

The Greek Settlement in Australia

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RÉSUMÉ

L'Australie, étant vulnérable aux menaces extérieures et essayant de faire décentraliser son marché de main-d'oeuvre, a réussi à développer des mécanismes de contrôle aussi bien qu'une politique cohérente de migration et d'établissement et elle a pu ainsi contrôler les mouvements de la population. On estime que 16 000 immigrants grecs sont arrivés en Australie pendant la période avant la Seconde Guerre mondiale et que 270 000 parmi les 3 millions d'immigrants après la guerre étaient grecs. Les immigrants grecs en Australie gardent leur double citoyenneté ainsi que leur double fidélité envers la Grèce et l'Australie, quoique ce type d'identification les met, avec les autres immigrants européens et asiatiques, en difficulté parce que l'identification non-britannique cause souvent ressentiment et intolérance. Mais, avec la consolidation de la communauté grecque, les préjugés envers les immigrants grecs se sont graduellement évaporés. Les immigrants grecs ont contribué substantiellement au profil européen en Australie. Ils ont enjolivé la vie australienne avec une chaîne efficace et compétente dans les domaines du commerce, de la construction, de la restauration, de l'administration et de la vie académique. La présence surtout d'une génération des Grecs nés en Australie et qui ont réussi en tant que professionnels, technocrates, administrateurs publics, marchands et entrepreneurs, a apporté à la communauté grecque une importance et une prééminence qui ont affecté et influencé la société australienne toute entière.

ABSTRACT

Australia, vulnerable to external threat and in attempting to decentralize its labour market, managed to develop control mechanisms as well as a cohesive migration and settlement policy, thus controlling population movements. It is estimated that during the pre-WWII period, 16 000 Greek migrants arrived in Australia bringing with them their trades, ideas and institutions. During the post WWII period, approximately three million migrants settled in Australia, amongst whom 270 000 were from Greece. Greek settlers in Australia maintain their dual citizenship as well as their dual loyalty to both Greece and their host country. This type of identification, however, places most European and Asian settlers in a deprived situation because non-British identification often triggered resentment and intolerance. But, with the consolidation of the Greek community, the traditional reluctance and suspicion of the local Australian society towards Greek migrants and their linguistic and cultural background evaporated. Suspicion gradually changed to cautious tolerance and, finally, acceptance.

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1. Australia: an Immigrant Country

1.1 Australia: the Colonial and Post-Colonial Era.

Australia is an old continent, first inhabited 40 000 years ago by people coming via South East Asia in hand-made canoes and bamboo rafts. The Aboriginal civilisation, which they created in this vast country of the South, is the most ancient continuous civilisation known. When European settlement began in 1788, the number of indigenous people was approximately 350 000. The new settlers comprised 1 000 British, 750 of whom were convicts. For the first fifty years of European settlement, the Aborigines and the Torres Strait Islanders were the largest part of the Australian population.

European settlement, especially British, was imposed on the indigenous people. In the main, the process was passively accepted, but it provided the breeding ground for some resistance and violence. Aboriginal attacks on British settlers were reported as late as 1860. The number of those killed is estimated at about 2 000. The number of indigenous people who died was ten times greater, mainly because their social groups did not have the necessary political structures to enable extensive, organised military resistance. Miserable living conditions, disease, and the government's lack of interest in instituting laws that would ensure their organised care, resulted in a gradual decrease in the indigenous population. Concentrated mainly in the Northern Territory (*NT*), Western Australia (*WA*) and Queensland (*Qld*), by 1933 the indigenous population was only 73 828. By 1991 it had risen again to 189 000, but the proportion of the Aboriginal population compared to the rest of the population was still negligible. It did not exceed 1.5 per cent of the Australian population. Europeans represented 94 per cent, and non-Europeans 4.5 per cent of the total population.

The transfer of convicts to eastern Australia from the overflowing British prisons continued until 1852 when the first Greek pioneers arrived seeking their fortune. The transfer of exiled convicts to WA continued until 1868. From 1788 to 1868, over 180 000 British and

Irish convicts arrived in Australia. By the middle of the 19th century they constituted approximately 40 per cent of the population of New South Wales (*NSW*) and Tasmania. The outcasts of the British prisons became the labour force on which the Australian economy developed. The original labour force consisted overwhelmingly of men (*80 per cent*). They were mainly at their most productive age, between 20 and 35 years old, serving seven-year terms of imprisonment (*usually in chains*). Approximately 25 per cent had been sentenced for life. Their offences varied from theft and burglary to petty fraud. A few had been convicted for military insubordination or political crimes. The government employed many, but some were allocated to work on the farms of landowners. A smaller number were forced to clear bushland, open roads, dig quarries and generally perform arduous work. The rapidly developing urban cities of London, Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, Dublin, Leeds and Birmingham were the main sources of the exiled convicts.

The first Greeks arrived in Sydney in August 1829. They were exiled patriots from the island of Hydra. They were accused of crewing the schooner *Heracles* when it prevented a British frigate, the *Alcestis*, from sailing in July 1827 from Malta to Alexandria. They were also charged with removing part of her cargo. (Gilchrist, 1988). An anti-pirate ship of the British *Navy*, H.M.S. *Cannet*, intercepted the Greek schooner while sailing around Crete and arrested the Greek sailors. Seven of them were brought to trial in Malta where, in dubious circumstances, they were sentenced for piracy, initially to death and later to life imprisonment. The Greek Government disputed both the legitimacy of the trial and the severity of the penalty, and appealed to the British Government. In 1834 the convicts were granted grace. Five of them were returned to their country of birth at the expense of the Greek Government. The other two, Antonis Manolis and Gikas Voulgaris, remained and settled in Australia. Their descendants played an important role in the Greek settlements in the Bombala, Cooma and Queanbeyan regions (Tamis, 1999). There are indications that a few Greeks were transported to Australia as convicts for minor offences committed while they were serving in the British Army in the Ionian Islands which, at the time, were under British occupation.

Some of those transported to Australia comprised British draft-evaders, unwanted citizens who lived in various colonies of the Empire, anti-British radicals from Canada and coloured house servants. Some were destitute tradesmen such as shoe-makers, tailors, barbers and other skills. But the bulk of the early free settlers were military or administrative employees who arrived as escorts to the convicts. From 1793, all those who chose to settle with their families in Australia and to employ convicts or freed men, received a gift of 100 acres of land and an allowance. Where the candidate settler was a wealthy person, the land donation increased from 4 000 to 8 000 acres, according to the amount of foreign currency that the person invested in the colony. Until 1821, however, the number of families that decided to settle in Australia did not exceed thirty per year.

The urban centres of Launceston and Hobart developed rapidly. In 1825, this led to the formation of an independent government of the colony of Van Diemen's Land. Implicitly, the later colony claimed political sovereignty from New South Wales, which had previously been the only government for the whole of the Australian mainland. In 1829, and initially without much success, the colony of Western Australia became independent.

After 1830 financial consortia were formed in London with joint capital from private settlers and enterprises, for example, the Australian Agricultural Company and Van Diemen's Land Company. The government donated millions of acres of land to such companies as an incentive to invest in the Australian colonies. These investments aimed to subsidize agricultural machinery, tools, as well as seeds for cultivation and livestock. Nevertheless, the greatest part of the economy of the colonies continued to depend on the capital cities, which imported all their products. As a result of consistent migration, the colony of South Australia (SA) was founded in 1836.

The abolition of slavery and the outcry in Australia and Great Britain against the system of sending convicts into exile resulted in the rapid development of organised immigration of free settlers from Europe. The free settlers, who increased particularly after 1840,

voiced their dissatisfaction more vigorously. They opposed the employment of convicts and the formation of a society, which included exiled convicts. The lack of adequate numbers of unmarried women (*the proportion of men to women was five to one*) meant that most of the men would remain bachelors. Drunkenness, prostitution, psychological disorders and sodomy were undermining the well being and stability of the community. By the end of the 1840s, many employers in NSW started to turn towards Asia, in particular India and China, in order to import cheap workers bound under contract at humiliatingly low wages.

The arrival of free migrants was strongly encouraged during the entire settlement period, which lasted for two centuries. The only exception to this were two periods, 1890-1905 and 1924-1934, which were characterised by serious economic difficulties. Non-British migrants were considered unacceptable and persecuted. Measures were imposed to deter employment of non-British settlers, and migration was severely restricted as a result. There was an evident lack of a coordinated and coherent migration and settlement policy. In Queensland most of the settlers were accepted only after 1880. Western Australia did not attract settlers in large numbers before 1892, although sporadic settlement in this largest colony had started in 1829.

Pioneer settlement necessitated a series of related services associated with an under-developed colonial economy. In an economy based on cattle and sheep farming and other agriculture, the establishment of a state infrastructure of public works, installations and social structures was the primary concern of the male-dominated community of settlers. Social stresses caused by the high "immorality" which the circumstances of settlement forced on the early inhabitants, together with the economic and demographic needs of the colonies, made marriage and child-bearing an urgent social and economic necessity. This development suddenly gave women settlers an important role and responsibility in the community.

The discovery of gold in October 1851 in Ballarat, Sandhurst and Mount Alexander, located in the newly-established colony of Victoria,

resulted in worldwide excitement. Thousands of gold seekers rushed to avail themselves of the new opportunity for wealth. Newspapers in Europe spread the word of the arrival in England of six vessels from Victoria carrying eight tons of gold. The news created a sensation. Stories of the gold mines of Victoria and NSW told of amazing wealth and how the gains of the gold diggers far exceeded the salary of a working person in England. Over 50 000 new migrants arrived yearly during the goldrush period, and substantially changed the demographic structure of the colonies. The new migrants did not intend to settle permanently or to integrate into the colonial society. Their aim was to stay only long enough to amass wealth quickly, and then return to the homeland.

The discovery of gold at a time when Australian citizens had few hopes of social distinction created an optimistic mood and encouraged a tendency towards adventure and opportunism. More than half of the pioneer settlers were between 24 and 34 years old. They paid approximately 25-pound sterling to come to Australia, equivalent to half-English worker's annual income. The use of a special cabin during the trip meant higher travel costs (60 pounds sterling). Fast vessels shortened the trip to 70 days, but the normal duration of the trip was about four months.

Riots in Europe demanding liberalism and more political rights for the working class began on 12 January 1848 in Palermo. They quickly spread to Paris and to the whole of Central Europe, sweeping away an elaborate system of balances imposed by Metternich after 1815. Although unsuccessful in achieving many of their aims, the riots led to a mass exodus of millions of Europeans. The United States continued to be the Europeans' most favoured country for emigration. However, the news of the discovery of gold in Australia caused over 500 000 Britons to turn towards that country during 1850-1860. During the same period the passion for gold attracted over 40 000 Chinese, 10 000 Canadians and Americans, 60 000 Central Europeans and 4 000 Southern Europeans to Australia. They included only a few Greeks - mainly from Ithaca.

Australia experienced its first social upheaval in November 1854. It became known as "the Eureka Stockade". Gold miners digging in Ballarat, Victoria rioted in protest against the heavy cost of mining licenses. For the right to work thirteen square meters, they paid a duty of one pound a month. In September 1854 the duties were doubled. The miners protested that it was unfair for the government to force them to pay such high duties before they could secure an income. But the Governor of the colony responded with legislation imposing serious penalties, including a six-month prison term, on those who attempted to dig without a license. The radicals called a meeting of the gold miners. They burned their licenses and, in place of the British flag, they raised the Southern Cross to which they swore loyalty and obedience. With orders from the Governor, Sir Charles Hotham, to crush any riot (Britain was at war in the Crimea at the time), a military and police force of 400 men from Ballarat confronted the defiant gold miners. The miners aimed not to demolish authority but to make it more democratic. Thirty-five people were killed and over seventy wounded in the ensuing battle.

The public initially did not appreciate the reasons for the miners' resistance and supported the authorities. Later, when the reasons for it became better known, public opinion swung in favour of the miners. Thirteen riot leaders who had been brought to trial were declared innocent and the Governor decided to reduce the duties on licenses. More democratic procedures were established in the court system of the colony, and these reforms in Victoria were soon accepted by NSW.

The character of the Australian colonies continued to remain purely British. According to the Aliens Legislation of 1867 of WA, for example, non-British settlers did not have the right to acquire land. This was amended in 1951 when certain countries, including Greece, were declared "friendly countries" and, further, in 1965, when land rights were extended to citizens of those countries who had immigrated to Australia.

In terms of numbers, only two ethnic migrant minority groups were prominent during the 19th century: the Chinese and the Germans.

Due to ignorance and racial prejudice, the large influx of Chinese gold miners after 1853 caused social unrest. Riots of British settlers such as those at the Buckland River in Victoria (1857) and in Lambing Flat (1861), near the town of Young in NSW, resulted in the colonial governments imposing restrictions, and later forbidding Chinese migration. Between 1860 and 1880, the only European ethnic group that settled in large numbers in Australia was the Germans. According to the 1881 census, the number of German immigrants was 37 000, most of whom settled in Queensland and South Australia. The German settlers followed the example of their compatriots who had immigrated to the United States, where they comprised seven per cent of the total population. They were the largest ethnic group numerically and the most dynamically organised, after the British.

The terms *Australis* and *Australian* were used around 1693 to describe the country and the indigenous inhabitants of this continent. During the 16th and 17th centuries, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and British explorers had attempted adventurous exploratory trips, looking for "Terra Australis Incognita". The explorer, Matthew Flinders, adopted the term *Australian* for the indigenous inhabitants in his book, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, in 1814. From the end of the 18th century this term was used for the Europeans who were born in the colonies. In 1824 William Charles Wentworth, politician and publisher, born in the colonies to a convict mother, named the newspaper he published in Sydney, *The Australian*. Two years later, E.S. Hall in his newspaper, *Monitor*, was describing the inhabitants of the oldest colony of NSW as "persons of a lowly race... no more British but Australian, people who have shed the English spirit and character and transformed themselves into Australians".

The term *Australian* initially included only those pioneers who had settled by government decision. Later, two British-born politicians, Sir Henry Parkes and Sir John Robertson, regarded as Australians all those who lived in the country. The Irish, nearly all of them Catholic, hastened to accept and use the term *Australian* in order to diffuse the Anglo-Irish religious division. In 1888 the Sydney weekly newspaper, *The Bulletin*, gave the term *Australian* a wider anthropological dimen-

sion: *"all white men who came to these shores - with a clean record - and who leave behind them the memory of the class distinctions and the religious differences of the old world, all men who place the happiness, prosperity, advancement of their adopted country before the interests of Imperialism, are Australians"*.

The pioneer settlers, however, did not feel altogether Australian - not even when the Colonies were declared States of the Commonwealth of Australia (1 January 1901), nor after a decision of the British Parliament confirmed this declaration, nor when the Australian Labor Party was established in 1905. Many still tended to use such terms as *British, Victorian, South Australian or New South Welsh* to describe their national identity. It was only during the First World War that the universality of the term *"Australian"* began to prevail in the minds of the 300 000 members of the Australian Imperial Force. The term *"Australian"* allowed the growing national consciousness to transcend State boundaries and mould a unified identity for the new nation's four million citizens.

Historical, sociological and economic reasons explain the slow development of an Australian national awakening. The mass migration to Australia took place after Great Britain lost the American colonies, thus offering an invaluable outlet for its convicts and paupers. Australia had to struggle through its transformation from a colonial prison to a colonial nation. It had to cope with the pressures imposed on it by an imperial framework dictated by the British Government. Moreover, Great Britain was developing into a leading industrial power. It needed the colonial markets and commodity imports of Australia. Dependence on such political and socio-economic pressures determined the pace of the formation of a particular Australian national consciousness, including tolerance of Asian settlers and acceptance of non-British migrants.

1.2 Australia in the First Half of the 20th Century

In essence, the European demographic composition of Australia was formalised through legislation, with the establishment of the White Australian Policy in 1901. Until then, all restrictions or exemptions

detrimental to non-British settlers were imposed and adopted according to particular circumstances and at specific chronological periods. Suspicion and xenophobia became features of social life, aimed mainly at Asians and the Southern Europeans in areas where such ethnic groups lived, but also evident in professions considered being the exclusive privilege of settlers of British origin.

The concept of a *White Australia* was formed in the consciousness of most of the Australian Commonwealth citizens as a measure for their national protection and survival. The policy remained largely free of any political debate until 1972, when the Whitlam Government recognised multiculturalism as the ideal socio-political orientation of the country. In the minds of many British settlers, the White Australia Policy was the ideal formula which would secure racial homogeneity for the country and a harmonious cohabitation with the Europeans (largely British and Northern Europeans). The policy had three main elements: the elimination or isolation of the Aborigines; the exclusion of non-Europeans (mainly Asians) from settlement; and the selective migration of white settlers - for example, Albanian citizens who attempted to emigrate were deported from Australia in the 1920s.

The first trade unions began to be established in the mid of 1850s. The anti-Chinese campaign helped them to get organised in all the colonies and they soon made a slogan of the danger from the north. The trade unionists acquired enormous power by successfully exercising political pressure on the weak colonial governments. Feelings of xenophobia were further intensified because trade unionists saw the non-aligned Chinese settlers as collaborating with employers. A campaign to exert pressure on the colonial governments to stop Asian migration developed among the maritime workers, the builders, the miners and the sheep shearers' unions. The trade unions' propaganda flyers stressed that the White Australia Policy was based on the noble principle of the protection of the families of white people. Supported by the politicians, unions managed to have restrictive legislation passed against the Asians, despite initial reluctance by the British Government.

After the conclusion of its first assembly in 1901, the first Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed two laws which institutionalised and strengthened the establishment of a White Australia Policy. The implementation of the Pacific Island Labourers' Act meant that from 1904 immigration of labourers from the Pacific Islands would not be permitted and, with few exceptions, those already in Australia would be deported by the end of 1906. The establishment of the Immigration Restriction Act institutionalised the "Dictation Test". It was a mechanism for rejecting applications for migration by non-Europeans deemed not to have sufficient knowledge of the English language. This was a plausible way to reject non-European migrants without causing diplomatic incidents. The Dictation Tests changed every month and the degree of the test's difficulty depended on the public servant who arranged it. In cases where candidates had sufficient knowledge of English, the public servant would often set the test in another European language.

During the period 1901–1921, the existing legislation against non-Europeans was amended, without, however, deviating much from the main aim, which was a utopia of racial homogeneity. With the exception of the Syrians and the Lebanese, who were gradually accepted as European, other non-European minorities declined in numbers. The Australian Commonwealth's stance in relation to Japan was also unusual. The Prime Minister of Australia, Alfred Deakin, attempted to appease the Japanese Government by accepting a small number of Japanese who wished to migrate to Australia.

These racial measures were accepted by the people, and did not attract public or parliamentary dispute, even during the inter-war period. The only country to attract specific attention on racial issues was Japan whose racial atrocities against Southeast Asians during the Second World War and whose ruthless behaviour towards Australian prisoners of war helped to increase anti-Asian xenophobia. The *yellow peril* became a point of reference for Australia's relations with its northern neighbours until the establishment of multiculturalism in the 1970s. From the mid-1980s the racial composition of the migrant population of the country again became a debatable issue, and the

Asian threat was used to support the notion that the permissible proportion of Asian migrants that Australia could absorb painlessly was being exceeded.

Australia's vulnerability to Japanese attack during WWII made the leaders of the country realise that its population had to increase. Settlement in Australia between the world wars had come almost exclusively from the British and the Irish for whom financial sources were available to cover the high transport expenses of new settlers. The implementation of the Empire Resettlement Scheme, jointly sustained by the governments of Britain and Australia, allowed hundreds of thousands of British migrants and veteran soldiers to settle in Australia. From 1901 to 1940, over 425 000 British people migrated to Australia at government expense.

However, the rate of population increase, remained insufficient. The birth rate in Australia had remained low since the beginning of the century when economic development was slow. Australia's Prime Minister during WWII, J. B. Chifley, realised that only the arrival of hundreds of thousands of European migrants could strengthen the country's defense and economy. To this end, Chifley established a special Ministry for Immigration, immediately after the end of the War (1945). He appointed Arthur Calwell as the immigration portfolio's first Minister. Calwell was of Irish-American origin and had a trade-union background. He viewed a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society favourably. The White Australia Policy, which continued to be implemented, however, was a bipartisan initiative. But the utopia of racial homogeneity did not even take into serious consideration the inter-cultural, linguistic and ideological differences in the respective ethnic identities of the Welsh, Irish, Scottish and English and the accompanying problems of integration and maintenance.

The main focus in post-war Australia continued to be on the British settlers. Thanks to Calwell's decisiveness, the country's immigration policy turned away from a purely British make-up and sought new, robust, settlers from all over Europe. The new immigration strategy aimed to have migrants dispersed around the vast Australian continent

so as to avoid ethnic enclaves, something that had the potential to delay the Government's long-term aim to convert the country into a racial and political melting pot.

The system of subsidising migrants' fares enabled 1 068 000 migrants to settle in the Antipodes from 1831 to 1947. It was methodically intensified by the Australian Government after 1948, thereby enabling a further 2 168 500 new settlers to arrive in Australia by 1982. Amongst them there were 270 000 Greeks. The Australian Government in 1948 had signed special inter-governmental agreements with European states, determining the extent of subsidisation to migrants, the number of migrants it would absorb from each country and the provision of services upon arrival. The co-signatory countries were, firstly, Malta (1948), followed by Italy and the Netherlands (1951), Western Germany, Austria and Greece (1952), Spain (1958), Turkey (1967) and Yugoslavia (1970).

Government assisted European migration, and, more specifically, Southern European migration, ended in 1974. After 1974, only those workers with satisfactory work skills, business investors, technocrats and migrants with humanitarian justifications (i.e. refugees, first degree relatives) were allowed into Australia. After 1975, Australia accepted people from the Asian and Pacific regions as migrants only if they were deemed victims of complex international situations. Until 1984 over 90 000 Indo-Chinese from India, Malaysia, the Philippines and the Pacific Islands settled in the Antipodes. The number of Chinese and Vietnamese refugees during the same period exceeded 100 000.

2. Pre-War Greek Migration in Australia

2.1. The Early Years: The Formation of Pre-War Communities in Australia.

The early Greek migration period is highlighted by the arrival of the first displaced Greek patriots. They were Greek sailors in the British Navy, convicted of "*piracy*" by the British courts. Others to arrive between 1830 and 1850 were adventurers and fugitives landing ini-

tially in Sydney and Perth. After 1850 many were fortune-seekers heading for the gold fields. Some were travellers, predominantly curious Greek islanders, many of whom settled in rural Victoria and N.S.W. The main Greek early settlement period commenced around 1880, and went through various phases according to the pace and flow of general migration. Until 1924, Greek migration remained strictly an islander movement since the overwhelming majority of the pioneers came from the islands of the Ionian and Aegean seas. Later, a mass exodus began, mainly from Macedonia and Epeiros. The exodus was due to the restrictions on migrant numbers imposed by the U.S.A, and by the political and demographic situation created in Greece by the Turkish-driven Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922. Consequently, the first Greek immigrants from the Greek mainland to arrive in Australia in large numbers were the Macedonians.

Many of the first pioneers came from the large trading centres of Constantinople, Smyrne, Alexandria and Cairo (Tamis, 1997). Initially, they worked in seasonal jobs, which exposed them to the vastness of Australia. They mostly married Irish women and tended to assimilate into the ruling Anglo-Celtic culture. In so doing many lost their Hellenic heritage. Most were illiterate, unskilled workers wandering from job to job. Some shortened or anglicised thus facilitating acceptance within the Australian environment.

Until the official immigration process began in 1870, most of the pioneers were curious seamen who jumped ship in Australian ports, lured by the prospect of gold. The rest fell into the categories of unsuccessful traders from the islands and unskilled or unemployed young men. There was a surplus of bachelors and unaccompanied married men supporting their family back home. The first Greek settlers worked in seasonal and unhealthy jobs, which Anglo-Saxon Australians found too demeaning to perform. They lived far apart from each other and often had to travel long distances to find work. In the country, they lived in self-designed housing usually made of tin and hessian cloth. Many became the victims of vicious exploitation by their employers (Tamis, 1997).

Gold prospectors of Tambaroora in N.S.W were an exception. In 1860 they established their own settlement called Greektown on the town's outskirts. They married local women and gave Hellenic names to their children, approximately seventy in number. When the gold deposits were exhausted, these settlers moved out into the vast continent. The islander gold seekers concentrated mainly on the gold fields of Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria. Some even participated in the Eureka Stockade rebellion of 1854 when gun-bearing miners protested against the conditions and taxes imposed by the British colonial rule. Their rebellion became a landmark in the history of international unionism. The Ithacan Andreas Lekatsas, who had arrived in Australia in 1851, was among the rebels.

After 1870, Greek immigrants began to appear in the large urban centres of Sydney and Perth and, by 1880, in Melbourne. Most were from the islands of Kythera, Ithaca and Samos and a few from Smyrne, in Asia Minor. The Greeks who had the privilege of living in the large towns survived by exercising the trades which they had learned in their particular places of origin. They were confectionery makers, green grocers, fishermen, wharf labourers, shopkeepers and restaurant owners. By 1916 there were six hundred Greek shops in Australia, fourteen of which were cafes.

In the rural areas, work differed according to local opportunity and the origin of the immigrant. Islanders usually dominated in the fishing and mining industries and in the vast sugar cane plantations of North Queensland. The Macedonians were pioneers in timber felling. They cleared bush and forest to make available huge areas of arable land. They were also dominant in the cultivation of grapes, tobacco, vegetables and fruit. Employment in urban-based industry remained the privilege of the Anglo-Saxon settlers.

The establishment of Greek communities during the pre-settlement period was not possible because the migrants remained dispersed in the vast and inhospitable continent. Only a few lived in the cities, working in trades such as travelling food salesmen. The Ithacan Georgios Morfesis, for example, came to Melbourne in 1849 and set

the foundations for the immigration of hundreds of his fellow countrymen in the years that followed. In 1878, the Kytherian Athanasios Komninos opened the first Greek shop and later became a founding member of the Greek Community of Sydney (1896). Early trade with Greece was restricted mainly to the importation of raisins. About 1910, however, local production started in Mildura.

The pioneering Greek immigrants did not aim to settle. Australia was a temporary place of residence and a means to instant wealth. But some of those who managed to prosper during those difficult years did settle. In 1890 the Komninos dynasty established themselves in the oyster industry in N.S.W. and became quite wealthy. The Mytilinian Mihalis Manousos became a well-known farmer. The Kastellorizians, Athanasios Avgoustis and Andreatis Georgios Falagas, rose to be among the leading, most skilful cultivators and traders of oysters in Western Australia. The Ithacan Antonios Lekatsas, who ran a chain of shops providing refreshments, was also successful and consequently bought property which included buildings and hotel and theatre chains in Melbourne. The brothers, Michalis and Petros Michelidis from Kastellorizo, who settled in Perth, rose to be the most successful tobacco growers in Australia, and also became industrialists. Georgios Lymberidis was the biggest wheat grower in New South Wales. Nikolaos Lourantos was one of the wealthiest landowners with thousands of sheep. Both became great benefactors of the Greek Community and were honoured by the Australian Government.

By 1947, fifty-four per cent of Greek settlers were employers or self-employed. This enabled many of them to assimilate normally into the Anglo-Australian society and its structure. Financial comfort enabled them to move more easily in this vast land, where they had often lived isolated from their fellow countrymen and relatives. This new mobility increased their ability to maintain their cultural identity. Their struggle for social mobility broke ethnic barriers and their generous contribution to the wider Australian society reduced the Anglo-Saxons' suspicion and rejection.

The arrival in 1924 of the first Orthodox Metropolitan exacerbated the intra-community strife and parochial rivalry in Australia.

Dissension hindered community development within Australia and the existence of parochial regional organisations forced the Greek Communities to decline. Many became impoverished and this led to the emergence of ephemeral and temporary committees, which did not manage to complete their term of office.

During the period 1896-1921, over 400 000 Greek migrants sought refuge in America and Australia. From the ports of Kalamata, Peireus and Thessaloniki, they set out in Italian and British ships for new opportunities. It was generally young, productive members of the population who left, driven by the neglect of the rural population, and by the insecurity, unemployment, and delinquency attributable to incompetent administrations. During the WWII period and up to 1949, thousands of stranded Greek migrants were left starving and in peril in the Middle Eastern cities of Port Said, waiting months for a ship to transport them to Australia. Priority was given to the repatriation of the Australian servicemen, while migrants and children were trapped in those cities at the mercy of unscrupulous travel agents.

Low birth rates in the 1930s, delayed infrastructure and building construction, and the national security issue over fears of invasion from the North triggered the migration policy of 1945. With the bilateral migration agreement between Australia and Greece in 1952, over 270 000 Greek immigrants came to Australia. Some chose Australia because family ties already existed here. Others were drawn by the prospect of better economic opportunities. The early post-war years saw the beginning of substantial migration, including arrivals from Cyprus and from Egypt.

The Greek artistic presence in all States of Australia was robust and rich after 1916, perhaps because it usually went hand in hand with a philanthropic objective. In 1936, the Greek Theatre Group of Australia was established in Sydney. This group worked closely with Australian theatrical groups and received awards for its remarkable performances. Ephemeral theatrical groups were established after 1936 in Melbourne and Perth, performing plays by Greek and foreign playwrights. In Melbourne, from 1924, there was a noticeable increase of interest in theatre and cinema, giving rise, after 1934, to a long tra-

dition of travelling theatrical companies that contributed richly to the Greek artistic movement in Australia.

Until 1936 the union movement and the Australian Labor Party maintained an anti-immigration policy, confining most Southern European settlers to manual work in the rural areas and exercising political pressure on the governments to enforce restrictions at the expense of the first migrant settlers. However, some migrants managed to prosper during those difficult years. Those who realised that Australia provided more opportunities for continuing prosperity settled permanently. Because of their wealth, and accompanying generosity, these migrants became more accepted in Anglo-Australian society. Their acceptance enabled them to visit relatives and friends from whom they had previously been isolated.

During the Second World War (1939–1945), Australian Greek Communities concentrated mainly on fund-raising activities which were concerned almost exclusively with the care of Greek refugees and orphans in Egypt and the Middle East. With the approval of the Orthodox Church, money accumulated from functions and fund-raising activities was sent to families of Greek servicemen in the Australian Army as well as to Greek schools. In the same period, the Union of Greek Women was established (1943). Its basic objectives were the relief of destitute families within the community, and the provision of materials to the Australian Army.

The post-WWII migration program and the gradual transformation of the Greek migrant from a second-class citizen experiencing discrimination into a full and equal Australian citizen was only possible because of a remarkable change of attitude amongst older Australians. WWII made the country feel vulnerable. Only two naval battles, the battle of the Midway and the battle of the Coral Sea, prevented the invasion of Australia. A large island continent such as Australia would have been indefensible with a mere seven million people. Migration was sustained because major political parties recognised its necessity and argued strongly for it. A whole fabric of organisation and support was established to maintain its momentum.

2.2. The Demographic Development of the Communities in Australia

The demographic development of the Greek population was slow until 1926. The first census in Australia (5 April 1891) recorded 482 Greeks. Most came from Kythera, Ithaca and Samos. In 1916, the Government increased the maximum number of settlers to 3 800 per ethnic group. Despite the unfavourable economic circumstances and the restrictions imposed by the state governments on the arrival of immigrants, a slight increase in their numbers occurred after 1923. At that time the intake of immigrants was restricted to 1 200 per annum. One of the requirements for entry was the payment of disembarkation taxes amounting to forty pounds. Proficiency in the English language was a prerequisite for employment. Restrictions on lending by banks and other financial institutions to immigrants of non-British background were another restriction imposed by the authorities. Until 1926 the states of New South Wales and Western Australia were attracting about 60 per cent of new immigrants, with Victoria, Queensland and South Australia accommodating the rest. A few islanders, mainly from Kythera, were living in Hobart, Tasmania.

The first appearance of the Eastern Orthodox Church was in Melbourne in 1892 (Tamis, 1997). The first organised Greek Community was founded in Sydney in 1896. The first Greek Brotherhood of Australia was founded in Perth in 1912.

Until 1945 the Greek migration to Australia was overwhelmingly male. In 1881, one hundred and twenty-seven men and only nineteen women lived in Melbourne. In 1935, as the economic situation in Australia improved, the number of Greek settlers began to increase as more women and children arrived. The disproportionate ratio of men to women - seven to three - was creating serious social problems amongst Greek Australians. Until 1947 the Greek population in Melbourne was predominantly male and did not exceed 2 700 individuals. In 1955, the flow of single women and dependent family members, which began after WWII, was intensified and systematised.

From about 1880, the two hundred and fifty or so widely dispersed Greeks who lived in the big urban cities of Sydney and Melbourne

became aware of the need for a more permanent home in this vast continent. They decided to form their first communities. On 22 August 1897, the leaders of the hundred or so Greeks in Melbourne called a meeting and founded their organised Community. They purchased the land on which, four years later, the Church of Evangelismos (Annunciation) was erected. Despite the ambition of its founding members, the Community took a conservative course, limiting its range and functionality. Nevertheless, it was quite successful.

The Greek and Syrian Orthodox population in Sydney founded the first Greek Community at the beginning of 1896 erecting the first Orthodox church in the Southern hemisphere, Agia Triada (Holy Trinity). The church was completed in 1898 with the help of a generous contribution from the Tsirigotes. The opening was celebrated with great splendour on 16 April 1899.

The majority of the Greek population in Australia was concentrated in Sydney, which was the seat of the Archbishop and the Consul General until 1953. It was natural that the mechanisms of communal organisation would work more effectively there. A strong dispute developed between the Community and the Church after 1926, and this led to the establishment of a second church, the Cathedral of St-Sophia (Agia Sofia).

Rearrangements in the hierarchy of the community organisation were slowed by the polarisation and the divisive emotional responses that the church committee generated, (1924-1932) as well as by the existence until 1945 of two committees. Two schools of ideology vied within the bosom of the community. Their relative influence varied according to the prevailing mood for unification within the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. The uniting forces of the community mostly prevailed. They maintained their power, often forcing the irreconcilable to retire from the AGMs or be outvoted and blackballed.

WWII had beneficial results for the Greek population in Australia and the organised Communities: It united the Greeks. Increasing

prosperity in the big urban centres allowed the migrants to find high paying jobs. The Communities were able to pay off their debts. The religious and nationalistic powers were inspired to establish, together with the Communities, the Panhellenic Appeal Committee, which raised the sum of 1 000 000 pounds for the Greeks fighting in the war.

The numerical dominance of the Kastellorizians in Perth led, in 1912, to the establishment of the first regional Greek Association in Australia, the Kastellorizian Brotherhood. Its main objectives were purely Panhellenic. The first Executive Council, presided over by Athanasios G. Augoustis, consisted of members who also formed the first Executive Council of the Greek Community of Western Australia, which was established nine years later, in 1922. Due to the presence of enlightened leaders there and the geographical distance, the church's divisiveness in other States did not reach the Greeks in Perth. The economic crisis delayed the construction of the church of Sts. Constantine and Eleni, which was finally consecrated in 1937 by Archbishop Timotheos Evangelinidis (1931-1947).

From 1905 Greeks settled in the town of Bunbury where the Greek Union was formed. Yet hundreds of islanders and Macedonians were scattered throughout the tobacco farms of Manjimup and the timber felling centres of Greenbushes, Bridgetown, Nyamup and Geraldton. Pioneer islanders were found before 1894 in the vast gold mines of Kalgoorlie and Boulder. They established the trade economy in the region through the shops they opened and maintained, despite the Anglo-Saxon racist riots of 1929.

Until 1923, the Greek community of South Australia was very small. There were only four families and thirty individuals in Adelaide and approximately forty workers in the seaside town of Port Pirie, working in the BHP smelter. From 1924, the Greek migrant population in Port Pirie, 250 kms northwest of Adelaide, increased considerably, exceeding 1200 people. The increase was due solely to the intake of large numbers of workers responding to the extensive advertising campaign conducted by the administrative authorities of the mines in Broken Hill. On 5 October 1930, approximately thirty Greeks ga-

thered at the Panhellenion Club, at 122 Hindley Street in Adelaide and elected an Executive Council. Its sole responsibility was to hold elections for the formation of the first Administrative Council. The Council members elected businessman Constantinos Kavouras as their inaugural president. The Greek community of Adelaide remained small and politically unimportant until the enthroning of the third Metropolitan of Australia, Theophylaktos Papathanasopoulos, in 1947.

A relatively small number of immigrants went to the State of Queensland, especially to its state capital, Brisbane. In 1913 the first Greek association was established and operated under the name of the Queensland Hellenic Association. In 1924, following the restrictions on migrant numbers imposed by the Federal Government, a few hundred Macedonian migrants with no employment prospects in Melbourne and Perth were assisted by the Consul of Greece, Christos Frealingus, to go to the huge farms, and the cotton, sugar and tobacco fields of North Queensland. Until then the sugar cane fields was the domain of Maltese and Italian migrants. Although the arrival of the first Greek migrant in Brisbane dates back to 1860, the Greek Orthodox Community in Brisbane did not begin to register members until March 1928. In that year, people from the Dodekanese and Kythera settled in the city in larger numbers. Many came to own small stores, fish shops and restaurants. Some started small businesses, importing goods from Greece. In 1929 the church of St. Georgios in Charlotte Street in Brisbane was consecrated in the presence of the Consul General in Queensland, Christos Frealingus. Later, a substantial block of land was bought and a magnificent church was erected in Edmonstone Street, South Brisbane, next to Hellenic House. It housed the club, a restaurant, a library and the office of the city's first parish priest, Archimandrite Nikon Patrinakos.

In the tropical town of Innisfail about 200 islanders had gathered since 1910. In 1925, they organised themselves into a community. In 1933, Metropolitan Timotheos appointed the teacher Ilias Kotides from Rhodos to be their first parish priest. He was ordained by the first Metropolitan Christoforos in February 1928 to serve the community's religious needs. At the first meeting, it was decided that a

Greek Association of Northern Queensland be established, to include all Greeks from the major towns and surrounding townships. Its main objective was the establishment of a church and a Greek school. The Greek community of Northern Queensland began in rural Townsville where Greeks settled after 1935 in comparatively large numbers.

Migrants had worked on the sugar cane and banana plantations since the beginning of 1920. With their settlement in Townsville, the parish priest Ikonomos Georgios Kateris was appointed to perform their religious services and to teach Greek to the Greek children gathered in rural suburbs. He conducted liturgy in the Church of the Saints of Theodoroi, which was being built by the local parish and was finally finished in 1947. The liturgies of the Greek Orthodox Church were conducted in the Anglican Church, which had been generously made available since 1928 by the Anglican parishioners. Communities before the war were also formed in the northern part of Queensland and spread for two thousand kilometers. Their main ambition was the acquisition of sugar cane plantations. Greeks and Cypriots lived in the main towns of Babinda, Ayr, Tully and Home Hill, opening up their own restaurants, cafes and milk bars.

Even though the first Greek landed in Tasmania in 1860, only a few Greeks, from Kythera, settled there, before Theophylaktos' pastoral reign (1947-1958). Until 1931, the only other Greeks in Tasmania were Georgios Haros, his sisters Katerina and Manti, the I. Flaskas couple, who came to the island in 1922, the brothers Syd and Grigorios Kassimatis, and Athanasios Kaparatos, who lived in Launceston. An organised community was not established there until 1953.

Greek settlers did not make any appearance in Northern Australia until after the Balkan Wars. A small number of Kastellorizians arrived in Darwin in 1913 and lived there before the arrival of the Kalimnians, who initially worked in the risky occupation of pearl diving.

The Greek community remained without pastoral leadership, consular representation or community organisation during the first fifty

years after the arrival of the first pioneer immigrants. The Greek State did not display any substantial interest. According to a report from the Greek Ambassador in London in 1895, this was due to the tyranny of distance, the geographical isolation, the lack of efficient communication and the lack of support from any trading alliances:

In any case, the need for a Consulate or any other Consular authority in Australia did not arise. The large number of Greek traders in Australia were not in any position to develop important trade relations between Greece and Australia, nor were the consuls appointed to various cities in Australia able to contribute to this cause.

(Ambassador A. Gomanos' Report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Greece, number 87, F1895/49/25/9 March, 1895)

The first Honorary Consul of Greece, Robert Curtain, was appointed to Australia in 1888 and based in Melbourne. The Orthodox liturgy was conducted in the migrants' own language, mainly by the laity, for the Greek, Syrian and Russian migrants. In his letter of August 8th 1892 to the Anglican Bishop Goe of Melbourne, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerasimos, thanked the Anglican Church for the love and care they had shown to the Greek Orthodox followers in Australia. He noted their active cooperation and gave his permission to the Anglican clergy to administer baptisms and marriages according to the religious rites of the Eastern Church (Tamis, 1994, 1997). The first rector of the Australian Orthodox followers, Rev. Athanasios Kantopoulos, arrived in Melbourne on 22 June 1898.

The priests' relations with the community leaders were not particularly harmonious. Disputes would often occur and crises would break out for trivial reasons. On 6 June 1903, the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, following the insistence of the Greek community leaders in Melbourne, placed Australia under its spiritual jurisdiction and appointed Archimandrite Nikandros Betinis to replace Kantopoulos as rector. In 1910, Atchimandrite Theodoros Androutsopoulos replaced Betinis whose private life and liberal ideas did not find any allies amongst the leaders of the Greek community in Melbourne. He was replaced four years later by Atchimandrite Daniel Maravelis who tried, without any success, to unify the Greek regional fraternities

within the Greek Community in Melbourne. In 1922, Archimandrite Irineos Kassimatis replaced this clergyman.

Father Serafim Fokas was appointed a rector of the Orthodox Church by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Sydney. He managed to secure his position there by forming friendships with the powerful and influential in the community and to extend his reign until his resignation in 1913, when the Church of Greece appointed the Reverend Dimitrios Marinakis until 1923. Next, Archimandrite Athenagoras Varaklas was appointed and proved to be the most challenging and controversial clergyman of the pre-war period. The rector Archimandrite Germanos Iliou was appointed in Perth in 1914. He worked closely with the Brotherhood of the Kastellorizians to establish the church and the school.

Both Archimandrites, Irinaios in Melbourne and Athenagoras in Sydney, were the last clergymen that the Church of Greece appointed in Australia. In 1923, due to ecclesiastical unrest in the United States of America, the Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios revoked the Synodic Patriarchate *Tōmos* of 1908, which allowed the Church of Greece to have jurisdiction over areas outside of the Greek State and placed all Greek Orthodox Churches of the Diaspora under his jurisdiction. In January 1924, the new Patriarch, Gregorios VII, appointed Christoforos Knitis from Samos, an Oxford graduate, as the first Metropolitan of the Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.

The pastoral reign of the first Metropolitan (1924-1928) was not smooth. The establishment of a Metropolis met with opposition particularly from the Communities of Melbourne and Sydney. They were influenced by the serving Orthodox clergy who argued that their authority and status would become somewhat limited over the congregation, their earnings would be reduced and that they would eventually be marginalised. The two Communities refused to establish the Metropolis, as they were unable to meet the expense of maintaining it and remunerating the Metropolitan. They also claimed that the Metropolis institution was forced upon them by the Patriarchate,

without any consultation with the Communities, which financially supported the churches and the clergy.

The Samians and Ithacans were both claiming control of the Communities through their powerful and affluent memberships and became involved in a destructive group rivalry with each other. This rivalry transformed the community into a weak institution and reduced its function to that of a church organisation, with almost no cultural or educational component. The Kytherians, who demographically represented the backbone of the Greek community in Sydney, influenced and controlled the Community there by placing their own, local interests above those of the general community.

Finally, the power and authority of the Metropolitan prevailed, due to the election of law-abiding councilors loyal to him to the Executive Council of the Greek Community of Melbourne, and his control was imposed on all Greek communities, with the exception of Sydney. He also managed to gain the favour of Nikolaos Marinakis, the publisher of the only Greek newspaper, *Ethnikon Vima* (*National Tribune*), as well as the favour of the wealthy elite of the Greek community of Sydney.

The supporters of the community's unilateral authority, the *koinotikoi*, criticised the Metropolitan over his irregular private life and requested his resignation. Several unhappy scenes followed at their usual meeting places, the coffeehouses (*kafeneia*), between the Community supporters and the Church supporters, the *metropolitiki*. Dissension broke out amongst community members in the Associations. Legal battles took place on behalf of the Metropolitan, who instigated action in civil courts against members of the Greek community, alleging conspiracy. Acting on the adverse reports of its consular representatives, and having assessed the correspondence from the dissenting leaders of the Greek communities as well as that of the Ithacans in Melbourne and the clergy, the Greek government exercised pressure on the Patriarchate of Constantinople to revoke the appointment of Metropolitan Christophoros. The Holy Synod and the Patriarch finally succumbed to the threats of the Greek Government

(Tamis, 1997). They decided to transfer Christophoros and appoint him to be the Metropolitan of Vizyi (4 February 1928), rather than recall him. The Patriarchate appointed Theophylaktos Papathanasopoulos as the Episcopal Vestryman in Australia. He was an ex-monk from the Monastery of Stavronikita and a graduate of Athens University.

Archimandrite Theophylaktos arrived in Australia on 1 March 1928 and dedicated himself to restoring calm and defusing the potential crises in Melbourne and Sydney. Theophylaktos' management was lenient and was a prime factor in averting the crises. He was diplomatic and careful to maintain balance. On November 22nd 1931, the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate elected Archimandrite Timotheos Evangelinides to become the second Metropolitan of Australia (1931-1947), New Zealand, Polynesia, Papua New Guinea and the Pacific islands. He had been serving as the diplomatic representative (nuncio) and rector of the Greek Orthodox Church in Bucharest, Romania.

On his arrival in July 1932, Metropolitan Timotheos appointed Archimandrite Theophylaktos as rector of the Greek Orthodox Church in Melbourne and declared the unification of the Greeks in Sydney. He performed liturgies in both churches, and appointed Archimandrite Nikodemos Antoniou, an obscure clergyman whom he brought with him from Lyon, France, to the Church of Holy Trinity. He emphasised that both churches would be parishes of the same Metropolis.

During the war, attempts to unify supporters of St. Sophia and the Holy Trinity were delayed. An unofficial dialogue between the two opposing councils made some improvement. Timotheos' leadership was considered moderately successful, but the achievement of harmony was due more to his administrative incompetence, his fear of responsibility and his procrastination. Coincidental factors related to the economic crisis and the war also had an effect. After 1946, a strong anti-ecclesiastic tendency began to manifest itself. Community leaders reacted against the apathy of Metropolitan Timotheos and his failure to establish a smooth and equitable administrative system, which

would harmonise relations between Church and Community. Furthermore, they expressed their views publicly.

The educational activities of the Communities during the first fifty years of organised settlement in Australia were limited and inadequate due to the demographic limitations and the nature of immigration, which remained entirely male-dominated until 1949. The number of families was comparatively small. As Greeks did not begin to concentrate in large urban centres until after 1935, this delayed the operation of organised schools, except in Perth and Sydney.

The Mytilinian Eustratios Velis published the first Greek newspaper entitled *Australia* in Melbourne in November 1913. Its publication continued uninterrupted till 1922, when the rector of the Greek Community of Sydney, the Rev. Dimitrios Marinakis and his brother Nikolaos bought it out. The Marinakis brothers continued with the publication of the oldest Greek language weekly newspaper, changing its name to *Ethnikon Vima (National Tribune)*. The publication displayed a conservative policy. It supported the Metropolitan and later, the Archdiocese, more for commercial and professional reasons than for ideological reasons. It maintained its popularity for over seventy years. In Sydney in November 1926, an eight-page weekly newspaper titled the *Panellinios Keryx (Panhellenic Herald)* was published by Ioannis Stilos and Georgios Marsellos. It aimed to disseminate community ideology. In 1936, I. Ch. Panagiotopoulos published the most conservative Greek newspaper titled the *Phos (The Light)*, which played a strong role in community affairs in Melbourne.

The monthly pictorial magazine called *Oikogeneia (The Family)* was first published in 1946 in Melbourne by G. Giannopoulos. It remained in circulation until 1974. Many other newspapers were published to temporarily serve specific political situations or to meet the demands of some ephemeral coalition. Financial difficulties generally terminated their publication. For example, in 1934, Omiros Rigas came from Sydney to Adelaide and published the leftist weekly newspaper, the *Faros (The Lighthouse)*, with anti-church and anti-consulate policies. Three years later the publication was terminated. The

newspaper entitled *Ethniki Salpigx* (*The National Trumpet*) was published in Melbourne in 1922 by Ioannis Giolassis. In 1923 it was purchased by Nikolaos Kolios and finally controlled by the rector Archimandrite Irineos Kassimatis.

The artistic presence of the Greeks in all States of Australia was robust and rich. In 1916, the Ithacan Charalambos Florias, manager of Bob's Cafe in Flinders Street in Melbourne, and Ioannis Raftopoulos, were the first two actors from the community to take part in an Australian theatrical production. Greek migrant artistic activity usually went hand in hand with philanthropic objectives. In 1919, the *Elliniki Filodramatiki Etaireia* (Greek Drama Company) was formed in Sydney. It developed remarkably, helping fund-raising in the community for the economic support of the war victims in Greece. In 1922, a Greek theatre group of Nezer, Pofantis, Kourouklis came to Australia and gave a series of performances in Sydney's auditorium, including the tragedy, *Oedipus the King*. In 1931, G. Paizis established the *Ellinikos Thiasos Afstralias* (Greek Theatre Group of Australia) which had its own orchestra conducted by maestro O. Palmistras. This group worked closely with Australian theatrical groups and received awards for their remarkable performances. Ephemeral theatrical groups were established after 1936 in Melbourne and Perth, performing plays by Greek and foreign playwrights. From 1924 there was a noticeable movement towards theatre and cinema in Melbourne. This gave rise, after 1934, to a long tradition of travelling theatrical companies that contributed to the rich artistic movement of Greeks in Australia.

The first organised association of Greek women began in Brisbane in 1913, with the establishment of a Committee for the collection of funds for Greek disabled victims of the Balkan Wars. Associations of Greek women with nationalistic and philanthropic objectives were formed after 1926 in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth.

During the difficult years of settlement (1895-1935), the Greeks maintained an amiable profile and earned the tolerance of the Australian community. However, despite their generous contributions

to charity, to hospitals and disabled children, despite their fund-raising for the Australian Army and the generous donations Greek businessmen made to schools and pious institutions, and despite their law-abiding and peace-loving behaviour, the Greek Australians were not accepted as equals. The tolerance of British settlers towards Greek migrants improved when Greece became an ally in WWI, but even this history of tolerant relations was often interrupted by Anglo-Saxon riots against undefended shopkeepers, and, at some other times, by government reports devaluing Greek migrants (Tamis, 1994 and 1997).

After October 28th 1940, and especially following the presence of approximately 17 000 Australian troops in Greece until May 1941, the Australian people's attitude towards the Greeks underwent a major reversal. Joint appeals were organised and processions took place in the main streets of the city centres, where students and women participated with national costumes and Greek flags. The veterans of WWII told stories of self-sacrifice and self-denial on the part of Greek citizens who even went short of food and risked the lives of their families to save Australian soldiers from capture by German occupying forces.

2.3 The Mass Migration Period and Formation of Communities

The second period of immigration in 1945 coincided with the end of WWII and the subsequent absorption of a large number of political refugees from Eastern Europe. In addition to the refugees, the Australian Government actively recruited migrants from all over Europe at this time for reasons related to security and economic growth. Australia's involvement in the war in South East Asia, the Japanese invasion of Papua New Guinea, and the Japanese attacks on Darwin and Sydney had a deep effect. It altered the attitude of the seven million people living on this continent and exacerbated the feeling that Asia was a threat. The population and birth rate of Australia was insufficient to cover the security and economic needs of the country following WWII. Prime Minister John Curtin was convinced that

Australia should support the intake of a large number of migrants who would contribute to the country's defense against the "yellow peril". They could also bolster the numbers of skilled and unskilled workers needed for economic growth. With this aim, the Immigration portfolio was established in 1945, with Arthur Calwell as its first Minister. It set out to attract large numbers of migrants. Government policy aimed to increase the net population by two percent annually. Calwell signed agreements with participating countries (Malta and Italy were amongst the first) and took responsibility for the intake of millions of European immigrants. The relevant agreement with Greece was signed in 1952.

This period of great significance in Australia's history can easily be divided into three basic phases: The early phase of mass migration (1947-1952), the government-assisted mass migration (1952-1974) and the selective migration of political refugees, as well as traders and technocrats from South East Asia (1974-1999). The number of migrants in the first two periods (1947-1974) reached 2 168 500, of whom 270 000 were Greek. The Greek total included those migrants who came in great numbers from Egypt, the Middle East, Romania and Cyprus. During the third period (1974 onward), the number of Greek migrants was considerably reduced. Migration continued but at an extremely slow pace. The only exception was the 6 000 Cypriot refugees who arrived after 1974, following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

The establishment of the Immigration Department coincided with the appointment of the Metropolitan Theophylaktos Papathanasopoulos to the See of Australia and New Zealand. He had served successfully as the Patriarchal Representative during this difficult transitional period of 1928-1932 in Australia, following the recall of Christophoros Knitis. Theophylaktos was foster brother of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and had studied with many members of the Holy Synod. He was also a favourite with Archbishop Damaskinos of Athens who, being heavily absorbed with his duties as Deputy King of Greece, had invited Theophylaktos to be his administrative Vicar in Athens. However, the most important contributor to Theophylaktos'

promotion to the See of Australia was the ex-Archbishop of Athens, Chrysanthos Philippides, an Archbishop of great influence in government circles and in the Royal Court. It was Chrysanthos Phillipides who selected and sent Theophylaktos to Australia.

Following talks behind the scenes, which lasted about ten months, the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople elected Theophylaktos Papathanasopoulos as the third Metropolitan of Australia, on April 22nd 1947. The Greek settlers and the clergy of the time received the news of the Metropolitan's election with approval. However, this was not happy news for some of his personal opponents and a large section of the Greek language media.

However, despite the protestations among the Greek media, Metropolitan Theophylaktos was enthroned in Sydney on 13 June 1948. He immediately set the basis for the organisation of the Metropolis, with a separate financial body for the management and security of the Church's property. Until 1948, the Metropolis of Australia and New Zealand had been "in every Metropolitan's luggage". Theophylaktos announced the establishment of payments and funds towards the Metropolis. He promised to give to future generations an institutionalised Metropolis that would be economically powerful, independent, and unscathed by criticism.

His pastoral reign coincided with the tragic years of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) and the ideological conflict of the Cold War, which affected community life in Australia between 1950-1958. It kept Greek Australians divided and unable to consolidate. His reign was severely and unfairly criticised by the conservative publishers of the Greek press who perpetuated Greek conservative ideological models. They could not understand Theophylaktos' sensitivity and non-partisan concern to keep the Metropolis - as far as the circumstances allowed - above ideological and political conflict. He was by nature moderate and diplomatically flexible. He had a polite, if often excitable personality, and carefully avoided indiscretions. He established his authority by developing mature, political expertise, exercising flexible policies and taking advantage of his numerous political

acquaintances. He lived during a period of extremely bitter conflicts and perilous divisions, always aiming for the resolution of the ecclesiastic schism and the promotion of the Church's reputation.

Theophylaktos' episcopacy assisted the leaders of the times to develop a community conscience during the early stages of the organisation of the Metropolis in Australia. These were times of great significance. About to be realised or at least in the embryonic stage were the commencement of government-controlled mass migration from 1952 onward; the appointment of the first Greek Ambassador to Australia, Demetrios Lambrou, in March 1953; the progressive replacement of the honorary consuls with career diplomats; the increase in the number of Communities and churches; the creation of the Federation of Greek Communities, and the convening of an All-Community Congress setting the boundaries of the Church-laity collaboration and questioning the authority of the Church.

Theophylaktos attempted to exercise his authority in the Communities with regard to the management of religious sacraments. Until the middle of 1951, the Communities were responsible for the service of the Church sacraments. In July 1951, Theophylaktos issued a circular informing the Executive Committees of the Greek Communities around the country that Greek settlers must refer to the Metropolis and not to the offices of the Communities for their sacraments and other religious functions. This move was judged critically. It was seen as "*ignoring traditional rights of the Communities*" and it resulted in the resignation of some Community presidents and the creation of serious Church-laity friction.

By the end of 1957, with the completion of the tenth anniversary of his enthronement in the See of Australia and New Zealand, Theophylaktos further reinforced his authority by appointing trusted clergymen to positions of power. He appointed the Rev. Kosmas Klavides as Head Vicar of the Archdiocese and Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis as Episcopal Vestryman. His authority was consolidated even further with the rapid increase in the number of clergymen in Australia. In January 1958, he circularised his clergy asking

them to remit an annual fee to the Holy Metropolis "which carries the meaning of appropriate dependence and assists in the normal function of the Holy Metropolis".

During Theophylaktos' pastorship, the impact of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) and the ideological polarisation that resulted from it, did not have as great an effect on the Greeks in Australia as might have been expected, given the presence of the basic ingredients for dissension and strife. The main reasons that relative peace and moderation prevailed included the neutral policy which Metropolitan Theophylaktos adopted: systematically avoiding references to the Civil War and declaring a panhellenic ideology. There was also the prudent stance of the Consul General, Aemilios Vryzakis, who avoided conflict and strife. Finally, there was the supremacy in the community leadership of individuals who practised friendly relations with the Metropolitan and his policies. The climate of appeasement was further assisted by the attitude of Australian authorities. They were actively seeking to prevent the transfer of the internal conflicts of Europe to Australia.

The massive intake of new migrants after 1956 entirely changed the structure of the organised Greek Communities. The decline and decay of community life started to slow. The increased concentration of Greeks in the large urban centres, mainly Melbourne and Sydney, created conditions more conducive to community organisation. Melbourne became the main arrival centre, especially for young immigrants between the ages of 23-35. The number of newly arrived Greek immigrants increased rapidly after 1954, reaching 98 000 in 1971. In Sydney their number increased from 4 635 in 1947 to 53 646 in 1971. The urban centres where Greek settlers had concentrated until then, were unable to accommodate the increasing numbers. New centres were established as the Greek population increased.

The increased intake of migrants after 1954 put even greater strain on the functional inadequacies of the Communities. The Greek media tended to hold Metropolitan Theophylaktos responsible for the theological conflict amongst the clubs and the lack of Community struc-

tures which could have helped new migrants to adjust harmoniously to their new environment. The lack of an adequate number of churches and priests was apparent, despite Community and Church boasting about adequate infrastructure and sufficient resources to meet the needs of the increased number of migrants. Community organisations were characterised by a lack of organisational structure and inadequate leadership. The Greek media had not rid itself of the remnants of the old schisms. Demographic changes, however, were rapid. When new Communities were created by the thousands of new settlers, they often remained cut off from existing Community organisations in distant suburbs and townships of Australia.

Patriarch Athenagoras, an ex-Archbishop of America, had clear notions about the sort of structural organisation appropriate for the Communities of the Diaspora. He encouraged Theophylaktos to go ahead with the creation of new parishes in the form of Communities. Theophylaktos visited Greece in 1956 and 1957 and had deliberations and conferences with public servants and politicians in Athens, including intensive discussions with the Department of External Affairs and with the clergy in Greece. The visits convinced him that Constantinople had decided to implement the American organisational model in Australia - that is, the establishment of parishes controlled by the Church instead of lay community organisations. This would give the Church complete power over the Communities and thus unilateral control of the migrants. The only obstacle to this course of action remained Metropolitan Theophylaktos. His thirty-year stay in Australia and his inherently moderate character discouraged him from a strong encounter with the Communities. In order to reduce disputes, Theophylaktos acted firmly to disallow any provocative behaviour. He acted this way for many reasons, including the fact that he continued to enjoy great popularity, in spite of the Greek Australian media's published criticisms of him. His well-timed interference often averted aggravation of the situation.

This problem was finally resolved with the intervention of the Australian Government, following the successful lobbying by the President of the Greek Community of Melbourne, Thesseus

Marmaras. The arrival of the new settlers increased the social problems of Greeks in Australia, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney. The most important problem remained the imbalance in the ratio of men to women. The Greek communities in Melbourne and other urban centres in Australia remained communities of bachelors. As a result, the number of children was small and appropriate emphasis was not given to the establishment of Greek part-time schools. Marriages between Greek men and Anglo-Australian women were few because the Anglo-Saxons viewed matrimonial relations between local women and Greek men as a social stigma. The gender imbalance was caused by the official policy of the Greek government, which prohibited the migration of unmarried Greek women.

Prevailing circumstances had pushed young men into the controversial Greek social clubs, which were popular, even before World War II. Insecurity in employment, frequent changes in jobs, apprehension at being in a new environment and the rarity of social functions due to the low numbers of women in the communities, all had their adverse social effects. The increase of the kafenion and gambling houses was epidemic. Most were located in the inner suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney, where the majority of the new migrants resided close to the factories and the marketplaces where they worked and lived. Residences were crowded. Often, there would be five to seven young bachelors or three to four families sharing the same residence, with one kitchen and bathroom. Men lived in such circumstances to save money in order to buy a place of their own. (Tamis, 1997). Many were ruined and quite a few (some) committed suicide.

On July 31st 1958, Theophylaktos was fatally injured in a motor vehicle driven by Archimandrite Kourtesis. He died two days later. He was the first and only Metropolitan to die and be buried in Australia. He, too, was a migrant, like his spiritual children. Following the death of Metropolitan Theophylaktos, the Archbishop of Thyateira and Central Europe, Athenagoras Kavvadas, was temporarily appointed Patriarchal Exarch of Australia. From the time of his pastorship in the USA, he was a trustworthy colleague and collaborator of Patriarch Athenagoras. He arrived in Australia with the aim of extending peace

and harmony among the Greek Communities and earning the trust of the community leaders. The Exarch implemented a program to reorganise and re-construct the Greek Community with the Metropolis as its centre.

The program involved the establishment of new suburban communities with the active participation of more community members. This program aimed to decentralise the management of organised Hellenism so that the Church could benefit financially and organisationally. The new system also aimed to weaken the old Community organisations, which had not acted in time (1952-1958) to establish new communities themselves in the various suburbs of the capital cities, where the new migrants were settling in great numbers. The old Communities failed to bring the new arrivals within their jurisdiction. Community pluralism drove the central pre-World War II Communities to financial ruin and a severe loss of members. Their institutions were compelled to operate within their old boundaries. With the establishment of new and independent Communities, the authority of the Archdiocese was strengthened. It tended to maintain the right of intervention and create flourishing financial opportunities from the payments of charges for performing special ceremonies and sacraments.

Determined to impose the view of the Church dogmatically, Athenagoras encouraged the settlers in Melbourne, Perth and Sydney to establish their own new churches. He prepared the way for the new canonical Archbishop Ezekiel Tsoukalas to establish a unique and powerful Ecclesiastical Authority. The new Metropolitan was assistant Director of the Archdiocese's Theological School of Holy Cross in Brooklyn, Massachusetts in 1943, when Athenagoras Kavvadas was the Director. Ezekiel's pastorship in Australia (1959-1974) was incident-ridden. This was not because of his conservative policies, but mainly because he was called to implement the program of the Archbishop of Thyateira initiated parish sectioning which. The period of his pastorship was the most important in the history of the Greeks in Australia. It was the period of mass migration, the confrontation between the clergy and the Communities, and the period when intra-

community, intra-personal and ideological splits came to a head. It was also the epoch of important changes and restrictions, which were imposed on the Communities' institutionalised, structure.

A few days after his arrival in the Antipodes, and with the approval and encouragement of the Karamanlis Government of Athens, the new Archbishop put forward the parameters of the plan he had brought with him from Fanarion. These stipulated that there should be no association with the organised Federation of the Greek Communities; that the role of the old Communities should be continued within the pre-War parameters as Church organisations; and that the social, political and organisational role of the Communities should be abolished. The implementation of the program of creating new Communities met with strong opposition from the Greek Ambassador, Georgios Christodoulou, as well as from the Consuls and the leadership of the old Communities. The dramatic culmination of the split between the Church and the Communities erupted on June 9th 1960 when the Management Council of the Greek Community of Adelaide decided to split from the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia. This was in reaction to the establishment by the Archbishop Ezekiel of the Communities of St. Elias the Prophet at Unley, St. Spyridon at Thebarton, and the Genesis of Christ at Port Adelaide. The Greek Community of Adelaide's rebellion was followed, on July 9th 1960, by a similar one by the Community of Newcastle. The three years that followed (1960-1963) were the most turbulent in the history of Australian Hellenism. Public confrontation and public airing of internal differences occurred, not only between the Archbishop and the communities, but also between the organised clubs and brotherhoods. This explosive situation had social ramifications which spread to the families of the settlers, leaving its mark on almost every collective activity of Hellenism.

On August 3rd 1974, without any prior consultation with Archbishop Ezekiel and influenced by adverse reports submitted to Fanarion by former diplomats, the Patriarchal Synod decided to transfer and "promote" Ezekiel to the Metropolis of Pisidia. It also appointed the Bishop of Theoupolis Panteleimon as the Archiepiscopal

Vestryman of Australia. Undoubtedly, Ezekiel was, the Hierarch who strengthened and enhanced the Archdiocese in Australia. He lived through the major part of the mass migration of Hellenism. He implemented the program of the Patriarchate under the most difficult circumstances, which the ideological fanaticism of that era created. The majority of the Greeks in Australia accepted his transfer with a sense of relief, having been eagerly hoping for this change. In March 1975, the election of the Titouliarian Metropolitan of Militoupolis, Stylianos Harkianakis, as the fifth Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia was announced.

The mass migration of thousands of Greeks, mainly from country areas of Greece and with minimal education, gave rise to many cases of exploitation. Certain members of the clergy, comen who presented themselves as priests or 'candidate priests', organisers of icon worship at home, and mystics and clairvoyants, took advantage of the Greek migrant's strong religious sense. Thousands of unprotected girls and young men from Greece came here as migrants in a period of high unemployment. They came to a community known for ideological polarisation and bad relations between its old and new members. The tyranny of distance from Greece and the insecurity and difficulties in communication within the country created serious social problems: bigamy, family abandonment and suicides, especially among young migrants, resulting from the psychological problems caused by isolation.

From mid-1960s, a period of severe unemployment hit Australia, especially in Melbourne, which constituted the manufacturing centre of the continent. Until the end of 1961, thousands of newly arrived Greeks in large and medium-sized cities, found themselves unemployed. Despite its promises, the Department of Immigration was unable to find them work. This led to intense feelings of disappointment and helplessness among the new migrants residing in the crowded migrant camps of Bonegilla and Fisherman's Bend in Melbourne. Bonegilla was the centre for migrants who arrived with their families. Fisherman's Bend was for unmarried migrants. Bonegilla was a former military camp located in a village about 400 kilometers northeast of

Melbourne. The living conditions, including the strict rules which kept married couples separated during the day, and their disillusionment over the "lost paradise", led to protests. Migrants set fire to the wooden sheds (1961 and 1962), and the police arrested some people, mainly Italians and Maltese, who were freed after a public outcry. The Greek Communities of Melbourne and Sydney reacted with massive meetings in support of the unemployed. They demanded a stop to the legal persecution of the helpless migrants accused of initiating the protests.

In order to raise money for unemployment relief for the suffering new migrants, the Greek Communities took a number of initiatives. They arranged soccer games and wrestling matches, had acting groups perform plays, and asked businessmen to contribute money. After 1970, community organisations had managed to overcome their initial problems. They had begun to clear the debts they had incurred in rebuilding Churches and Community halls. The first moves were made for the establishment of all-Greek educational providers. Buildings and facilities were purchased to serve the future programs of an upgraded Greek Community.

Greek migrants substantially contributed towards a European profile in Australia. They embellished Australian life with an efficient and effective network in the areas of marketing, building and development, as well as in the service and hospitality industries, small business, academia and administrative services. Greek settlers took the broader view that their socio-economic welfare would best be served by pursuing objectives which embraced the broader needs of the Australian community. In order to advance their socio-economic objectives they formed collective entities and organisations, which gave them both the power and the vitality to implement their goals. Their impact on government policy formulation and its implementation was impressive, as indeed was their ability to influence and inspire their community leaders.

The traditional reluctance and suspicion of the local Australian society towards Greek migrants and their linguistic and cultural back-

ground evaporated with the consolidation of the Greek community. Suspicion gradually changed to cautious tolerance, and later acceptance. The unresponsiveness of many in the broader Australian society to the persistent efforts of the smaller numbers of pre-War Greek settlers to integrate was challenged after WWII. Economic prosperity, together with the professional achievement and successful social adherence of large waves of Greek migrants and their children, began to win over the wider Australian community. The emergence of their Australia-born children as successful professionals, technocrats, public administrators, merchants and businesspersons gave the Greek community prominence and seriously affected the entire society.

The affluent Greek community has the resources to maintain the ethno-linguistic identity of its members into the new century. However, it requires the commitment of its leaders to establish a network of institutionalised organisations, such as schools, research and resource centres and multi-media corporations which would attract clientele support not exclusively from the Greek community, but also from mainstream society. This will secure the resilience of the Greek language and culture and the maintenance of the ethno-cultural identity of Greek settlers, which, in return, will become the objective of the society rather than the goal of an ethnic community.

The Hellenic community also has the resources and the potential to reinforce its creative presence in Australia and thus avoid marginalisation in the twenty-first century. The Hellenes of Australia can boast of an impressive level of financial accomplishment, which, if properly utilised, will enable them to articulate issues convincingly, even beyond cultural survival, matters vital to the ethnic survival of the Greek community and its participation in the discourse of the new century. Therefore, the challenge is to strive for the establishment of mechanisms through which the voice of Hellenism will be more effectively heard. The Hellenic youth, if given the opportunity it deserves, may play a key role in this new Hellenic presence.

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ΑΛΛΟΧΘΟΝΑ ΤΟΠΙΑ

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επιμέλεια

Ελένη Νίκα / Στέφανος Κωνσταντινίδης