and enjoy Australian mateship and egalitarianism nor, until the post-1940 period, were they treated generously by the Australian economic nemesis. Coupled with strong notions of national superiority and racial purity evident among both Greeks and Australians and the numerous economic and social forces that contributed to ethnic segregation, the formation of the Greek sub-culture was understandable.

Even though the sub-culture was changing and continuously becoming more diverse, it was nonetheless permanent and assumed a particular character and life of its own from an early period of formation. Whatever its other causes this permanency also stemmed from the usefulness and significance in the life of immigrants of the sub-culture's component parts. Consequently a study of ethnic institutions and organisations and ascertaining the degree of involvement in them, became a study, and in some ways a measure of Greek immigrant assimilation.

The most important medium of national survival and identification, and one which more so than other ethnic institutions was meaningful to the life of Greek immigrants, was the Greek Orthodox Community. If the 'Church was the natural mother and protector of the Greek people abroad' the Community was the micro-cosmos of the Greek nation state in Australia. Each Community embodied most of the pan-Hellenic traditions and encompassed all Greeks including the atheist and the communist. Until very recently Communities were also the organisers of the Greek Orthodox Church which meant that Communities inherited all the ambiguities and problems of a transplanted national church. Yet the religious function of Communities also accounted for much of their strength and viability. Not only were Communities able to enjoy the recognition and support of church and consular authorities and reduce the clergy to mere yet active full-time

employees, they were also able to channel much church revenue to purely secular needs and activities of its members and those of the whole ethnic community. The process by which Communities tended to secularise and democratise an otherwise hierarchical and authoritarian church was arrested after 1959 but only partially. The Archdiocese itself did not, or could not, discard easily the established practices and aspirations of the flock that manned its church-Communities - certainly not in the old Communities of Perth and Brisbane but also in the comparatively new Community of Berri (S.A.), all of which chose to remain loyal to the Archdiocese, accept its religious leadership and regulations and even tolerate splinter church groups in their midst. As was seen the factors and issues which precipitated the present religious schism were numerous. While the principal parties involved in the schism differed sharply over questions of church administration and therefore of democracy, just as important was the question of establishing Communities or similar bodies wherever the number of immigrants warranted them. The inevitable tendency always was to found a Community and with it a church and school or schools, whether such a ~~settlement~~^{Community} was in a large metropolitan area, a densely populated suburb or a country town, and transform each Community into a Greek microcosmos. Subject to several limitations the microcosmos was a democratic institution and strove as best it could to impart its ideals on

institutions and authorities with which it became unavoidably related and interlinked. Because Communities were permanent institutions they became important centres around which much of ethnic community life and politics revolved.

Consequently Communities ^{usually} demanded and received from Greeks a much greater and more lasting degree of support and involvement than did other immigrant organisations. Formal membership to Archdiocese and Federation Communities alike may have been, and was, at different times and places denied to those not considered loyal but never, or rarely, access to the Communities' activities and available facilities. Although Communities did not grow proportionately with the numerical growth of ethnic communities their multiple aims and activities ensured their special position and strength. This was also true in the case of schismatic Communities whose steady growth during the decades before the current schism and their acceptable programmes and activities have constituted important sources of strength. By comparison these Communities are not as influential within their respective ethnic communities as are those in Perth, Brisbane, Darwin or Canberra, yet Federation Communities still command considerable support. Particularly is this so with the old Community in Adelaide which by mid-1970 owned four churches, including the formerly independent St. Nicholas church in

Thebarton¹ (as against five Archdiocese churches in metropolitan Adelaide); administered twenty-four schools where 1300 pupils attended (as against about one-third this number of schools and pupils belonging to the Archdiocese); owned property valued at one-half million dollars most of which has been paid off; engaged a staff of thirty-eight (six of whom are hired on a full-time basis); organised frequent and successful social gatherings - one of these, the annual Grecian Ball, still being the main social attraction of the entire ethnic community; and has, moreover, attracted, unlike its sister bodies in the Federation, Archbishop Spyridon, the head of the Autocephalic Orthodox Church of America and Australia.² Also, unlike its sister bodies and many of its opponents in the Archdiocese, the Adelaide Community traditionally pursued a policy of almost unrestricted membership: even Archdiocese loyalists have been tolerated in its ranks. This policy has not yielded an annual financial membership greater

¹ This church but not its adjacent 'Lemnos' hall was purchased by the Community in mid-1970.

² At the time of writing (December, 1970) numerous problems were being confronted in establishing the independent church. One of them was the apparent unwillingness of a large section of the Melbourne Community including its president Demetrios Elefantis (hitherto also the president of the Federation) to support the independent church and Archbishop Spyridon. (See Neos Kosmos, 3, 10 and 13 December, 1970, and passim.) Indeed, the movement in the Melbourne Community is to return to the official church in response to Archbishop Ezekiel's sudden decision to meet the Community's terms for settling and terminating the religious differences.

than the 600-700 range (in a settlement probably ten times this number of people who could be said to qualify for membership) but such a policy has placed the Community on a mass basis. Yet like other Communities the Adelaide Community's source of strength must also be explained in terms of its ability to involve a large section of the ethnic community in what have become to be established forms of activities. These have been further planned and implemented by a whole army of activists which include the salaried staff (priests, psalters, sextons, school teachers and office secretary); by its fifteen-member council which operates through numerous church, school, social welfare and cultural and property sub-committees; and by the supervisory council (formerly called the trustees), a body where former Community leaders are sometimes retired but one whose members often take an active part in Community activities and administration.¹ That any Community's aims and functions account for much of its growth, strength and viability is also evident in the case of Archdiocesan Community's including those with no formal membership. One such body is the Holy Trinity church in Richmond, Victoria. This church's rector and a small number of appointed councillors have been managing since the early 1960's a church, an adjacent school building and, since the mid-1960's, four other schools in different parts of the suburb at which over 700 pupils attended: among these pupils were fifty who were receiving lessons equivalent to first year Greek

¹The information concerning the Community in Adelaide was procured from its officials and from field work, and from information supplied by the Community's office secretary, Mrs. Antigone Vassou.

secondary school level. The social welfare services given by this small group of zealots to Greeks inhabiting the whole suburb are equally significant.¹

Hence whatever the particular constitutional structure of Greek Orthodox Communities and their relationship with the official church their importance stemmed from and depended on their actual roles. For it was within the more immediate framework of Communities that Greek immigrants were married, baptised their children and in a more formal way brought them up as Orthodox Christians, and were eventually buried. Here they worshipped, frequently entertained themselves, made friends and sometimes enemies; gave and received charity and expressed their loyalty and attitudes to their former nation; asserted themselves and sought positions of influence, status, leadership, power, and an identity. While high and low churchmen, career diplomat and honorary consul came and departed, the Community institution with its church, hall, schools remained to give meaning to, bind together, and dominate the ethnic community.

¹ This information was procured from field work and from an interview with the church's rector Constantinos Thermos in May, 1969. One other difference between the Richmond church and the more normal Community organisation was that the former's property, valued at approximately \$80,000 in May, 1969, was held by trustees who were also appointed. In Communities property is held and managed by elected councillors - elected by fees-paying members considered by law as shareholders of the Community company.

If a community was the microcosmos of the Greek nation, the nation's diverse geographical and cultural divisions were represented by regional fraternities. Regionalism or localism, topikismos, was seen operating in all sorts of ways and it is not yet a spent force in ethnic communities. Apart from regional fraternities, which in some ways have been closer to the life of immigrants than have Communities (especially the large Communities whose relations with immigrants often tended to be impersonal) regionalism has also manifested itself, in several ways. In framing the constitution¹ of their Apostolos Andreas church-Community in Sunshine, Victoria, Greek Cypriots took great care to be in a position of exercising complete control in a settlement which by the mid-1950's was becoming (and eventually became) inhabited predominantly by immigrants from Greece. A priest from Cyprus managed to attract a large section of Adelaide's Greek Cypriot community, especially those from the town of Aradippou, to the St. Spyridon church Community in Unley and away from the old Community. Similarly many Greek Macedonians preferred the services of their own Macedonian priests in the churches of St. George (Thebarton, S.A.) and St. Nicholas (Yarraville, Vic.). Even though Kytherans have been ousted or displaced from the old Community in Sydney many Kytherans still patronise the Community's Holy Trinity church where the Kytheran Association continues as

¹ The constitution of the Cypriot Community of Sunshine 'Apostolos Andreas', and interviews with the Community's president, Archilleas Andreou, and other officials, May, 1970.

always to observe annually (in mid-August) the anniversary of Kythera's patron saint, the All Holy Panagia Myrtidiotissa.

Just as significant in terms of regionalism is the fact that a large section of Ikarians were always to be found in the ranks of the radical left club of Platon (Adelaide) and Atlas (Sydney).¹

Regional fraternities often have espoused and identified themselves with the wider pan-Hellenic and nationalist aspirations but in ways that looked towards the strengthening of regional group solidarity and cohesion. In the pre-war period organised regional groups often provided the base for Greek Orthodox Communities and sometimes the spearhead movements for national causes. In the post-war period such causes were exemplified by the movement of Dodecanesians, Cypriots and Northern Epirots (from southern Albania) for the incorporation of the of birth with the Greek nation and by the agitation of Greek Macedonians against the pretensions and activities of Slav-Macedonians. Nationalism, among other sentiments, is especially evident in the aims of the National Panmacedonian Organisation which were promulgated on its foundation in October, 1960, and which have guided this fraternity's activities subsequently:

¹ The information concerning the existence of regionalism in all the instances cited was procured from field work.

'fight anti-nationalist propaganda at the expense of our special fatherland, Macedonia, Greece, as well as our adopted fatherland, Australia. Its first protest was against the founding of the Slav-Macedonian Church in Melbourne. This church is composed of bad Macedonians who fled or who were expelled to iron curtain countries because of their anti-national activities against the fatherland'.¹

Activities and manifestos such as these may not have achieved the desired aims yet they did provide a powerful stimulus for regional group awareness. The other factors that account for the viability of regional fraternities stem from their role in the life of the members in Australia.

Unless regional fraternities were undergoing internal disputes and subdivisions there was no reason why their aims and activities could not enjoy the support of all co-regionals. Apart from a sense of duty to the ideals of the fraternity the various gatherings and activities undertaken provided opportunities for much social intercourse. This inevitably enhanced regional group cohesion and marriage within the group, institutionalised the fraternity and perpetuated regional group culture. The forces of integration to the ethnic community and of assimilation to the host society were naturally eroding regional group cohesion. Yet the ability of regional fraternities to survive is truly remarkable, especially in view of the fact that the most viable fraternities are also those of the older regional chain settlements.

¹ Phos, 19 and 26 October, 1960.

These are the Ithacans of Melbourne and the Kastellorizans of Sydney and Melbourne whose fraternities, apart from acquiring valuable property, also have moved to the advanced stage of maintaining active women's and youth auxiliaries,¹ thus catering for members of the second and third generations. A number of reasons accounting for this phenomenon need to be noted because some light is cast on the question of assimilation both within and outside ethnic communities and also on what happened to regional groups in the process of the important changes resulting from large scale immigration. First, as argued elsewhere,² the older the regional group (and provided also that no great influx of co-regionals occurred to impose new and different demands on the regional fraternity or cause organisational divisions) the more the fraternity ordered its activities and programmes to correspond to and satisfy the needs of its members in Australia. Among those whom fraternities had to serve were the Australian-born. Their attachment and loyalty to the regional group and their preference for more Australian-type of youth, sporting and recreational activities, did prevent somewhat their absorption by other pan-Hellenic organisations. Second, the Ithacans of Melbourne and Kastellorizans of Sydney were not numerically strong, in view of

¹The Kastellorizans of Sydney have had a youth section which was given to sporting activities ever since 1945: the Ithacans of Melbourne since the late 1950's.

²See Chapter VI.

the rapid and enormous growth of their respective ethnic communities, to assert themselves, lead and control such pan-Hellenic bodies as Communities and thus offer opportunities to their members. They were certainly not in the position of Kastellorizans in Perth who founded, nurtured and ruled the Community and its various auxiliaries for about forty years. So much so in fact that Kastellorizans seemed to have neglected their own fraternity. As argued elsewhere, Kastellorizans controlled the Perth Community by sheer weight of numbers rather than by a conscious desire to exclude others: Kastellorizans willingly accepted an Epirot as president of the Community throughout the 1960's. Third, these two regional groups were sufficiently concentrated and large (Melbourne's Ithacans number about 1500 and Sydney Kastellorizans a half this strength) to yield the financial resources necessary for club rooms and sports teams yet not too large numerically to create impersonal relations among members and pose difficulties in becoming organised. Fourth, both Ithacans and Kastellorizans came from small islands which were not conducive to important geographical and cultural divisions.

Unlike those in the United States, regional fraternities in Australia have not reached what seems to be a much more advanced, if not the ultimate, stage of development: this was the formation of national federations to help co-ordinate the activities of local chapters or lodges. Deep involvement in Community and church affairs, the religious, social and political divisions among many co-regionals - divisions which have often resulted from such involvement - and the fact that most regional chain settlements coalesced and became organised in the last ten or so years, are no doubt some of the reasons preventing the formation of national federations of regional fraternities.¹ Another very important reason was the existence of pan-Hellenic institutions and organisations. Their nature and aims have been dealt with sufficiently to avoid further analysis. What is relevant here is to note that pan-Hellenic organisations of all types, like Communities and regional fraternities, were necessary in the life of immigrants; that they contributed to the complexity of the social network of ethnic communities; and more importantly, that they were part of the whole process of organisational fragmentation of ethnic communities - a process of many causes and consequences but

¹ The only attempt to form a national federation was undertaken by Cypriots in March, 1970. Delegates from Cypriot fraternities in Melbourne, Adelaide, Sydney and Brisbane, met in Melbourne and decided to found the Federation of Cyprian Communities and Brotherhoods of Australia. See this Federation's official organ, Cyprus Echo, September, 1970.

one by which power and authority were being shared and distributed continually among wider sections of communities. Because such pan-Hellenic organisations as sports and workers' clubs were concerned more with activities that brought them in direct contact with members of the host society than with activities associated with the preservation of ethnic mores and values (whether national or regional), these organisations also acted as more important and direct agents to assimilation than did other immigrant organisations. Yet this role of sports and workers' clubs should not be exaggerated. Alongside other immigrant societies, sports and workers' clubs were an integral part of the organisational structure of ethnic communities. Their activities were consequently circumscribed and their existence made meaningful in terms of ethnic community culture and politics. This was shown in numerous instances and amply exemplified by the very close relationship evident between Communities and their auxiliary sports and youth clubs - a relationship which is still maintained in Perth; the involvement of the sports' federation, PASA, in ethnic community structures and politics and its eventual dissolution at the height of the religious schism; the politicising of Greek soccer clubs; and the deep involvement in ethnic community and church politics of the organised Greek radical left using workers' clubs and other agencies ever since 1932.

The power of ethnic communities to draw inward and retain agencies which were otherwise facilitating assimilation was indeed great and born of many forces. Among the more relevant of these at this juncture, in that they help to partly explain the high degree of immigrant participation in ethnic institutions and organisations, was the social status mobility that was occurring in ethnic communities. Being, by and large, excluded from the host society in the pursuit of social status, positions of office and opportunities for leadership, immigrants inevitably turned to their own ethnic world. An immigrant's social position probably more so than that of the native's, depended to a large extent on his economic achievement - an achievement which, given his inferior economic position upon entry, could only result from long hours of work, frugality, savings, investment and luck or simply entrepreneurial prowess. Other factors which were impelling Greek immigrants to establish themselves, and do so quickly, were the numerous obligations to kinsmen they had left behind and to those who accompanied or followed them; the awareness that the acquisition of economic affluence was, once they left Greece, to be one of their principal role and purpose in life just as it has always been so with estranged Greeks; and the need to achieve an economic position comparable to that of natives and compatriots in Australia. Because nearly every immigrant started his new life

at the same penniless level, economic success necessarily implied personal ability. Established immigrants, moreover, possessed other important qualifications for office and leadership particularly from the viewpoint of newcomers. Apart from their ability to assist financially ethnic institutions and needy individuals, older immigrants had useful knowledge of the English language, the laws of the host society and useful contacts and friends including contacts with people in authority and influence. Changes and the associated conflicts arising from class, political, cultural and regional differences and the uneven flow of immigrants, particularly the rapid and massive influx after 1952, often confounded and interrupted the normal process by which the older and more established immigrants were being pushed into positions of leadership and office. Yet there was little doubt about the existence and importance of such ethnic community social mobility, more so since the organisational fragmentation of ethnic communities continuously increased opportunities to office. Given the existence of 550 or so formal organisations which function at present, the number of such offices - whether held by salaried officials, honorary executive officers, councillors or committeemen and sub-committeemen - stands at well over 10,000.¹

¹ This is only a rough estimate stated to stress the point. Most of the constitutions of organisations that were studied provided for councils of between nine and eleven. Yet the large organisations always set up standing sub-committees thus involving more members. To consider the old Community in Adelaide in mid-1970 once more, its salaried and honorary officers at all levels numbered about 110.

The most important office in an immigrant organisation open to all of its members and ardently sought for by some has been always that of president. The many opportunities and the frequent struggles to win such an office have been common place among ethnic communities. Hence the saying: 'if you are in a cafeneio and call out "Mr. President" all will turn to see you'. To gain and hold the presidency was never a mean task, for the president had to command the support and respect of his councillors who elected him¹ and, therefore, the support of the ruling party or faction of the organisation. This was especially true in the case of Greek Orthodox Communities which were situated in the large ethnic communities. The way to the Community presidency at least before the present religious schism may well have traversed the following long and arduous road: become a successful businessman, join the Community, attend church services regularly, and donate generously to the Community; help found or join a regional fraternity and/or a pan-Hellenic organisation and gain office in such organisations, but preferably the presidency; strive to have such organisations identify with and assist in the Community's aims and work and recruit adherents to the Community and thus enhance one's chances of becoming elected to the Community council. The chances of such an election would be enhanced further if the candidate managed to procure support from and enter into an alliance

¹ The only known cases where presidents were elected directly by members were the Panhellenic Society of S.A. and the Community in Perth.

(usually by promising to exchange votes) with other candidates seeking a similar office. Further, he should serve for a long period on the Community council and on important sub-committees before making a bid to gain what is sometimes considered to be a preceding position or stage to the Community presidency, namely, the office of treasurer, secretary and closer still, the vice-presidency. The religious schism and the rise of other Communities have decreased the prestige of a Community president in any one ethnic community but not the opportunities and the drive for such offices. Indeed, many of the splits and divisions in organisations can be traced to this drive or the inability of existing organisations to satisfy all the contenders for office.

Two other features associated with and in part derived from this drive for office need to be noted: the stimulus to form new organisations and thus make Greeks in Australia easily the most organised or the most organisation-minded immigrant group;¹ and the consequent increase in involvement by Greeks in ethnic communities. Although immigrant organisations have been able to marshal the complete commitment, in terms of being financial members,² of

¹ Caroline N. Preston studying Italians in 1969 discovered that there was only seven formal organisations catering for the Italian community in Adelaide - a community which was larger than the Greek community.

² In almost every organisation investigated by the writer it was found that the number of financial members (or what may be termed active and fully committed members) at any one time was always much smaller than the total number of people recorded in membership lists as having been financial members at one time or another.

only a minority of their adherents, it does not follow that such organisations were also losing their meaning and importance: nor that ethnic communities were disintegrating. Assimilation did no doubt account for many members losing interest in and eventually severing their relations with their respective organisations. But there were other reasons for such losses. Among these were the drift into other organisations that emerged from the divisions and sub-divisions of existing organisations and from the formation of entirely new ones: the internal migratory movement from State to State, from one ethnic community to another and movement to the outer or different suburbs in large metropolises away from the centre of an organisation's activities; and the sheer neglect of an organisation's officers to collect, and of members to pay, annual fees. At all events involvement in ethnic communities and institutions occurred in numerous ways and meant much more than upholding meticulously the rules of formal organisations.

Apart from the more formal organisations and institutions such as coffeehouses, lesches and newspapers, one more feature of ethnic communities accounts for much of its distinctiveness, and involvement by Greek immigrants. This feature was that ethnic communities tend to become self-sufficient in some aspects of economic life, particularly in the distribution of consumer goods and services. This partial economic self-sufficiency occurred at an advanced stage of ethnic community development and presupposed

large and concentrated settlements such as those of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide but also in such suburban immigrant concentrations as Marrickville and Newtown in Sydney and Prahran in Melbourne. A good example of this partial economic self-sufficiency is that presently operating in Adelaide and which is concentrated greatly in the lower section of Hindley Street. This will be examined briefly because it illumines a number of questions including the fact that an ethnic community may also develop its own quasi economic base.

From an early period of settlement Greeks flocked to Hindley Street mainly because it was situated in a relatively undeveloped part of the city and hence offered cheap rents and buildings: Hindley Street was also an important transit point not far from Adelaide's principal thoroughfares, the Railway Station and King William and Currie Streets. Yet before 1950 Hindley Street contained no more than a dozen ^{typical} ~~traditional~~ Greek enterprises: coffeehouses some of which also offered sleeping quarters and food; there was also a Greek butcher, a grocer and one or two barbers. Mass Greek immigration among other factors changed lower Hindley Street immensely. By 1970 it contained half-a-dozen Greek coffeehouses (but no sleeping quarters) and as many travel agents; several real estate agents, chemists, doctors, barbers, tailors, restauranters, photographers, and two opal dealers; a lawyer, a jeweller and watchmaker, a wealthy butcher and grocer, a dry cleaner, a newspaper and printery,

a dance studio, a car service station manager, a bank manager and several bank clerks, and a tax consultant. In addition there is a large retail store, owned and largely patronised by Greeks, that deals in a variety of household appliances and furniture produced in Australia and a wide range of imported Greek products such as ornaments, music, records, books and newspapers. Some of these goods and services are also available in Greek establishments outside Hindley Street though within or near the city proper. But there are other and different ones offered to Greeks by Greek architects, icon painters, candlestick makers, orchestras, night-clubs and two cinemas; by a baker and pastry cooks; by several manufacturers, importers and by numerous retailers of continental foods; and by fishermen and seafood merchants, gardeners and greengrocers. Many of these establishments are similarly within reach of customers passing through or visiting the ethnic community's quasi-economic base. The economic activity of Adelaide's ethnic community is indeed thriving and decidedly concentrated leaving very little to the inner suburbs. Not even pantopoleia (shops which in theory deal in all things but in practice only sell consumer goods and mostly food products) exist in suburban centres as they do in Sydney and Melbourne.

The development of ethnic communities to the stage where they assumed structural forms designed and often adequate to supply much of the social, political, cultural, and a few economic

needs of immigrants, inevitably necessitated considerable participation in the whole Greek sub-culture. Because ethnic institutions and organisations were rarely a part or an extension of Australian institutions Greeks could also be said to have been insulated from the rest of the host society. Yet it does not follow that Greeks were failing to become assimilated or reach some of the stages in the assimilation process. The methodology employed in this research and the postulate that adopting a new culture does not imply rejection of the old, prevent or make difficult the precise measurements of these changes and therefore of assimilation. Yet some of the changes were clearly discernible. So too were the actual forces and factors of Australianisation that were constantly influencing Greek immigrants and helping change, modify and transform their seemingly patterned ethnic world. What now remains, is to trace a few of these factors, see their influence on Greek immigrants, and hence ascertain their importance in assimilation.

Before this is done a distinction needs to be drawn between two sets of factors that operate to determine, more or less, the mode and degree of immigrant assimilation. The more forceful set, which usually operates in the early period of the immigrant's life, is associated with such pressing needs as the acquisition of economic, political, civil and legal rights and also with the pressure to accept and conform to the other host

society's laws, codes and standards of public conduct; the other, relates to social and cultural integration and the adoption of host societal ways of and outlook in life including the degree of attainment of Australian national consciousness. This distinction is necessary because the stages in assimilation resulting from the first set of factors are somewhat enforced and unavoidable and as such cannot be taken as a reliable guide to assimilation. The second set, given established ethnic communities, operates in a situation where immigrant and native cultures compete and blend more freely so that immigrants are presented with alternatives from which to choose and decide their cultural and social values and eventually their position in society. The intention here is not to minimise or ignore the effectiveness of the more forceful factors in assimilating immigrants but to stress the importance of ethnic communities. As long as ethnic communities existed immigrants could not attain the final stage in assimilation, a stage which is said to be (when the immigrant stock not only becomes indistinguishable from native stock in terms of culture and physique but feels itself, and is felt by others, to be quite indistinguishable'.¹ Indeed, not only were Greeks conspicuous in a number of ways but there was evidence that they also consciously resisted assimilation. Such resistance, moreover, was imparted to children through such ethnic institutions as Greek schools where the virtues of Greece's long historical and cultural traditions

¹ C. A. Price, op. cit., p.201.

and those of the Greeks as a race were actively taught and propagated. Immigrants naturally lived and practiced much of the Greek ways and culture in their own homes: under favourable climatic conditions, such as in Adelaide, immigrants also practised some of their domestic horticulture - trellising grape vines and growing Greek vegetables, shrubs, herbs and flowers - in an attempt to reconstruct more fully the Old World. But more important in averting complete assimilation was that conditions in Australia favoured the existence, during a long period of time, of concentrated immigrant enclaves and within these of permanent institutions thus enabling Greeks to foster and practice in an organised way their own culture. The best that can be said of the more forceful factors is that they constituted the necessary conditions for the assimilation of Greek immigrants.

The most important condition necessary for the eventual assimilation of immigrants was their successful economic settlement. Regardless of the economic position of Greek immigrants in relation to other groups in the host society they were, and they knew they were, much better off than in Greece. Large and small economic depressions disrupted successful settlement and took their toll as did discrimination in employment opportunities and the many hardships experienced by Greeks in making a living in Australia. Yet there was little doubt about the incorporation of Greek immigrants by the Australian economic system particularly

after 1940 - an incorporation made plain from the fact that the departure rate among Greeks was extremely low.¹ What also made return to Greece unlikely and difficult was the great distance between Australia and Greece and the practice of Greek emigrants of sometimes selling, disowning or discarding their former property rights. More important as an agent to assimilation, was the fact that, once immigrants became established economically, their interests were tied up in and identified with the Australian nation and society. To be sure, many immigrants often thought and dreamed of their birthplace and some even had planned to return one day with their Australian fortunes. Yet these were idle dreams: most of those who trod the risky path of return came back to Australia once more, often empty handed. As the more economically successful settlers saw their interests derive from the host society it follows that the wealthier Greeks were more prone to assimilation than were the poorer ones. This is true because the wealthier Greeks also lived in Australia longer; many of them, moreover, lived in country towns and in the outer or better metropolitan suburbs, away from ethnic community institutions and the mainstream of ethnic community politics. There were, of course, countervailing forces to this pattern of assimilation, the most important of which was the power of attraction by ethnic communities - a power which also attracted

¹ See Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics, No. 3, Canberra, 1969, pp. 52 - 60; and Appendix B.

members of the second generation, particularly if their professions and businesses relied on an immigrant clientele. Such patterns of assimilation through economic absorption or because of economic interests are by no means clear and varied from community to community and with time. Although the more established immigrants generally fail to attain the stage of complete assimilation they are perpetually at a more advanced stage than newcomers. Perhaps it is significant also that few post-war immigrants were to be found in, or cared to join, such pre-war organisations as the numerous AHEPA lodges and the Hellenic club in Sydney and why older immigrants became pre-occupied with the more important and permanent institutions such as Communities and the official Orthodox Church. Yet, the picture is by no means clear. For example, Fiona Mackie investigating the religious schism in Melbourne during the mid-1960's discovered that the anti-Archdiocese group was on the whole more assimilated or 'were significantly more likely to hold certain values in common with those expected of Australians....'.¹

¹ Fiona Mackie, "A Sociological Study of the Influence of the the Greek Church Split on the Assimilation of Greeks in an Inner-City of Melbourne", M.A. Thesis, Monash University, 1968, p.201. In this study Fiona Mackie examined a sample of church-goers patronising Evangelismos church owned by the old Community, and another sample of those patronising the Archdiocese Holy Trinity church of Richmond. Considering the issues involved in the schism and the composition of the contending groups and factions (see Chapter VII) Mackie's discoveries are no doubt true. But in the long run there is no doubt of the tendency of the more established immigrants to become attracted to the official Greek Orthodox Church.

By contrast the place of work and living of proletarian immigrants was not conducive to assimilation; their neighbours, friends and work-mates, have been, more often than not, their own compatriots or non-Britishers who have shared a similar experience; and being mostly newcomers they were concerned more with immediate personal gains - usually by pursuing jobs offering opportunities to work overtime - than with combining to struggle and advance the interests of a large, foreign and polyglot social class and the political careers of a few Australians. Consequently immigrant integration into the trade union structure was limited and not very significant in terms of assimilation. Although the rise of Greek trade unionists was significant to assimilation, their relatively large number - large compared with the number of trade unionists other non-British immigrant groups produced - also stemmed from factors other than the proletarian position of post-war Greek immigrants. Among these were the special position and role of Greek Cypriots as pioneers in trade unions; the conscious policy of the Communist Party to involve immigrants in trade unions and to promote, in the Party's spheres of influence, its bi-lingual activists; and a similar policy pursued by the organised Greek left which also had cause to appeal to, contact and activate the Australian trade union and labour movements in support of its

numerous political campaigns. Just as important in enhancing Greek immigrant assimilation through the labour movement was the Australian Labor Party's entry into Cypriot and Greek politics in the post-war period. Again by way of contrast, the Liberal Party may have alienated Greeks because of its attitude, or lack of attitude, to the Cypriot struggle for independence. But the Party as the ruling political party for most of the time, stood to gain the support of the wealthier Greeks, the ethnikophrones, and many newcomers who were anti-communist and who by the time they were ready to vote were sufficiently established. Greek immigrant involvement in Australian politics ~~also~~^{thus} had its limitations, and for the Greek radical leftist activists, punishment in the form of denial of naturalisation certificates.¹

Hence, while immigrants, given their different and varied socio-economic, cultural and political background, were successful in becoming economically absorbed, such absorption did not necessarily bring about their integration into the corresponding economic and social classes of the host society. Economic incorporation was merely the necessary condition for eventual integration and assimilation. Immigrants, moreover, joined their

¹ Among Australia's "security risks", a category often used to describe those whom Immigration authorities have refused to naturalise on 'security grounds', most were very likely members and supporters of the Communist Party, while the single largest grouping probably comprised of Greeks. Sources: Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), 11 May, 1965, and 18 September, 1969, and passim; Neos Kosmos, 7 August, 1969; The News, 2 August, 1969; and Tribune, 8 July, 1970.

respective trade unions and other trade and commercial associations more from the need to keep on the right side of Australian law than from a genuine belief that such organisations served their interests and solved their problems. The immigrants' more personal interests were advanced mainly by their own efforts, by being self-reliant, resourceful and sometimes wily; rarely by any special social legislation or the institutions in the country of settlement. Apart from personal experiences, particularly in the early period of settlement, such notions and attitudes were also re-inforced by the alienation of immigrants from both the country of origin and settlement and by the Greek diaspora ethos. Hence, only by a long and slow process of accommodation and guidance by his kinsmen, friends and ethnic communities, could the immigrant become adapted to his new conditions of life and learn the significance, role and function of host societal institutions. And even then it is not always certain just how effectively assimilated immigrants have become as a result of this adaptation: more so in view of the role of ethnic communities, the numerous factors operating to fashion immigrant attitudes and in view of the more forceful and/or unavoidable nature of the factors under consideration.

Examples to illustrate this uncertainty abound. The decision, not taken unwillingly by Greeks, to become Australian citizens is motivated by several reasons which are not related or have little to do with the attainment of Australian national consciousness and assimilation. Among these reasons are the

need to acquire citizenship and political rights; to test whether the immigrant is a law-abiding person and a permanent settler; and to procure the protection of Australian law and authorities which could be necessary and useful if and when the immigrant returned to Greece - especially since a Greek does not forego his native nationality (nor such duties as national service which Greek authorities may demand) by adopting another. Nor can one conclude that Greeks had reached the advanced 'amalgamation' stage in assimilation simply because they married Australian women. The comparatively high intermarriage rate between Greek males and Australian females in the pre-war period was due clearly to the absence of Greek women. The availability of marriageable Greek females in the post-war years enabled Greeks to become a decidedly endogamous group,¹ a trend from which the second-generation members have not departed substantially. Furthermore, those who married non-Greeks retained their connections with ethnic communities by baptising their children in the Orthodox Church, and a few^{of} their wives, and by involving their families in the social and cultural life of communities. Nor again does complete assimilation result

¹ In the 1947-60 period 82.1 per cent of Greek grooms married Greek females and 87.9 per cent of Greek brides married Greek males. The corresponding 'in-marriage' percentages for other groups were: Italians, 66.2 and 90.4; Maltese, 58.2 and 75.8; Dutch, 42.3 and 61.7; Poles, 40.2 and 67.2; and Britishers, 29.2 and 19.9. Source: Frank L. Jones, Paper (typescript), "Changes in Ethnic Concentration in an Australian City: A Statistical Analysis based on the 1954 and 1961 Census".

from the following induced changes: new clothing, eating, drinking, entertainment and recreational habits; new and different methods of work and working hours; learning English and Anglicising christian names and surnames: cultivating amicable relations with Australian authorities and people; participating in and donating to philanthropic, public and patriotic causes; exhibiting and publicising the best Greeks and Greece have to offer; and being generous, hospitable and courteous to their hosts - assuming, of course, that immigrants were not endowed with such qualities before settlement. Much more investigation is necessary to assess the significance of these rather outward forms of change in immigrant assimilation.

This is also true in the case of the most active agent in assimilation: the immigrant's family, especially his children who were becoming unavoidably Australian. The generation, cultural and, to an important degree, the educational gaps between immigrant parents and their children, are real and enormous. The fact that the associated conflicts, stresses and problems do not disintegrate the nuclear family, presupposes that considerable assimilation has occurred among parents. It is through their children that immigrants learn of the host society's education system and sometimes of its laws and social and political events, the conduct and roles of members of the Australian family, and many of the social attitudes of Australians. Immigrant children

particularly after adolescence, may influence the immigrant's house planning, furniture purchases and food habits, business organisation, the rate of mixing between immigrant and native and even place of residence and occupation. Many of these changes stem from the needs of the second-generation but also from the fact that members of the second generation acquire important skills and knowledge including the fundamental skill in English language upon which first generation immigrants depend but can never acquire fully.

Again one cannot ignore and underestimate the importance of the enforced factors operating to assimilate immigrants into Australian society. The problem is how to assess the role of these factors and hence ascertain their effect on immigrants. It is not true to say that Greek immigrants were assimilated simply because they managed to establish themselves in Australia, raise families, and adopt citizenship rights, and Australian ways of life and the English language. To fully understand the process of assimilation and the stages in assimilation that immigrants attain one has to search into the ethnic world of immigrants or what has been termed the Greek sub-culture. As argued in the beginning of this chapter the study of this sub-culture had several limitations. More research also awaits such phases in immigrant assimilation as the fascinating phenomenon by which Greeks Hellenise the English language and lose some of their Greek; the works of the relatively few Greek immigrant

artists and Greek church architecture; and above all Greek-Australian literature¹ which more than anything else aptly depicts the whole immigrant experience. Most of this literature comes by way of the Greek language newspaper which was always the open forum for the political satirist, chronicler, poet and short story writer, as much as it was for the newspaper owner, editor, ethnic community reporter and party and faction leader. Also informative in understanding immigrant assimilation are the published works of: Alex Doukas, particularly his book, Under Foreign Skies, where he likens the immigrant itinerant seasonal workers of the pre-war period to the Australian bush-workers of an earlier period; Nikos Nikolakis whose The Un-setting Sun and other short stories and poems delve far into the inevitable Odysseic themes and notions of immigrants; and James Galanis who chose English to tell some of the Greek immigrant experience in Australia. Even so, enough has been said to indicate the mode and the main patterns of Greek immigrant assimilation and the way that the study of this assimilation may be undertaken.

¹ A brief survey of Greek-Australian literature until 1956 is given in Krikos, July-August, 1957.

The road traversed by Greek immigrants in becoming assimilated into Australian society was indeed long, difficult and complicated. As postulated in Chapter I adult Greek immigrants do not achieve the final stage in assimilation. Their way to assimilation lay ~~always~~^{usually} through ethnic communities which received and accommodated immigrants and which prepared them to face their new social environment. In structuring their ethnic communities and ethnic institutions Greeks acted in response to a number of forces and needs. Given all the 'push' and 'pull' forces in migration and the obligations to kinsmen and friends, the ethnic communities that coalesced and grew in Australia were comprised at first of small district and island chain settlements and subsequently of larger regional and pan-Hellenic congregations. Given also the diverse background of Greeks, their experience and knowledge of other Greek settlements abroad, and the role and function of immigrant organisations, ethnic communities inevitably became diverse social and cultural entities fragmenting continuously as they grew numerically. Much of this organisational fragmentation and diversity was also the result of conditions in Australia and, therefore, of the forces of assimilation.

In the period considered, important elements of Greek culture formed, developed and flourished, for one of the aims of Greeks was to reconstruct the Old World and make it an Australian reality. Despite the numerous forces of assimilation and division there were always sufficient forces of preservation, co-operation and creation. Resulting from the latter forces were the numerous churches, schools, formal organisations, newspapers and club rooms; and the campaigns waged in support of Greece's wider national interests and those of Greeks in Australia and elsewhere. The interaction of organised groups, the intensity that ethnic community politics often reached, the extensive involvement by immigrants in the affairs of ethnic institutions and the phenomenon of ethnic community social mobility, indicated that ethnic communities also were fully integrated social entities. Considering, furthermore, the motives of the men who founded, fashioned and led ethnic institutions, it was possible for ethnic communities to shelter immigrants, enable them to live a distinct way of life, and help avert their rapid absorption by the host society.

Yet just as ethnic communities and institutions hindered assimilation, so did the forces of Australianisation influence and transform ethnic communities and hinder and limit at least certain aims and aspirations of ethnic

institutions. The degree to which this occurred varied considerably and was dependent on such factors as the size, rate of growth, and location of ethnic communities and on the prevailing economic, social and political conditions both in the country of origin and settlement and to a smaller extent in the world at large. From the interplay of the forces of Hellenism and Australianisation emerged the Greek sub-culture. The importance of this sub-culture in terms of assimilation was that immigrants were continuously subjected to dual social and cultural stresses from which stemmed dual social, political and cultural attitudes and mores. These were even more evident among the Australian-born who, being caught in the cultural conflict, had to assume dual attitudes and mores frequently. Thus the original study of Greek ethnic communities, and the whole Greek sub-culture that has evolved from them, became the more generalised study of Greek immigrant assimilation.

APPENDIX A.

The more formal Greek immigrant organisations in Australia (and New Zealand) listed below fall into three main categories: Greek Orthodox Communities, Regional Fraternities and Pan-Hellenic Organisations. The reasons for the categories and the various sub-classes have already been dealt with in the text. (See especially Chapter VI.)

In listing these organisations the names used are, more often than not, those by which they are known to Greeks and referred to in Greek records especially Greek-language newspapers from which the bulk of the information was procured. These names which I have translated and transliterated into English, may not, therefore, always be the same as those which may appear in English-language documents. This was unavoidable. No great difficulties need arise in locating the various organisations, provided one also remembers the interchangeability of the following: Greek and Hellenic; Fraternity and Brotherhood; Community, Church and Parish; and Society, League, Association, Club, Body, Co-operative and Organisation (for which Greek, too, has a variety of names: Sylogos, Syndesmos, Somateion, Synaiterismos and Organosis.

A more difficult problem occurred when attempting to date origins or periods of active life of immigrant organisations. The foundation year of each organisation listed indicates the time when an elected committee or council took office. This assumes that the organisation had an agreed charter and fees-paying members. In the case of Communities the foundation year of its church or churches was also noted to indicate the period at which the Community reached full fruition which meant that they had also attracted resident priests. More often than not a Community's first priest preceded (sometimes by several years) the acquisition of a church building. There were also cases (Port Pirie, 1926 - 1950, Whyalla, 1959 - , Albury and Wagga Wagga for most of the 1960's, and Christchurch, New Zealand, 1965 - ,) of churches without priests.

In the case of most organisations there was necessarily a time lag occurring between the initiating foundation moves (agreement by a group of zealots to form the organisation, constituting themselves into a provisional organising committee, and reaching agreement on the name and charter of the organisation), and the more official foundation which meant the calling of an assembly of interested people to give their consent, amend and eventually approve the charter, become members and elect the

organisation's permanent officers. Consequently the foundation year of each organisation is only approximate. A few organisations failed to go beyond the provisional committee stage. Such was the case of the two Lemnian Brotherhoods of Ballarat in 1957. Where uncertainty exists the foundation year is indicated by inserting c. before the year or by indicating the decades during which the organisations were known to have functioned.

Even more uncertain was the year in which an organisation dissolved. This is indicated by a - ? after its year(s) of foundation. A dash after the year (s) indicates that the organisation is still functioning.

Problems such as these arose primarily because it was not possible to procure the full details of immigrant organisations. Indeed, it is likely that some (but hopefully a few) organisations are not listed at all. Among these are very likely several auxiliaries or appendages of regional fraternities and a few pan-Hellenic organisations which were usually in the form of women's youth and sports bodies.

Also not listed are several committees such as those associated with Cypriot independence and Greek democracy. Apart from these committees being dealt with in the text (again see Chapter VI) they cannot be classified as permanent and formal immigrant organisations.

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GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES

NAME AND LOCATION	ACTIVE YEARS	NAME OF, AND YEAR CHURCH FOUNDED
<u>NEW SOUTH WALES</u>		
<u>Metropolitan</u>		
New South Wales (Sydney) (Federation)	c.1898	Holy Trinity, 1898. (Surry Hills) St. Sophia, 1927. (Paddington) Koimisis, 1957. (Redfern) Sts. Peter and Paul, 1973. (Stanmore)
Rose Bay	1957-	St. George, 1961.
Kingsford	1960-	St. Spyridon, 1961.
Parramatta	1960-	St. John, 1961.
Marrickville	1961-	St. Nicholas, 1962.
Leichardt	1961-	St. Gerasimos, 1962.
North Sydney	1963-	Archangel Michael, 1966.
Bankstown	1963-	St. Euphemia, 1965.
Camberton (Federation) (Incorporated with New South Wales in 1969)	1964-	Apostolos Andreas, 1964.
Bankstown (Federation)	1964-1965	St. Charalambos, 1964.
North Sydney (Federation)	1964-1965	Panagia of Kykkou, 1964.
Belmore	1964-	All Saints, 1965.
Kogarah	1966-	Resurrection of Christ, 1966.
Glebe	1967-	
Newtown	1968-	St. Constantine and Helen, 1968.
Liverpool	1968-	Sts. Raphael, Nicholas and Irene, 1971.
Strathfield (amalgamated with Burwood in 1971)	1968-71	St. Nektarios, 1970.
Redfern (Evangelismos and the adjoining building in Cleveland Street also became the Archdiocese headquarters in 1969)	1969-	Evangelismos, 1969.

GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES (Contd.)

NAME AND LOCATION	ACTIVE YEARS	NAME OF, AND YEAR CHURCH FOUNDED
<u>NEW SOUTH WALES</u>		
<u>Metropolitan (Contd.)</u>		
Burwood (absorbed Strathfield in 1971)	1970-	St. Nektarios, 1971.
St. Marys and Environs	1971-	St. Demetrios, 1971.
Holroyd, Merrylands	1971-	
Bexley North, Kingsgrove and Environs	1972-	
Blacktown	1972-	
Mascot	1973-	
Paddington	1974-	St. Sophia, 1974.
<u>Non-Metropolitan</u>		
Newcastle	1949-	St. Demetrios, 1969. (Community Hall used as church since 1957.)
Wagga Wagga	1949-	Koimisis, 1964.
Tamworth (At first called 'Athena'.)	1952-	
Tweed and Murwillumbah	1954-1960	
Wollongong	1955-	Holy Cross, 1962
Lismore	1955-	
Orange	1955-	
Albury	1957-	Taxiarchai, 1965.
Goulbourn	1958-	
Broken Hill	1960-	
Dubbo	1960-	Panagia Myrtidiotissa, 1963.
Newcastle	1960-	Holy Apostles, 1961.
Mullumbimby	c.1960-1971	
Grafton	1962-1971	
Cooma	1966-	
Golden Coast	1966-1971	
Gosford	1967-	
Parkes	1971-	Sts. Constantine and Helen, 1972.

GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES (Contd.)

NAME AND LOCATION	ACTIVE YEARS	NAME OF, AND YEAR CHURCH FOUNDED
<u>NEW SOUTH WALES</u>		
<u>Non-Metropolitan (Contd.)</u>		
Alexandria	1971-	
Gunnedah	1971-	
Illawarra and Districts	1971-	St. Nektarios, 1973.
<u>VICTORIA</u>		
<u>Metropolitan</u>		
Melbourne and Victoria (Federation)	c.1897-	Evangelismos, 1900. (East Melbourne). St. George, 1957. (Now at Preston) Zoodochos Pege, 1958. (South Melbourne) Holy Trinity, 1962. (Footscray) St. Demetrios, 1964. (Prahran) Koimisis, 1968. (Kew) St. Eleftherios, 1969. (Brunswick)
Sunshine (Federation)	1955-	Apostolos Andreas, 1957.
North Carlton	1958-	St. John the Baptist, 1958.
Brunswick	1959-	St. Basil, 1962.
Dandenong	1959-	St. Pandleimon, 1969.
Frankston	1959-	Theophania, 1965.
Mentone	1960-	Taxiarchai, 1965.
South Yarra (formerly Prahran)	1961-	Sts. Constantine and Helen, 1962.
Richmond	1961-	Holy Trinity, 1962.
St. Albans	c.1962-	St. Barbara, 1973. St. Paraskeve, 1974.
Yarraville (Footscray, Williamstown and Altona)	1962-	St. Nicholas, 1962.
Ascot Vale	1963-	St. Demetrios, 1968.

GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES (Contd.)

NAME AND LOCATION	ACTIVE YEARS	NAME OF, AND YEAR CHURCH FOUNDED
<u>VICTORIA</u>		
<u>Metropolitan (Contd.)</u>		
Oakleigh	1964-	Holy Anargyroi, 1967.
Sunshine	1964-	St. Anthony, 1967.
Carlton	1964-	St. Irene, 1964.
Preston	1965-	St. Kyrilios and Methodios, 1967.
South Melbourne	1966-	St. Eustathios, 1967.
Fawkner	1967-	St. Nektarios, 1968.
Box Hill	1968-	
North Altona (Newport and Brooklyn)	1968-	Koimisis, 1970.
Springvale	1969-	
Kensington (Independent)	1969-	
Brighton	1969-	
Moorabbin and Highett	1970-	
East Malvern	1970-	St. Ekaterine, 1971.
Coburg and Pascoe Vale	1970-	
Hawthorn	1970-	Apostle Paul, 1971.
Clayton	1972-	
Collingwood, Clifton Hill and Environs	1971-	St. Nektarios, 1972.
Reservoir and Environs	1972-	St. Neophytos, 1972.
<u>Non-Metropolitan</u>		
Gippsland (formerly called Morwell and Yallourn)	1956-	Koimisis, 1963.
Geelong (Federation)	1959-	Evangelismos, 1965.
Geelong	1960-	Metamorphosis of the Saviour, 1966.
Mildura	1960-	Evangelismos, 1961.
Shepparton	1960-	St. George, 1967.
Ballarat	1960-	
Bendigo	1961-	
Mildura (Federation)	1962-	
Wangaratta	1963-	

GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES (Contd.)

NAME AND LOCATION	ACTIVE YEARS	NAME OF, AND YEAR CHURCH FOUNDED
<u>SOUTH AUSTRALIA</u>		
<u>Metropolitan</u>		
South Australia (Federation)	1930-	Archangels Michael and Gabriel, 1937. (Adelaide) Koimisis, 1963. (Bowden) Sts. Constantine and Helen, 1969. (Goodwood)
Independent Church of St. Nicholas (bought by G.O.C. of South Australia in 1970)	1956-1970	St. Nicholas, 1958.
Norwood	1959-	Prophet Elias, 1962.
Unley	1959-	St. Spyridon, 1962.
Thebarton	1959-	St. George, 1962.
Port Adelaide	1960-	Nativity of Christ, 1962, (renamed St. Nektarios in 1970 reverted to former name in 1974).
Elizabeth	1967-	
Northern Suburbs (Prospect)	1968-	St. Anthony, 1969.
<u>Non-Metropolitan</u>		
Port Pirie	1924-	St. George, 1924.
Thevenard	1945-	St. Nicholas, 1966.
Mt. Gambier	1959-	
Whyalla (Federation until 1971)	1959-	Koimisis, 1960. renamed Sts. Constantine and Helen in 1971.
Renmark (Federation)	1959-?	
Berri	1960-	St. Demetrios, 1963.
Renmark	1960	Sts. Constantine and Helen
Port Lincoln	1961-	Helen.
Port Lincoln (formed independently of both Archdiocese and Federation)	1964-?	
Berri	1965-	Koimisis, 1966.

GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES (Contd.)

NAME AND LOCATION	ACTIVE YEARS	NAME OF, AND YEAR CHURCH FOUNDED
<u>SOUTH AUSTRALIA</u>		
Non-Metropolitan (Contd.)		
Coober Pedy	1965-	St. Nicholas, 1965.
Port Augusta	1970-	St. John, 1971.
Alice Springs	1971-	
Tenant Greek	1971-	
<u>QUEENSLAND</u>		
<u>Metropolitan</u>		
Queensland (Brisbane)	1924-	St. George, 1930.
South Side (Mt. Gravatt)	1966-	Koimisis, 1971.
<u>Non-Metropolitan</u>		
Innisfail	1934-	Koimisis, 1935.
Townsville	1945-	St. Theodoros, 1950.
Home Hill-Ayr	c.1960-	St. Stephen, 1963.
Rockhampton	c.1960-	
Toowoomba	c.1960-	
Cairns	c.1960-	
Bundaberg	c.1960-	
Biloela	c.1960-	
Mackay	c.1960-	
Mt. Isa	c.1960-	
Gladstone	c.1960-	
Ipswich	1961-	
Tully	1962-	
Surfers Paradise	1967-	St. Anne, 1967.
<u>WESTERN AUSTRALIA</u>		
<u>Metropolitan</u>		
Western Australia (Perth)	1923-	Sts. Constantine and Helen, 1937.
Evangelistria (Perth)	1957-	Evangelistria, 1959.

GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES (Contd.)

<u>NAME AND LOCATION</u>	<u>ACTIVE YEARS</u>	<u>NAME OF, AND YEAR CHURCH FOUNDED</u>
<u>WESTERN AUSTRALIA</u>		
<u>Non-Metropolitan</u>		
Bunbury	1952-	St. Nicholas, 1952.
Geraldton	c.1960-	Archangels Michael and Gabriel, 1966.
Manjimup	c.1960-	
Kalgoorlie	c.1960-	
Albany	c.1960-	
Merridin	1966-	
<u>TASMANIA</u>		
<u>Metropolitan</u>		
Tasmania (Hobart)	1957-	St. George, 1960.
<u>Non-Metropolitan</u>		
Launceston	1968-	
<u>NORTHERN TERRITORY</u>		
Darwin	1955-	St. Nicholas, 1957.
<u>AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY</u>		
Canberra	1950-	St. Nicholas, 1960.
<u>NEW ZEALAND</u>		
New Zealand (Wellington)	1947-	Evangelismos, 1947.
Christchurch	1961-	Koimisis, 1963.
Auckland	1967-	
Palmerston North	1967-	
Dunedin	1967-	
<u>CHURCHES WITHOUT PRIESTS OR COMMUNITIES</u>		
St. Pandeileimon, Greenhills, Victoria, 1960's. (Built on property of George Samartzis mainly to service picnickers.)		
St. Nektarios Monastery Kilkenny, South Australia, 1974.		

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>NEW SOUTH WALES</u>		
	<u>Macedonia</u>	
Pan-Macedonian Greek Brotherhood of N.S.W., 'Alexander the Great'.	Macedonia.	Sydney, c.1959-
Society of Velvendians of Australia, 'Aliakmon'.	Velvendos, town in Kozani prefecture.	Sydney, 1960's-
Philanthropic Society of Macedonians, 'Philippos'.	Macedonia.	Sydney, 1965-
Chalkidikean Society, 'Aristotle'.	Chalkidike prefecture.	Sydney. c.1964-
Macedonian Brotherhood 'Pavlos Melos'	Macedonia.	Newcastle, 1971-
Macedonian Society 'Kapetan Kostas'	Macedonia.	Wollongong, 1971-
Philanthropic Society of Chasia, Trikkala, Grevena	Trikkala and Grevena prefectures	Sydney, 1971-
Society of Florinians and Kastorians	Florina and Kastoria prefectures	Queanbeyan, 1970-
Pan-Kilkisian Brotherhood 'Kilkis'	Kilkis prefecture	Sydney, 1971-
	<u>Thrace</u>	
Philanthropic Society of Kavala 'St. Sylas'	Kavala prefecture	Sydney, 1972-
	<u>Epiros</u>	
Pan-Epirotic Brotherhood, 'Souliotissa'.	Epiros	Sydney, 1959-
Pan-Epirotic Philanthropic Brotherhood 'Pyrrhus'	Epiros	Sydney, 1974-
	<u>Thessaly</u>	
Philanthropic Society, 'Meteora Thessalias'.	Meteora, district in Trikkala prefecture	Sydney, 1962-
Pan-Thessalian Philanthropic of N.S.W., 'Regas Pheraios'. (Renamed Australian Philanthropic Union, 'Karaiskakis', in 1969).	Thessaly.	Sydney, 1962-
Eparchiakos Philanthropic Society 'Elason'	Larisa prefecture	Sydney, 1973-

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>NEW SOUTH WALES</u>		
<u>Macedonia</u>		
Pan-Macedonian Greek Brotherhood of N.S.W., 'Alexander the Great'.	Macedonia.	Sydney. c.1959 -
Society of Velvendians of Australia, 'Aliakmon'.	Velvendos, town in Kozani prefecture.	Sydney. 1960's -
Philanthropic Society of Macedonians, 'Philippos'.	Macedonia.	Sydney. 1965 -
Chalkidikean Society, 'Aristotle'.	Chalkidike prefecture.	Sydney. c.1964 -
<u>Epiros</u>		
Pan-Epirotic Brotherhood, 'Souliotissa'.	Epiros.	Sydney. 1959 -
<u>Thessaly</u>		
Philanthropic Society, 'Meteora Thessalias'.	Meteora, district in Trikkala prefecture.	Sydney. 1962 -
Pan-Thessalian Philanthropic of N.S.W., 'Regas Pheraios'. (Renamed Australian Philanthropic Union, 'Karaiskakis', in 1969.)	Thessaly.	Sydney. 1962 -
<u>Mainland Greece</u>		
Society of Athenians.	Athens.	Sydney. 1953 -
Philanthropic Society of Western Mainland Greece, 'Messolonghi'.	Aitolos-Akarnania prefecture.	Sydney. 1950's.
Pan-Euboean Brotherhood of N.S.W., 'Polieroia'.	Euboea, Island.	Sydney. 1960's -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>New South Wales (Contd.)</u>		
<u>Peloponnesos</u>		
Society of Patras Eparchia, 'Apostle Andrew'.	Patras, city and district in Achala prefecture.	Sydney. 1961 -
Society of Patras Eparchia. (Also known as the Association of the Shire of Patras.)	Patras eparchia (and city) in Achaea prefecture	Sydney. c.1960 -
Philanthropic Society of Kalavryta Eparchia, 'St. Laura'.	Kalavryta eparchia, in Achaea prefecture.	Sydney. 1964 -
Philanthropic Society, 'Helmos'. (Also known as Helmos Association.)	Akrata, town and district in Achaea prefecture.	Sydney. 1925 -
Philanthropic Society of Diakoptou.	Diakoptou, town in Achaea prefecture.	Sydney. 1960's -
Philanthropic Society of Krathideans, 'St. George'.	Krathidos, town in Achaea prefecture.	Sydney. c.1960 -
Philanthropic Brotherhood of Aigion, 'The Beautiful Aigioness'.	Aigion, city in Achaea prefecture.	Sydney. 1960's
Philanthropic Society of Nonakridos, 'St. Barbara'.	Nonakridos, town in Achaea prefecture.	Sydney. c.1967 -
Society of Platanians, 'Pegasos'.	Platanos, town in Achaea prefecture.	Sydney. 1960 -
Society of Eleians, 'Hermes'.	Eleia prefecture	Sydney. 1960 -
Brotherhood of Chavarians, 'Chavari'.	Chavari, town in Eleia prefecture.	Sydney. 1959 -
Society of Argonavplians, 'Argolis'.	Argonavplia, district in Argolis prefecture.	Sydney. c.1963 -
Society of Levidiotes of Sydney, 'Progress'.	Levidion, town in Arcadia prefecture.	Sydney. 1956 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>New South Wales</u> (Contd.)		
<u>Peloponnesos</u> (contd.)		
Pan-Laonian Brotherhood	Laconia prefecture	Sydney. 1956 -
Philanthropic Society of Epidavrolimerites, 'Leonidas'.	Epidavrolimeri, district in Laconia prefecture.	Sydney. c.1955 -
Society of Elafonesiotes in Australia, 'Goddess Athena'.	Elefonesos, island, part of Laconia prefecture.	Sydney. c.1958 -
Philanthropic Union of Vatikiotas, 'Boias'.	Vatika, district in Laconia prefecture.	Sydney. 1950's -
Brotherhood of Vatikiotas, 'Maleas'.	Vatika, district in Laconia prefecture.	Sydney. 1946 -
Brotherhood of Laonian Kremastiotes, 'Mystra'.	Kremasti, town in Laconia prefecture.	Sydney. 1969 -
Pan-Arcadian Association of N.S.W. (Has had an active auxiliary, Pan-Arcadian Ladies Association (1965 -).)	Arcadia prefecture.	Sydney. 1956 -
Philanthropic Society of Riziotas.	Rizai, town in Arcadia prefecture.	Sydney. c.1956 -
Brotherhood of Darans, 'St. Demetrios'.	Dara, town in Arcadia prefecture.	Sydney. 1960's
Philanthropic Society 'Skortsinou Hospital'. (Concerned with assisting hospital in Skortsinou.)	Town in Arcadia prefecture.	Sydney. c.1963 -
Messinian Brotherhood of N.S.W., 'Aristomenes'.	Messinia prefecture.	Sydney. 1961 -
Corinthian Association, 'Apostle Paul'.	Korinthos prefecture.	Sydney. 1958 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>New South Wales (contd.)</u>		
<u>Krete.</u>		
Pan-Kretan Union of N.S.W., 'Minos'. (Moves to unite mid-1970.)	Krete.	Sydney. 1960 -
Kretan Brotherhood	Krete.	Sydney. 1961 -
<u>Ionian Islands.</u>		
Lefkadian Brotherhood of Sydney and N.S.W.	Lefkas, island.	Sydney. c.1962 -
The Ithacan Association of Sydney.	Ithaca, island.	Sydney. 1935 -
Society of Ithacans.	Ithaca, island.	Newcastle. 1943 - 1950.
Kytherian Association of Australia (or of N.S.W.).	Kythera, island.	Sydney. 1922 -
Pan-Zankynthian Brotherhood, 'Dionysios Solomos'.	Zakynthos, island.	Sydney. c.1962 -
Kefallinian Brotherhood, 'Kefallos'.	Kefallania, island.	Sydney. 1960 -
<u>Aegean Sea Islands.</u>		
Lesbeian Brotherhood of N.S.W. (Formed by the merging of other Mytilean fraternities.)	Mytilene (Lesbos), island.	Sydney. 1966 -
Mytilenean Brotherhood of Sydney and N.S.W.	Mytilene (Lesbos), island.	Sydney. c.1958 -
Lesbian Brotherhood, 'Taxiarchis'.	Agiasos, town in Mytilene (Lesbos), island.	Sydney. 1962 - ?
Lesbian Brotherhood of N.S.W., 'Megas'.	Mytilene (Lesbos), island.	Sydney. c.1950 - ?
Brotherhood of St. Nicholas.	Palaiochori, town in Mytilene (Lesbos), island.	Sydney. 1945 - ?

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>New South Wales (contd.)</u>		
	<u>Aegean Sea Islands</u> (contd.)	
Lemnian Brotherhood, 'Maroula'.	Lemnos, island.	Sydney. 1957 -
Chian Brotherhood, 'St. Markella'.	Chios, island.	Sydney. c.1956 -
Philanthropic Union of Chians.	Chios, island.	Sydney. 1965 -
Samian Brotherhood, 'Lycourgos'. (Active Samian Ladies Society by 1959.)	Samos, island.	Sydney. 1950's.
	<u>Dodacanese Islands.</u>	
Pan-Koan Philanthropic Society, 'Hioopcrates'.	Kos, island.	Sydney. 1958 -
Koan Brotherhood, 'St. Philimon'.	Kos, island.	Sydney. c.1961 -
Symian Brotherhood, 'Taxiarchis'.	Syme, island.	Sydney. 1944 -
Kalymnian Brotherhood of N.S.W., 'Kalymnos'.	Kalymnos, island.	Sydney. 1950's.
Charitable Brotherhood Kremastinon Rhodians in Australia.	Kremasti, town on Rhodes Island.	Sydney. 1958 -
Parrhodian Benevolent Society of N.S.W., 'Colossus'.	Rhodes, island.	Sydney. 1958 -
Castellorizian Society of N.S.W. (Active youth and sports and a women's association.)	Kastellorizo, island.	Sydney. 1924 -
	<u>Cyclades.</u>	
Society of Andriotes, 'Panagia Theoskepaste'.	Andros, island.	Sydney. 1968 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>New South Wales (contd.)</u>		
<u>Cyprus.</u>		
Cyprian Brotherhood of Sydney, N.S.W., 'Evagoras'.	Cyprus.	Sydney. 1933 -
<u>Turkey.</u>		
Greek Progressive Association, 'Byzantium'.	Turkey.	Sydney. 1933 - 1934.
Pontian Union of N.S.W., 'Panagia Soumela'.	Turkey.	Sydney. 1960's.
Pontian Brotherhood of N.S.W., 'Xeneteas'.	Turkey.	Sydney. 1958 -
Pontian Brotherhood of Sydney, N.S.W., 'Pontos'.	Turkey.	Sydney. c.1970 -
<u>Middle East.</u>		
Union of Greeks from Egypt. (The Greeks from Egypt Association) (Also known as Hellenic Hestia (Greek Hearth) being the name of its <u>Lesche</u> .)	Egypt.	Sydney. 1952 -
<u>Rumania.</u>		
Hellenic Cultural Association, 'Akropolis'. (Had a sports section in early 1960's.)	Rumania.	Sydney. 1951 -
<u>Unclassified.</u>		
Brotherhood of Leivadiotes, 'Holy Taxiarches'.		Sydney. 1960's.

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>VICTORIA.</u>		
	<u>Macedonia.</u>	
Macedonian Brotherhood, 'Alexander the Great'.	Macedonia	Melbourne. 1931 - 1968.
Union of North Greece. (Evolved into the National Pan-Macedonian Organisation)	North Greece.	Melbourne. 1954 - 1960.
National Pan-Macedonian Organisation.	Macedonia.	Melbourne. 1960 -
Philanthropic Brotherhood of Kozani Prefecture 'Alexander the Great'.	Kozani prefecture, Macedonia.	Melbourne. c.1960 -
Philanthropic Society of Kalomerison, Siatista.	Kalomerison, district in Kozani prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1954 -
Society of Grevenatans, 'Aimilianos'.	Grevena, town in Kozani prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1959.
Society of Galatini, Kozani Prefecture.	Galatini, district in Kozani pre- fecture.	Melbourne. 1960's.
Society of Eratyrians.	Eratyra, town in Kozani prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's.
Philanthropic Society of Lefkovrysis, Kozani, 'St. Nicholas'.	Lefkovrisi, district in Kozani prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's.
Society of Siatistans.	Siatista, town in Kozani prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's.
Philanthropic Society, 'Voion'.	Voion, eparchia in Kozani prefecture.	Melbourne. 1968 -
Brotherly Union of Prespians.	Prespa, lake between Kozani and Florina prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1970 -
Greek Macedonian Philan- thropic and Social Assoc- iation of Florina and District, 'Aristotle'. (Has an active cultural group.)	Florina, city, and prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1955 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria</u> (contd.)		
<u>Macedonia</u> (contd.)		
Society of Armenochorites.	Armenochori, town in Florina prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1962 -
Society of Krateriotes.	Krateron, town in Florina prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's.
Society of Kladorachites.	Kladorachia, town in Florina prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's.
Society of Florina, 'Papagiannis'. (Not known whether 'Papagiannis' refers to a place name or person (literally, priest John).)	Florina prefecture.	Melbourne. 1966 - ?
Philanthropic Society of Kastorians, 'Grammos'.	Kastoria prefecture.	Melbourne. 1962 -
Philanthropic Society of Orestia (Argos, Orestikon and Environs).	Orestia, towns and district in Kastoria prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960 -
Philanthropic Brotherhood of Oinoe Kastoria, 'Flatsata'.	Oinoe, district in Kastoria prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1964 -
Pan-Chalkidikian Union of Melbourne and Victoria.	Chalkidike prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1964 -
Philanthropic Brotherhood of Chalkidikians.	Chalkidike prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1962 -
Philanthropic Society of Pellis Prefecture, 'Philip'.	Pellis prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1960's -
Philanthropic Society of Gianitsa Eparchia, 'Pella'.	Granitsa, eparchia in Pellis prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's -
Society of Ermatheia Prefecture, 'Veroia'.	Ermatheia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's -
Society of Naousa District.	Naousa, city and district in Ermatheia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria (contd.)</u>		
<u>Macedonia (contd.)</u>		
Philanthropic Society of Edessa, 'Edessa'.	Edessa, city and prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's -
Pan-Pierian Brotherhood of Melbourne and Victoria, 'Olympos'.	Pieria prefecture.	Melbourne. 1963 -
Philanthropic Society of Olympos, 'St. Demetrios'.	St. Demetrios, town in Pieria prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1966 -
Benevolent Brotherhood of Kolindrians, 'Pavsilypos'.	Kolindros, town in Pieria prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's.
Kilkisian Philanthropic Society, 'Heroic Skra'.	Kilkis prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's.
Philanthropic Society of Polykastrians, 'Holy Trinity'.	Polykastron, town in Kilkis prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's.
Society of Thessalonikians, 'Thermaikos'.	Thessalonike, city and prefecture.	Melbourne. 1959 -
Union of Thessalonikians, 'White Tower'.	Thessalonike, city and prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1960 -
Society of Langada Eparchia of Melbourne and Victoria.	Langada, eparchia and town, in Thessalonike prefecture.	Melbourne. 1962 -
Society of Solidarity for Pafelios Thessalonike, 'Meliteus'.	Thessalonike, city and prefecture.	Melbourne. 1966 - ?
<u>Thrace.</u>		
Brotherhood of Thrace.	Thrace.	Melbourne. 1958 -
Pan Thracian Brotherhood of Melbourne, 'Thrace'.	Thrace.	Melbourne. 1966 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria (contd.)</u>		
<u>Epiros.</u>		
Pan-Epirotic Benevolent Brotherhood of Melbourne and Victoria.	Epiros.	Melbourne. c.1946 -
Australian-Greek Pan-Epirotic Philanthropic Society, 'Epiros'.	Epiros.	Melbourne. 1961 -
Union of North Epirots of Australia.	Southern Albania, or North Epiros.	Melbourne. 1954 -
Pan-Thesprotian Brotherhood, 'Thesprotis'.	Thesprotikon, town in Preveza prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1967 -
Philanthropic Society of Kokkinolitharites, 'St. Menas'.	Kokkinolithari, eparchia.	Melbourne. 1968 -
<u>Thessaly.</u>		
Pan-Thessalian Brotherhood, 'Regas Pheraios'.	Thessaly.	Melbourne. c.1966 -
Philanthropic Brotherhood of Trikala Prefecture, 'Asklepios'.	Trikala prefecture.	Melbourne. 1965 -
Trikala Youth Club of Oakleigh and Environs.	Trikala prefecture.	Melbourne. 1970 -
Karyan Brotherhood of Olympus, 'Ryvethra'.	Karya, town in Larisa prefecture near Mt. Olympus.	Melbourne. 1960's -
Benevolent Brotherhood of Livadi of Melbourne and Victoria, 'Georgakis Olympios'.	Livadion, town in Larisa prefecture near Mt. Olympus.	Melbourne. 1960's -
<u>Mainland Greece.</u>		
Brotherhood of Aitolio-Akarnanias and Evrytanians, 'Concord'.	Aitolio-Akarnania and Evrytania prefectures.	Melbourne. 1959 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria (contd.)</u>		
	<u>Mainland Greece.</u> (contd.)	
Messolonghi Society.	Messolonghi, town in Aitolio-Akarnania.	Melbourne. 1960's -
Philanthropic Society of Navpaktans.	Navpaktos, city in Aitolio-Akarnania prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1964 -
Society of Athenians of Melbourne and Victoria.	Athens.	Melbourne. 1958 -
Society of Athenians of Melbourne and Victoria, 'Pericles'.	Athens.	Melbourne. 1962 -
Brotherhood of Thebans of Victoria.	Thebes, city in Boeotia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's
Society of Euboeans, 'Euripos'.	Euboea, island.	Melbourne. 1947 -
Philanthropic Society of Roumeliotes, 'Athenasios Diakos'.	Roumeli, old name for Mainland Greece.	Melbourne. 1959 -
Society of Attiko-Boeotia, 'Sphinx'.	Attike and Boeotia prefectures.	Melbourne. c.1959 -
	<u>Peloponnesos.</u>	
Peloponnesian Brotherhood, 'Pelops'.	Peloponnesos.	Melbourne. 1956 -
Korinthian Brotherhood, 'Apostle Paul'.	Korinthos prefecture.	Melbourne. 1957 -
Korinthian Brotherhood, 'Apollo'	Korinthos prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's -
Pan-Eleian Brotherhood, 'Archaia (Ancient) Elis'.	Eleia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1959 -
Philanthropic Society of Olympians, 'Xenophon'.	Olympia, Eleia prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1960 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria (contd.)</u>		
<u>Peloponnesos (contd.)</u>		
Benevolent Brotherhood of Skyllountians, 'Solidarity'.	Skyllountis, district in Eleia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1962 -
Australian-Greek Philanthropic Union of Olympians, 'Dada'.	Olympia, Eleia prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1960 -
Pan-Achaean Society of Melbourne and Victoria, 'Patras'.	Achaea prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1960 -
Pan-Kalavrytan Brotherhood, 'Kalavryta'.	Kalavryta, town in Achaea prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1960 -
Pan-Kalavrytan Brotherhood, 'St. Laura'.	Kalavryta, town in Achaea prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1960's
Pan-Aigialean Brotherhood of Melbourne and Victoria, 'Zoodochos Pege'.	Achaea prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1964 -
Pan-Aigialean Brotherhood of Melbourne and Victoria, 'Aigialeus'.	Achaea prefecture.	Melbourne. 1965 -
Philanthropic Society of Argolis, 'Agamemnon'.	Argolis prefecture.	Melbourne. 1964 -
Pan-Arcadian Society of Melbourne, 'Kolokotronis'. (Split in mid-1960's but re-united after 1969.)	Arcadia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1959 -
Kynourian Brotherhood, 'Panagia Elona'. (A splinter group 'Paron' late in 1956 did not go beyond the 'provisional committee' stage.)	Kynouria, eparchia in Arcadia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1956 -
Messinian Brotherhood, 'Papaflessas'.	Messinia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1959 -
Brotherhood of Gargalians.	Gargalia, town in Messinia prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1967 -
Pan-Laonian Brotherhood, 'Leonidas'.	Laonia prefecture.	Melbourne. c.1961 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria (contd.)</u>		
<u>Peloponnesos (contd.)</u>		
Brotherhood of Arachovites of Melbourne, 'Karyatis'.	Laconia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1966 -
Philanthropic Brotherhood of Daphniotes Sparta, 'St. George'.	Daphnion, town near Sparta in Laconia prefecture.	Melbourne. 1960's
<u>Krete.</u>		
Kretan Brotherhood of Melbourne and Victoria.	Krete	Melbourne. 1956 -
<u>Ionian Islands.</u>		
Brotherhood of Kefallonians of Victoria.	Kefallonia, island.	Melbourne. c.1959 -
Brotherhood of Kefallonians of Melbourne and Victoria, 'Ainos'.	Kefallonia, island.	Melbourne. 1959 -
Kerkyrian Brotherhood, 'St. Spyridon'.	Kerkyra, island.	Melbourne. 1962 -
Society of Zakynthians, 'Zakynthos'.	Zakynthos, island.	Melbourne. 1960 -
Lefkadian Brotherhood, 'Lefkas'.	Lefkas, island.	Melbourne. 1942 -
Ithacan Philanthropic Society, 'Ulysses'. (Has had active women's and youth and/or sports auxiliaries.)	Ithaca, island.	Melbourne. 1916 -
<u>Aegean Sea Islands.</u>		
Lemnian Brotherhood of Australia, 'Hephestus'.	Lemnos, island.	Melbourne. 1923 -
Philanthropic Organisation of Kandia Lemnos, 'St. Demnetrios'.	Kandia, town on Lemnos Island.	Melbourne. 1950's -
Brotherhood of Lemnians from Moudros.	Moudros, town on Lemnos Island.	Ballarat. 1957 - ?
Brotherhood of Tsimandrians, 'Lemnos'.	Lemnos, island.	Ballarat. 1957 - ?

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria (contd.)</u>		
<u>Aegean Sea Islands</u> (contd.)		
Chian Brotherhood, 'Adamantios Koraes'.	Chios, island.	Melbourne. c.1954 -
Lesbian Brotherhood of Melbourne and Victoria, 'Pattakos'.	Mytilene (Lesbos), island.	Melbourne. 1955 -
Union of Mytilenians, 'Arion'.	Mytilene (Lesbos), island.	Melbourne. 1965 -
Pan-Samian Brotherhood, 'Pythagoras'. (Known as Pan-Samian Brotherhood of Australia before the war.)	Samos, island.	Melbourne. 1934 -
<u>Dodocanese Islands.</u>		
Lerian Brotherhood.	Leros, island.	Melbourne. c.1965 -
Kalymnian Brotherhood, 'Kalymnos'.	Kalymnos, island.	Melbourne. 1960's -
Nisyrian Brotherhood, 'Panagia Thermiani'.	Nisyros, island.	Melbourne. 1952 -
Castellorizian Brotherhood, 'Castellorizo'. (Has active youth and women's auxiliaries.)	Kastellorizo, island.	Melbourne. 1925 -
Philanthropic Society of Kataian Rhodes of Melbourne, 'St. George'.	Katavia, village on Rhodes Island.	Melbourne. 1950's -
Rhodian Brotherhood of Melbourne and Victoria, 'Diagoras'.	Rhodes, island.	Melbourne. 1951 -
Rhodian Brotherhood of Melbourne, 'Kleovoulos'.	Rhodes, island.	Melbourne. 1935 - ?
Pan-Rhodian Union.	Rhodes, island.	Melbourne. 1934 - 1935.
Koan Brotherhood	Kos, island.	Melbourne. 1950's -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria (contd.)</u>		
<u>Cyprus.</u>		
Greek Cyprian Orthodox Community of Sunshine, Victoria, 'Apostolos Andreas'. (See also section on Greek Orthodox Communities.)	Cyprus.	Sunshine. 1955 -
Cyprian Philanthropic Society, 'Troodos'. (Amalgamated with Cyprian Community of Melbourne and Victoria in 1961.)	Cyprus.	Melbourne. 1950 - 1961.
Cyprian Brotherhood, 'Zenon'. (Amalgamated with Cyprian Community of Melbourne and Victoria in 1961.)	Cyprus.	Melbourne. 1932 - 1961.
Cyprian Community of Melbourne and Victoria. (Formed by union of 'Zenon' and 'Troodos' societies in 1961.)	Cyprus.	Melbourne. 1951 -
Cyprian Youth Club. (An auxiliary of the Cyprian Community and functions as a sub-committee.)	Cyprus.	Melbourne. 1965 -
<u>Turkey.</u>		
Pontian Brotherhood, 'Panagia Soumela'.	Pontos, north-eastern regions of Turkey.	Melbourne. 1956 -
National Brotherhood of Greek Pontians.	Pontos, north-eastern regions of Turkey.	Melbourne. 1957 -
Union of Pontian Brothers. (Proposed name for the merger of the two other Pontian Societies.)	Pontos, north-eastern regions of Turkey.	Melbourne. 1969 -
Asia Minor Brotherhood, 'Pharos Tis Erythraias'.	Turkey.	Melbourne. 1932 - ?

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria (contd.)</u>		
<u>Turkey (contd.)</u>		
Union of Constantinopolitan Christians of Melbourne and Victoria.	Constantinople, Turkey.	Melbourne. c.1968 -
Protective Society of Imbrians and Tenedians of Victoria.	Imbros and Tenedos, islands.	Melbourne. 1970 -
<u>Middle East.</u>		
Union of Greeks from Egypt and the Middle East. (Has had a variety of viable sports teams.)	Egypt and the Middle East.	Melbourne. 1950 -
<u>SOUTH AUSTRALIA.</u>		
<u>Macedonia.</u>		
Greek-Macedonian Brotherhood of S.A., 'Alexander the Great'.	Macedonia.	Adelaide. 1957 -
West Macedonian Brotherhood of S.A., 'Pavlos Melas'. (Split into rival factions after 1965 and remain as separate organisations.)	West Macedonia.	Adelaide. 1963 -
Society of Siatistians, 'Pavlos Melas'.	Siatista, city in Kozani prefecture.	Adelaide. 1954 - 1957.
Philanthropic Society of S.A., 'Flambouro'.	Flambouro, town in Florina prefecture.	Adelaide. 1957 -
Society of Chalkidikians.	Chalkidiki prefecture.	Adelaide. 1970 -
Brotherhood of Florinians, 'Aristotle'.	Florina, prefecture and city.	Adelaide. 1970 -
Macedonian Society, 'Florina'. (Formed largely by Hellenised Slav-Macedonians.)	Florina, city and prefecture.	Adelaide. 1962 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES.(Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>South Australia (contd.)</u>		
<u>Epiros.</u>		
Pan-Epirotic Society of S.A., 'Pyrrhus'.	Epiros.	Adelaide. 1969 -
<u>Peloponnesos.</u>		
Peloponnesian Brotherhood of S.A., 'Moreas'.	Peloponnesos.	Adelaide. 1956 -
Levidion Brotherhood of S.A., 'Progress'.	Levidion, town in Arcadia prefecture.	Adelaide. c.1957 -
Korinthian Society of S.A.	Korinthos prefec- ture.	Adelaide. 1969 -
'Epidavros' Benevolent Association of S.A.	Epidavros, Argolis prefecture.	Adelaide. 1970 -
Messinian Brotherhood of S.A.	Messinia prefec- ture.	Adelaide. 1959 -
Pan-Laonian Society of S.A., 'Leonidas'.	Laonia prefecture.	Adelaide. 1967 -
Pan-Arkadian Society of S.A., 'Kolokotronis'.	Arcadia prefecture.	Adelaide. c.1962 -
<u>Ionian Islands.</u>		
Society of Ithacans.	Ithaca, island.	Adelaide. c.1964 -
Zakynthos Society of S.A.	Zakynthos, island.	Adelaide. 1963 - 1965.
<u>Aegean Sea Islands.</u>		
Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia, 'Ikaros'.	Ikaria, island.	Adelaide. 1958 -
Mytilenian Brotherhood of S.A., 'Lesbos'.	Mytilene (Lesbos), island.	Adelaide. 1963 -
Samos Association of S.A., 'Pythagoras'.	Samos, island.	Adelaide. 1962 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>South Australia (contd.)</u>		
<u>Aegean Sea Islands</u> (contd.)		
Chios Association of S.A., 'Adamantios Koraes'.	Chios, island.	Adelaide. 1961 -
Chian Brotherhood.	Chios, island.	Adelaide. 1944 - 1946.
Lemnian Brotherhood of S.A.	Lemnos, island.	Adelaide. 1962 -
<u>Dodocanese Islands.</u>		
Malonas Society of S.A., 'St. George'.	Malonas, town on Rhodes Island.	Adelaide. 1960 -
Castellorizian Brotherhood of S.A., 'Megisti'.	Kastellorizo, island.	Adelaide. 1928 -
Pan-Rhodian Society of S.A., 'Colossus'. (At first also known as Branch No. 3 of the Rhodian Union of Australia.)	Rhodes, island.	Adelaide. 1944 -
Pan-Koan Society of S.A., 'Hippocrates'.	Kos, island.	Adelaide. 1957 -
Gennadian Society of S.A., 'Evangelismos'.	Gennadi, town on Rhodes Island.	Adelaide. 1959 -
Lachania Society of Australia.	Lachania, town on Rhodes Island.	Adelaide. 1951 -
<u>Cyprus.</u>		
Cyprian Society of S.A., 'Kypros'.	Cyprus.	Adelaide. 1947 -
<u>Middle East.</u>		
Greeks from Egypt and the Middle East Society.	Egypt and the Middle East.	Adelaide. 1951 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>South Australia</u> (contd.)		
	<u>Turkey.</u>	
Pontiak Brotherhood of S.A.	Pontos, north-eastern regions of Turkey.	Adelaide. 1958 -
Philanthropic Society of Levesi.	Levesi, town in Turkey (opposite Kastellorizo Is.)	Adelaide. 1945 - 1946.
Greeks from Asia Minor Association of S.A.	Turkey.	Adelaide. 1961 - 1963.
<u>QUEENSLAND.</u>		
	<u>Peloponnesos.</u>	
Peloponnesian Association, 'Moreas'.	Peloponnesos.	Brisbane. 1954 -
	<u>Ionian Islands.</u>	
Benevolent Society of Mylopotamians, Kythera.	Mylopotami, village on Kythera Island.	Brisbane. 1951 - 1952.
Kytheran Association of Queensland.	Kythera, island.	Brisbane. 1934 -
	<u>Aegean Sea Islands.</u>	
Pan-Chian Brotherhood of Queensland, 'St. Markella'.	Chios, island.	Brisbane. 1952 -
	<u>Dodecanese Islands.</u>	
Pan-Rhodian Society. (Also known as Branch No. 2 of the Rhodian Union of Australia, and in 1945 became the 'Central Seat' of this Union.)	Rhodes, island.	Brisbane. 1944 -
Pan-Rhodian Union of Australia, 'Colossus'. (Also known as Branch No. 2 of the Rhodian Union of Australia.)	Rhodes, island.	Biloela. 1931 - 1949.

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Queensland (contd.)</u>		
	<u>Dodecanese Islands</u> (contd.)	
Society of Mesagrinians, 'Taxiarchis Michael'.	Mesagros, town on Rhodes Island.	Brisbane. 1950's.
Kastellorizan Brotherhood of Queensland.	Kastellorizo, island.	Brisbane. 1930's.
Kastellorizan Brotherhood of Innisfail, 'Megisti'.	Kastellorizo, island.	Innisfail. 1937 -
	<u>Cyprus.</u>	
Cyprian Brotherhood, 'Kyprianos'.	Cyprus.	Brisbane. 1936 -
	<u>Middle East.</u>	
Society of Greeks from Egypt and the Middle East.	Egypt and the Middle East.	Brisbane. 1952-
	<u>Turkey.</u>	
Ionian Association of Queensland.	Turkey.	Brisbane. 1945 -
<u>WESTERN AUSTRALIA.</u>		
	<u>Macedonia.</u>	
Greek Brotherhood, 'Florina'.	Florina, city and prefecture.	Perth. c.1968 -
Mutual-Aid Society of Greek Macedonians, 'Alexander the Great'.	Macedonia.	Perth. 1931 -
	<u>Dodecanese Islands.</u>	
Kastellorizan Brotherhood of W.A.	Kastellorizo, island.	Perth. 1912 -
	<u>Aegean Sea Islands.</u>	
Mytilenean Brotherhood.	Mytilene, island.	Perth. 1968 -

REGIONAL FRATERNITIES. (Contd.)

NAME	PLACE OF ORIGIN	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY.</u>		
	<u>Dodecanese Islands.</u>	
Karpathian Society of Australia.	Karpathos, island.	Canberra. 1960's.
<u>NORTHERN TERRITORY.</u>		
	<u>Dodecanese Islands.</u>	
Kalymnian Brotherhood, 'St. Pandeileimon'.	Kalymnos, island.	Darwin. 1960's.
	<u>Cyprus.</u>	
Cypriot Brotherhood of North Australia.	Cyprus.	Darwin. 1960's.
<u>NEW ZEALAND.</u>		
	<u>Ionian Islands.</u>	
Ithacan Society 'Odysseus', Wellington.	Ithaca, island.	Wellington. 1950's.
	<u>Cyprus.</u>	
Cypriot Brotherhood of N.Z.	Cyprus.	Wellington. 1950's.
	<u>Rumania.</u>	
Apollo Society (Rumano-Greeks).	Rumania.	Wellington. 1959's.

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS.

NAME	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>NEW SOUTH WALES.</u>	
Community Educational Society	Sydney 1928 - 1941
Philanthropic Society, 'Piety' (Auxiliary of G.O.C. of N.S.W.)	Sydney c.1956 - ?
Greek Society of Parents and Guardians, 'Athena'.	Aubury 1968 - and environ.
Philanthropic Society, 'The Good Samaritan'.	Sydney 1956 -
Educational Society of New Australians	Sydney 1954 - ?
A.H.E.P.A.	Scone 1936 - ?
A.H.E.P.A. (Prometheus Lodge (1953-); Anatole Lodge (1957-); Daughters of Penelope Arete Lodge (1955-); Grand Lodge (1950's -).)	Sydney 1951 -
A.H.E.P.A. Younger Set	Sydney 1960's -
Hellenic Lyceum Club	Sydney 1952 -
Young Matrons Association	Sydney c.1954 -
Hellenic Club	Sydney 1926 -
Greek Australian Fidelity Club	Sydney 1947 -
Pan-Hellenic Union	Sydney 1924 - 1932
Greek Progressive Society	Sydney c.1933 -
Greek Educational and Athletic Society of Youth (E.A.M.O.N.)	Sydney 1964 -
Hellenic Social Educational Association, 'Phoenix'	Sydney c.1964 -
Philoptochos Society of Greek Women	Sydney 1929 - ?
Pan-Hellenic Federation of Youth of Australia (P.O.T.N.A.S.)	Sydney 1932 - 1934
Greek Society of Youth	Sydney 1936 - ?
Olympic Athletic Club	Sydney 1946 - 1957
Community Youth Club (E.K.O.N.)	Sydney 1963 - 1965

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>New South Wales (Contd.)</u>	
Greek Student Society (Also known as Sigma Epsilon Phi since 1958.)	Sydney 1946 -
Greek Youth Christian Union	Sydney 1957 - ?
Philoptochos Brotherhood (Auxiliaries of Archdiocese churches.)	Sydney c.1960 -
Greek Orthodox Youth Association (Auxiliaries of eight Archdiocese churches.)	Sydney 1962 -
Christian Ladies Society	Sydney c.1958 - ?
Progressive Winebibbers Society of Australia, 'Bacchus'	Sydney 1965 -
Greek Boy Scout Body of Australia	Sydney 1929 - 1930
Greek Boy Sea Scout Body	Sydney 1956 - ?
Greek Boy Scout Body of Australia (Proscopi Greek Australian Youth Association) (Several troupes)	Sydney 1954 -
Greek Girl Guides	Sydney c.1965 -
Greek-Australian Association of Importers	Sydney 1968 -
Greek Music Lovers Society (Also known as Greek Drama Lovers Society)	Sydney 1915 -
Hellenic Cultural Society	Sydney 1951 - 1956
Society of Fine Arts	Sydney 1956 - ?
Greek Artists Group	Sydney c.1954 -
Music Lovers Society	Sydney c.1965 -
Theatre Artists 'Apollo'	Sydney 1969 -
Greek Chamber of Commerce	Sydney 1964 -
Greek Importers Association	Sydney c.1967 -
Greek-Australian League	Sydney 1940 - ?
R.S.S.A.I.L. of Australia, N.S.W. Branch, Greek Sub-Branch	Sydney 1941 -
Community National Rally (P.E.S.)	Sydney 1962 - 1966

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>New South Wales (contd.)</u>	
Greek-Australian League, 'Concord' (A branch of P.E.S.)	Sydney 1962 -
League of Greek Reservists	Sydney 1967 - ?
Greek Educational Society, 'Plato'	Sydney 1933 - 1938
Greek Atlas League	Sydney 1939 -
Democratic Youth League, 'Lambrakis'	Sydney 1965 -
Greek Seamen's Union of Great Britain, Sydney Branch	Sydney 1942 - 1946
Greek League, 'Spartakos'	Sydney 1943 - 1944
League for Democracy in Greece	Sydney 1947 - ?
Greek Workers' Society, 'Socrates'	Newcastle c.1962 - ?
Greek Workers' Society, 'Heraclitus'	Wollongong c.1963 - ?
Society of Greeks of Golden Coast	Parkes c.1964 - ?
Greek Mutual-Aid Society, 'Concord'	Broken Hill 1934 - 1960
Greek Brotherhood, 'Concord'	Newcastle 1933 - 1948
The Hearth of Greek Workers of New South Wales	Sydney c.1970 -
'Pan-Hellenic' Soccer (and Sports) Club	Sydney c.1956 -
Canterbury Soccer Club (Taken over by Greeks in the 1960's.)	Sydney ?
'Panhellenic' Athletic and Picknicking Society	Sydney c.1961 -
International (Diethnes) Soccer Team	Sydney 1960's.
'Hercules' Strathfield Soccer Team (Amalgamated with Pan-Hellenic in 1968)	Sydney c.1962 - 1968
'Thyella' Enmore Soccer Club	Sydney c.1964 -
Hellas Soccer Club	Sydney c.1962 -
Olympic Soccer Club	Sydney c.1954 -
'Proodeftikos' Newtown Soccer	Sydney 1960's -
Campsie Stars (Greek) Soccer Team	Sydney 1960's -

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS	
<u>New South Wales (contd.)</u>		
'Apollo' Athletic Club	Sydney	c.1963 - ?
'A.E.K.' Soccer Club	Sydney	c.1963 - ?
'Astro' Soccer Club	Sydney	c.1957 -
'Rhodes' Rosebury Soccer Club (Patronised by Rhodians)	Sydney	c.1968 -
Greek Soccer Club Balmain United	Sydney	c.1969 -
'Olympia' Greek Soccer Team	Sydney	1935 - 1936
'Atlas' Greek Gymnasium	Sydney	1928 - 1932
Greek Bowling Club	Sydney	1947 - ?
Hellas Soccer Club	Wollongong	1957 -
Greek Friendly Society of Wollongong (Transformed into the G.O.C. in 1955)	Wollongong	1954 - 1955
Panhellenic Soccer Club	Newcastle	1950's -
<u>VICTORIA.</u>		
Greek Society	Melbourne	c.1912 - ?
Greek Amateur and Philanthropic Society, 'Orpheus'	Melbourne	1916
Greek Women's Society	Melbourne	1916 - ?
Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion of Australia	Melbourne	1936 -
Hellenikon Ekpaideuterion Victorias (Greek Educationist of Victoria) (Body in charge of Greek School)	Melbourne	c.1938 - ?
Ekpaideutikos Syndesmos Hellenon Victorias (Educational Society of Greeks of Victoria) (Body in charge of Greek School)	Melbourne	1939 - 1940
Greek Workers League, 'Democritos'	Melbourne	1935 -
The Hellenic Shopkeepers Association of Victoria (Changed to Greek Chamber of Commerce in April, 1945)	Melbourne	1943 - 1945

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Victoria (contd.)</u>	
Greek Chamber of Commerce (Attempts to revive it made in 1957 and again in 1964.)	Melbourne 1945 - ?
A.H.E.P.A. (Athenian Lodge (1944-); Daughters of Penelope Lodge; Athena (late 1940's -); Grand Lodge (1950's -).)	Melbourne 1940's -
Ahepa Youth Club (For boys and girls in 13 - 16 year age group.)	Melbourne 1968 -
Hellenic Freemason's Association	Melbourne 1940 - ?
Anglo-Greek League	Melbourne 1938 - 1945
Greek-Australian League	Melbourne 1957 - ?
Progressive Union of Melbourne	Melbourne 1968 -
Greek Sub-Branch of the Australian Red Cross	Melbourne 1939 -
Philoptochos Brotherhood (Auxiliaries of Archdiocese churches)	Melbourne 1957
Greek Orthodox Christian Society of Melbourne, 'Saviour'	Melbourne 1960's
Olympic Athletic Club	Melbourne 1943 -
Greek Youth Club	Melbourne 1938 - 1939
First Greek Boy Scout Body (Fourteen troupes by 1968)	Melbourne 1953 -
Orthodox Christian Union of Greek Youth of Australia (O.H.E.E.N.A.)	Melbourne 1954 - 1962
Greek Orthodox Youth Association (GOYA) (Auxiliaries of seven Archdiocese churches)	Melbourne 1962 -
Greek Progressive Youth of Australia	Melbourne 1968 -
Greek Students Society	Melbourne 1963 -
Melbourne University Greek Club	Melbourne 1967 -

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>VICTORIA</u> (Contd.)	
Athletic and Cultural Society, 'Apollo'	Melbourne 1934 - 1935
Greek Cultural Society	Melbourne 1970 -
'Doxa' Soccer Club (Richmond)	Melbourne c. 1962 -
'Olympic' Soccer Club (North Carlton)	Melbourne c. 1960 -
'A.E.K.' Soccer Club (Parkville)	Melbourne c. 1960 -
'Athena' Soccer and Social Club	Melbourne c. 1962 -
'Alexander the Great' Soccer Club	Melbourne 1959 -
South Melbourne 'Hellas' Soccer Club (Formed by amalgamation of 'Hellenic', 'Ajax' and South Melbourne soccer clubs.)	Melbourne 1960 -
'Keravnos' Soccer Club (Thunderbolt)	Melbourne 1960's -
Hellenic Soccer Club (Merged into South Melbourne Hellas Soccer Club)	Melbourne 1951 - 1960
'Ajax' Soccer Club (Merged into South Melbourne Hellas Soccer Club)	Melbourne 1953 - 1960
'Hercules' Sports Club	Melbourne c. 1962 -
Windsor Soccer Club	Melbourne 1960's -
Yarraville Soccer Club	Melbourne 1960's -
Garden City Soccer Club	Melbourne 1960's -
Albert Park Soccer Club	Melbourne 1960's -
West Melbourne Soccer Club 'Astrape' (Lightning)	Melbourne 1960's -
Greek Reservist Warriors' Organisation of Victoria	Melbourne 1970 -
Greek-Australian Committee 'The Truth' about Greece'	Melbourne 1970 -
Society of Greek Artists	Melbourne 1971 -
Greek Soccer Team 'Greka'	Melbourne 1970 -
Kalamata Soccer Team	Melbourne 1971 -
Coburg Soccer Club 'Atlas'	Melbourne 1970 -
Modern Greek Teachers Association	Melbourne 1971 -
Greek-Australian Progressive Association (GAPA).	Melbourne 1972 -
Greek Women Lyceum of Melbourne	Melbourne 1974 -
Organisation of World Hellenism	Melbourne 1972 -

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION	AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>VICTORIA (Contd.)</u>		
Lord's Creation Brotherhood	Melbourne	1974 -
Greek Soccer Team 'Dynamo'	Melbourne	1973 -
Greek Students and Graduates Association of Melbourne	Melbourne	1973 -
Council of Greek Culture	Melbourne	1973 -
Greek Youth Club	Melbourne	1973 -
New Hellas Soccer Club	Melbourne	1973 -
Ares-Hyghett Soccer Club	Melbourne	1973 -
Doxa-Yarraville Soccer Club	Melbourne	1973 -
Pelops-Hawthorn Soccer Club	Melbourne	1973 -
Greek Educational League, 'Plato' (Transformed into a G.O.C. in the 1960's)	Mildura	1943 -
Panhellenic Philanthropic Society, 'Pericles' (Transformed into the G.O.C. of Mildura in 1962)	Mildura	1958 - 1961
<u>SOUTH AUSTRALIA.</u>		
Hellenic Association of S.A. 'Concord'	Adelaide	1924 - 1928
Greek Cultural Society, 'Apollo'	Adelaide	1929 - 1937
Greek Ex-Serviceman's Association of S.A.	Adelaide	1946 -
Greek Educational League	Adelaide	1942 - 1944
Panhellenic Society of Greeks of S.A.	Adelaide	1946 - 1956
Greek Workers Educational Association of S.A., 'Platon'	Adelaide	1957 -
Hellenic Artistic Association of S.A. 'Aristophanes' (Renamed Hellenic Progressive Association of S.A. 'Aristophanes' in 1964)	Adelaide	1955 -
Greek Orthodox Migrant Council of S.A.	Adelaide	1957 - 1959
Australian-Greek University Association	Adelaide	1966 -
Winebibbers Association of S.A., 'The Barrel'	Adelaide	1965 -
Hellenic Red Cross Sub-Branch	Adelaide	1968 -
Greek Women's Society 'Archangels Gabriel and Michael' (An auziliary of the G.O.C. of S.A.)	Adelaide	1937 -

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION	AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>SOUTH AUSTRALIA (Contd.)</u>		
Philoptochos Brotherhood (Auxiliaries of Archdiocese churches)	Adelaide	1957 -
Hellenic Youth Club of S.A.	Adelaide	1944 -
Hellenic Younger Set (An offshoot of the Hellenic Youth Club of S.A.)	Adelaide	1964 -
Orthodox Christian Union of Greek Youth of Australia (O.H.E.E.N.A.)	Adelaide	1957 - 1961
Greek Orthodox Youth Association (Auxiliaries of Archdiocese churches)	Adelaide	1962 -
Democratic Youth League, 'Lambrakis'	Adelaide	1964 -
Cultural Society, 'Arion'	Adelaide	1955 - ?
Greek Boy Scout Body	Adelaide	1952 -
Olympic Soccer Club	Adelaide	1947 - 1956
Hellenic Soccer Club	Adelaide	1958 - 1961
West Adelaide 'Hellas' Soccer Club (Olympic 1947 - 1955; Hellenic 1956 - 1961; Hellas 1961 -)	Adelaide	1961 -
'Apollo II' (North Adelaide) Soccer Club	Adelaide	1969 -
'Doxa' Soccer Club	Adelaide	c. 1961 - 1966
'Omonoia' Soccer Club (Patronised by Greek Cypriots)	Adelaide	1957 - 1959
Athletic Youth Club	Adelaide	1939 - 1940
National Organisation of Greeks of S.A.	Adelaide	1971 -
Parents and Guardians Committee of the Seventeenth Scout Group	Adelaide	1972 -
Hellenic Lions' Club	Adelaide	1973 -
A.H.E.P.A. Anaxagoras Lodge	Adelaide	1973 -
A.H.E.P.A. Persephone Lodge	Adelaide	1974 -
Society of Parents and Trustees 'Concord'	Adelaide	1973 -
Whyalla Thunderers	Whyalla	1950's -
Hellas Soccer Club (At first called Olympic Flame)	Port Pirie	1950's -
Corinthian Soccer Club	Renmark	1960's -
Hellas Soccer Club	Renmark	1960's -
Olympic Soccer Club	Berri	c. 1960 -

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION	AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>QUEENSLAND.</u>		
Hellenic Society of Queensland (Known as Hellenic Club)	Brisbane	1913 -
Greek Music Lovers Society	Brisbane	1923 - ?
Greek Cultural Society	Brisbane	1923 - ?
Greek Music Society, 'Arion'	Brisbane	1933 - ?
Greek Philanthropic and Cultural Society, 'Apollo'	Brisbane	1933 - ?
Greek Chamber of Commerce	Brisbane	1927 - ?
Educational and Cultural Society of Queensland Youth	Brisbane	1938 - ?
Greek Community Educationist, 'Solon'	Brisbane	1931 - ?
A.H.E.P.A. (Hellas Lodge (1936-); Zenon Lodge (1955-); Daughters of Penelope; Themis Lodge (1953-); Grand Lodge (1954-); Supreme Lodge of Australia (1948-)	Brisbane	1936 -
'Hellenic' Soccer Club (Managed by the Hellenic Australian Youth Association of Queensland between 1950 - 1956)	Brisbane	1956 -
Hellenic Branch of the Red Cross	Brisbane	1940's -
Australian-Hellenic Youth Association (Merged into GOYA in 1966)	Brisbane	1945 - 1966
Greek Orthodox Youth Association (Absorbed the Australian-Greek Youth Association in 1966)	Brisbane	1966 -
Greek Women's Society of Queensland (Also known as Brotherhood of Greek Women, 'Tavitha' (1937- ?) and Union of Greek Women of Queensland, 'Hellas' (1940- ?).) (An auxiliary of the G.O.C. in Brisbane)	Brisbane	1931 -
Greek Boy Scouts	Brisbane	1960's -
Greek Ladies Philoptochos Society of St. George	Brisbane	c. 1960 -
Greek Society, 'Regas Pheraios' (Merged into Greek Democratic Union 1949 - 1951)	Brisbane	1943 - 1949
Greek Democratic Union	Brisbane	1949 - 1951
Progressive League of Greeks in Queensland, 'Palamas'	Brisbane	1964 -

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Queensland (contd.)</u>	
Greek Ladies Philoptochos Society of St. George	Brisbane c.1960 -
Greek Society, 'Regas Pheraios' (Merged into Greek Democratic Union 1949 - 1951)	Brisbane 1943 - 1949
Greek Democratic Union	Brisbane 1949 - 1951
Progressive League of Greeks in Queensland, 'Palamas'	Brisbane 1964 -
Greek Women's Society (Auxiliary of the G.O.C. in Innisfail)	Innisfail 1933 -
Hellenic Society of North Queensland (Transformed into the G.O.C. of Innisfail in 1933 - 1934)	Innisfail 1925 - 1934
A.H.E.P.A. (Solon Lodge)	Innisfail 1947 -
Greek Progressive Society	Mackay 1936 - ?
A.H.E.P.A. (Pericles Lodge)	Mackay 1947 -
Progressive and Educational Society	Silkwood 1938 - ?
Greek Union of Central Queensland	Rockhampton 1937 - ?
A.H.E.P.A. (Plato Lodge)	Rockhampton 1947 -
Greek Educational Society	Townsville 1936 - 1945
A.H.E.P.A. (Pythagoras Lodge)	Townsville 1947 -
Greek Brotherhood, 'Concord'	Home Hill 1935 - ?
Greek Philanthropic Society	Babinda 1934 - ?
A.H.E.P.A. (Socrates Lodge)	Goomeri 1944 -
<u>WESTERN AUSTRALIA.</u>	
Hellenic Union (Also known as the Hellenic Club or Hellenic Association)	Perth 1918 -
Cultural Society	Perth 1923 - ?

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS
<u>Western Australia (contd.)</u>	
Greek Women's Society (Hellenic Women's Association) (Auxiliary of the G.O.C. in Perth)	Perth 1926 -
Greek Cultural Society, 'Byron'	Perth 1928 - 1930
Greek Cultural Society	Perth 1931 - ?
Music Society, 'Orpheus'	Perth 1939 - 1941
Christian Union of Women	Perth c.1965 -
A.H.E.P.A.	Perth c.1960 -
Australian-Hellenic Young Men's Association	Perth 1930 - 1931
Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion of W.A.	Perth 1941 -
Hellenic Youth Association (formerly Progressive Hellenic Youth Association)	Perth 1939 -
Athena Association (A sports (mainly soccer) club)	Perth 1951
Philanthropic Society, 'Lord Byron'	Geraldton 1939 -
Agricultural Society of Greeks, 'Hope'	Geraldton 1939 - ?
Greek Brotherhood, 'Concord'	Geraldton 1933 - 1938
Hellenic Union	Geraldton c.1952 -
Olympic Soccer Club	Geraldton c.1961 -
United Greek Society of Bunbury	Bunbury 1936 -
Greek Union of Kalgoorlie	Kalgoorlie 1934 - ?
<u>TASMANIA.</u>	
Hellenic Youth Club	Hobart c.1959 -
Olympic Soccer Club	Hobart c.1959 -
Greek Orthodox Youth Association	Hobart 1960's -

PANHELLENIC ORGANISATIONS (Contd.)

NAME	LOCATION AND ACTIVE YEARS	
<u>NORTHERN TERRITORY.</u>		
Olympic Soccer Club	Darwin	1960's -
Hellenic Soccer Club	Darwin	c.1964 -
A.E.K. Soccer Club	Darwin	1960's -
Omonia Soccer Club	Darwin	1960's -
Hellas Soccer Club	Darwin	1960's -
Zorba Society	Darwin	1969
Greek Orthodox Youth Association	Darwin	1960's
<u>AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY.</u>		
Olympic Soccer Club	Canberra	1950's -
Greek Orthodox Youth Association	Canberra	1960's -
<u>NEW ZEALAND.</u>		
Panhellenic Brotherhood	Wellington	1928 -
Greek Educational Society	Wellington	1937 - ?
Greek Youth Club, 'Olympia'	Wellington	1950's -

APPENDIX B

The immigration of Greeks and Cypriots into Australia and the numerical growth of Australia's Greeks recorded by censuses are tabulated below. The numbers of arrivals and departures represent 'a permanent and long-term movement' which means that those arriving or departing did so for one year or more. The immigration figures, given in calendar years until 1965, were procured from Demography Bulletins published by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. Thereafter, but including the last six months of 1965, information was procured from the Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics (No. 3, 1969) which gave immigration figures at the end of each financial year. This source supplied only the number of arrivals and departures. No purpose can be served by elaborating further on the problems and difficulties in ascertaining correctly the number of Greeks in Australia except to say that between October, 1945, and July, 1969, 184,715 permanent settlers were listed as Greek nationals while 178,517 were born in Greece: the difference of 6,198 between these two categories illustrates just one of the problems.

TABLE I.

IMMIGRATION OF GREEKS INTO AUSTRALIA

PLACE OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE: GREECE

575

Year	Arrivals			Departures			Net				
	Males	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Total		
1901-5	NOT AVAILABLE										
1906			200			94			106		
1907			170			78			92		
1908			279			102			177		
1909			335			203			132		
1910			390			97			293		
1911			611			185			426		
1912	NOT AVAILABLE										
1913											
1914											
1915	302	62	364	157	16	173	145	46	191		
1916	144	22	166	73	2	75	71	20	91		
1917	195	65	260	81	1	82	114	64	178		
1918	148	131	279	12	0	12	136	131	267		
1919	51	34	85	187	17	204	-136	17	-119		
1920	104	25	129	237	47	284	-133	- 22	-155		
1921	155	73	288	168	26	194	- 13	47	34		
1922	322	146	468	69	13	82	253	133	386		
1923	675	246	921	54	7	61	621	239	860		
1924	1,723	262	1,985	133	26	159	1,590	236	1,826		
1925	526	119	645	320	40	360	206	79	285		
1926	548	135	683	234	43	277	314	92	406		
1927	1,459	134	1,593	295	55	350	1,164	79	1,243		
1928	742	112	854	412	38	450	330	74	404		
1929	284	124	408	376	60	436	- 92	64	- 28		
1930	213	91	304	497	58	555	-284	33	-251		

T A B L E I. (Contd.)

Year	Arrivals			Departures			Net		
	Males	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Total
1931	102	61	163	549	35	584	-447	26	-421
1932	126	66	192	273	23	296	-147	43	-104
1933	194	87	281	230	34	264	- 36	53	17
1934	261	97	358	217	25	242	44	72	116
1935	274	167	441	224	31	255	50	136	186
1936	460	243	703	174	34	208	286	209	495
1937	1,149	253	1,402	191	47	238	958	206	1,164
1938	877	226	1,103	239	22	261	638	204	842
1939	702	294	996	152	33	185	550	261	811
1940	140	56	196	16	13	29	124	43	167
1941									7
1942									11
1943									- 3
1944									10
1945									
1946	91	101	192	11	1	12	80	100	180
1947	561	570	1,131	22	10	32	639	560	1,099
1948	595	672	1,267	70	25	95	525	647	1,172
1949	701	736	1,437	43	35	78	658	701	1,359
1950	1,124	751	1,875	83	40	123	1,041	711	1,752
1951	1,232	724	1,956	49	20	69	1,183	704	1,887
1952	1,118	719	1,837	161	63	224	957	656	1,613
1953	1,683	993	2,676	99	40	139	1,584	953	2,537
1954	6,240	3,445	9,685	140	88	228	6,100	3,357	9,547
1955	7,796	2,593	10,389	97	71	168	7,699	2,522	10,221
1956	6,890	3,999	10,889	166	88	254	6,724	3,911	10,635
1957	1,790	4,674	6,464	235	126	361	1,555	4,548	6,103
1958	1,192	3,831	5,023	475	256	731	717	3,575	4,292
1959	2,645	3,228	5,873	426	262	688	2,219	2,966	5,185
1960	5,021	4,154	9,175	491	303	794	4,530	3,851	8,381

Contd.....

TABLE I. (contd.)

Year	Arrivals			Departures			Net		
	Males	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Total	Males	Fem.	Total
1961	2,712	5,263	7,975	626	375	1,001	2,086	4,888	6,974
1962	4,597	7,707	12,304	794	574	1,368	3,803	7,133	10,936
1963	5,542	5,566	11,108	861	740	1,601	4,681	4,826	9,507
1964	9,448	9,011	18,459	911	782	1,693	8,537	8,229	16,766
1965	9,055	8,856	17,911	1,269	1,178	2,447	7,776	7,678	15,464
1965-6			15,153			225			14,928
1966-7			9,826			345			9,481
1967-8			8,750			362			8,388
1968-9			11,489			450			11,039

TABLE III.

GREEK-BORN RESIDENTS IN AUSTRALIA 1891 - 1966

<u>Yr. of Census</u>	<u>Sexes</u>	<u>N.S.W.</u>	<u>Vic.</u>	<u>Q'ld.</u>	<u>S.A.</u>	<u>W.A.</u>	<u>Tas.</u>	<u>N.T.</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>	<u>Total for CwLth.</u>
1891	Males	241	185	?	?	15	5	?	?	446
	Females	14	17	?	?	2	3	?	?	36
	Total	255	202	?	?	17	8	?	?	482
1901	Males	357	171	85	52	146	4	?	?	815
	Females	35	10	6	7	2	3	?	?	63
	Total	392	181	91	59	148	7	?	?	878
1911	Males	764	279	248	75	323	2	?	?	1,714
	Females	58	18	14	1	12	2	?	?	106
	Total	822	297	262	76	335	4	?	?	1,820
1921	Males	1,393	505	637	125	428	11	48	?	3,147
	Females	186	53	64	27	148	1	28	?	507
	Total	1,579	558	701	152	576	12	76	?	3,654
1933	Males	2,347	1,356	1,234	556	999	14	35	?	6,541
	Females	593	300	393	184	293	3	22	?	1,788
	Total	2,940	1,656	1,627	740	1,292	17	57	?	8,329
1947	Males	3,410	2,140	1,304	707	1,451	29	49	25	9,115
	Females	1,225	608	521	317	482	5	10	8	3,176
	Total	4,635	2,748	1,825	1,024	1,933	34	59	33	12,291

Contd....

TABLE III. (contd.)

<u>Yr. of Census</u>	<u>Sexes</u>	<u>N.S.W.</u>	<u>Vic.</u>	<u>Q'ld.</u>	<u>S.A.</u>	<u>W.A.</u>	<u>Tas.</u>	<u>N.T.</u>	<u>A.C.T.</u>	<u>Total for Cwlth.</u>
1954	Males	5,988	5,009	1,722	1,819	1,981	134	87	?	16,794
	Females	3,187	2,636	954	990	1,232	16	23	?	9,068
	Total	9,175	7,645	2,676	2,809	3,213	150	110	84	25,862
1961	Males	15,380	17,239	2,581	5,319	2,260	345	388	241	43,753
	Females	11,371	14,421	1,398	4,157	1,827	141	161	127	33,603
	Total	26,751	31,660	3,979	9,476	4,087	486	549	368	77,356
1966	Males	25,792	32,884	2,546	7,834	3,113	451	798	518	73,936
	Females	22,702	31,391	1,851	6,826	2,330	304	399	350	66,153
	Total	48,494	64,275	4,397	14,660	5,443	755	1,197	868	140,089

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