

A PROFILE OF GREEK AUSTRALIANS THROUGH THEIR LITERATURE

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article trace les origines et le développement de la littérature grecque en Australie depuis les premiers pas jusqu'à nos jours. Même si cette littérature s'est développée de la même façon que dans d'autres pays d'accueil, elle possède néanmoins son caractère propre et sa propre histoire. L'on peut la diviser en quatre périodes: 1) les "premières années", qui n'ont produit aucun écrivain de qualité véritablement littéraire, malgré l'importance historique et sociologique de leurs efforts; 2) les "années de l'avant-guerre" (2e guerre mondiale) qui ont témoigné de l'émergence des premiers écrivains grecs importants, dans l'oeuvre desquels on constate un attachement profond aux sujets traditionnels de l'expérience immigrante, le retour au pays natal, etc.; 3) les "années de la guerre", qui, les thèmes traditionnels mis à part, ont vu la naissance d'une tendance nationaliste comme le reflet de la lutte de la résistance nationale en Grèce pendant la guerre; et 4) la période des "développements contemporains", depuis les années 50, marquée par l'avènement de plusieurs poètes et écrivains dont certains avaient déjà publié des oeuvres dans leur pays d'origine et qui se sont établis par la suite en Australie. Cette étude présente aussi un bilan de la contribution des Grecs écrivant en anglais de la première et de la deuxième génération, parmi lesquels bon nombre se sont déjà taillés une place dans le monde des lettres australiennes.

ABSTRACT

This paper outlines the origin and development of the literature of the Greeks in Australia from the first efforts to the present. Although it has developed along the general lines found in other host countries, it has its own unique character and history. It can be divided into four periods: 1) the "Early Years" which did not produce any writers of literary merit in spite of the historical and sociological significance of their attempts; 2) the "Pre-(Second World) War Years" which saw the first noteworthy Greek writers whose work exhibited a deep attachment to traditional themes of the immigrant experience, return to the birthplace, etc.; 3) the "War Years" which, apart from the always present traditional themes, gave rise to a nationalist trend in response to the struggle and resistance of Greece during the war; and 4) the period of "More Recent and Contemporary Developments" since the mid-1950's which saw the advent of many poets and prose writers, some of whom had already been publishing in their places of origin and have become established in this country. This study also briefly presents the contribution of the first and second generation Greeks who write in English, most of whom have already gained a place in the Australian letters.

INTRODUCTION

Today there are over three and one half million Greeks who have made other countries their second homeland.¹ Impressive numbers of Greeks live in Australia, the United States, Canada, South America, Eastern and Western Europe, and South Africa, not to mention those Greeks scattered in small pockets, in *parikies* or *kinotites* in many other parts of the world as well. Of all these countries in which the Greek immigrants hold a prominent position, either from the viewpoint of numbers or from the viewpoint of their more essential contribution to the intellectual, social and economic life there, the Hellenism of Australia has not yet been researched comprehensively and in depth, as regards its current state and its development and history.

In Australia, a country with a total population of more than fifteen millions in 1983,² there are about 500,000 people of Greek origin (first and second generations). Greeks are scattered throughout the entire country, although almost half of the Greek population is

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settled in Victoria, whose major city Melbourne some claim to be the third largest city in number of Greek residents, after Athens and Thessaloniki.³

No matter to which part of the world the Greeks have emigrated, they have always carried with them not only the deeply rooted elements of their language, culture and religion, but also the tradition of literary expression, both oral and written, as well as the love and appreciation of the art of literature itself — a most representative and genuine element of the Greek character, which has always been maintained by the Greeks who have immigrated to Australia. The Greek literary presence in Australia finds expression in the works both of those Greeks who write in Greek and of those first and second generation Greeks who write in English.

Although the literary production of the Greeks in Australia can be seen as an uninterrupted stream flowing from its beginnings until today, for methodological purposes in this study the literary production of the Greeks can be viewed as falling into four periods. This is not to say that each period can be totally isolated from the others, for, on the contrary, each of them emerges from the preceding period and, in turn, flows into the following one. After all, many writers bridge more than one period. Furthermore, the writers themselves are classified according to their early contributions to the field, although not necessarily according to their first attempts at writing. And for those few writers whose works appeared in the literary circles of Greece prior to their emigration to Australia, that early recognition is taken into consideration for their classification. In addition, the writers who are not included in this study are those Greeks who are in Australia because they have been sent here by their superiors or governing bodies, and who, therefore, can be recalled at any time. For them, Australia is only a temporary home.

THE EARLY YEARS

Greek immigration to Australia is quite old when compared to the short history of the new nation. There is evidence that the first Greeks arrived in Australia in the first decades of the nineteenth century, although the exact date of their arrival is unknown and the information we have about them is fragmentary.⁴ As there was little official demographic work done in Australia in those early years of settlement and as most of the first Greek arrivals were primarily seamen and adventurers, rather than permanent settlers, information about them is largely undocumented and in many cases oral.

A similar situation exists with regard to our knowledge of the early literary efforts of the Greek communities in Australia. Little information has come down to us about the literary activities of the Greeks of those early years of immigration. This factor contributed to the belief which was held, even in academic circles, until the end of the 1960's that there was no body of literature produced by the Greeks in Australia.

The other factors which gave rise to this fallacy are obvious. First, most of the Greek writers were, and still are, writing in their mother tongue. Before the 1960's, with few sporadic exceptions, the Greeks felt more secure expressing their ideas and sentiments in the language which they could handle with ease and confidence. For them English was a second language which they used only out of the confines of the Greek community in professional, business or other necessary contacts with Australians.

Second, the Greek writers were writing not for the Australian reading public, but for other Greeks who could understand the bitter experiences of immigrant life and share their nostalgia for the homeland. After all, how could they feel motivated to write for the Australian society of pre- and post-war times since it had created a negative stereotype of them as uneducated and unassimilable foreigners and which considered them as unacceptable elements of the population.⁵

Third, most of this literature, because of the language in which it was written and the audience to which it was addressed, appeared solely in the Greek newspapers of Melbourne and Sydney. These newspapers provided the only open forum available to any sort of writer and, moreover, quite a few of the Greeks who tried their hand at poetry or prose writing

were journalists or columnists of the Greek newspapers of the large urban centres. Needless to say, it was only natural that this situation made Greek literature even more inaccessible to the Australian public as few, if any, Australians had any knowledge of the Modern Greek language.

Fourth, even if some Australians had been able to come into contact with the literary work of the Greek community, no doubt the subject matter would have proved uninteresting, if not irritating, since most of the writers dealt with the difficulties of immigrant life in Australia, expressed bitterness towards the attitudes of the Australians, and set the Odyssean dream of return to the homeland and death in the native village as their ultimate goal.

Greek literary production in Australia, therefore, has emerged and developed along the familiar lines encountered in the experience of immigrant groups in many other host countries.⁶

Although exact details are lacking, the first known literary attempts of the early Greek immigrants occurred in the first decades of the twentieth century. A main characteristic of this period is that the efforts of these early times seem to have been limited to oral verse which was mainly satirical in nature and intended as entertainment or social comment rather than as serious literary endeavours. Even if these early attempts had been written down, they could not have been published since the facilities for printing in Greek did not exist then, at least in the early years. Moreover, to publish at those times was an undertaking beyond the social and financial means of the average Greek immigrant. In later times, however, when printing facilities were more readily accessible, some of these verses appeared in newspapers and journals of the Greek community. It is worth noting, though, that none of these earlier versifiers ever published their works in book form, another characteristic which distinguishes this period from later ones.

The Greeks, especially those from the islands and the villages, coming from an environment with a strong oral tradition, naturally cultivated it here. These oral efforts, although of dubious quality, are valuable nevertheless because of their historical and sociological importance and also because they constitute the beginnings of the Greek literary presence in Australia. It would be an error of judgment to overlook them as they represent a stage in the history of the progress towards a body of literature. Little of these early efforts remains, and only traces of them have survived until today, and these in the memories of some of the oldest members of the Greek communities.

The best known figure of these times seems to have been *Nikos Kallinikos* (1885-1976), who is still remembered by the older Greeks of Melbourne. According to the scanty amount of information which exists about him, Kallinikos, who was from the small Ionian island of Ithaca, arrived in Australia before 1910 and settled in Melbourne. Like many Ionian islanders he had a satirical outlook on life and possessed a natural gift for spontaneous folk-type of rhyming. He used this talent for versification to satirize particular members of the Melbourne Greek community and certain patterns of Greek life there. We do not know, though, whether any of his rhymes were ever published in any of the Greek newspapers of his day. After all, no newspapers had yet been started in the first years of his life in this country. Another of these early Greek immigrants who had this skill of easy versification was also an Ithacan, *Nikos Paizis* (1887-1958), who immigrated to Melbourne in 1911. After more than forty-five years in Australia, however, Paizis returned to his island to spend his last days there.

In contrast, more has come down to us about the Greek publications which appeared in Australia during those times. The first Greek-language publications were the weekly newspapers *Okeanis* (The Ocean) and *Afstralia* (Australia). *Okeanis* was a short-lived four-page weekly which was founded in Adelaide in 1914. Later the same year, the paper's owner George Nikolaidis transferred it to Sydney, making it the first Greek newspaper in that city. It ceased publication in 1916. On the other hand, *Afstralia* was printed for the first time in Melbourne in 1914, only a few months after the founding of *Okeanis*, but about 1920 its publisher, Efstratios Venlis, transferred the four-page weekly to Sydney. Later in 1922 the paper was sold, and its new owners, the Marinakis brothers, changed its name to

To Ethnikon Vima (The National Tribune). The paper appeared under its new name for the first time on December 15, 1922, and it holds the distinction of being the second oldest surviving foreign-language paper in Australia.⁷

From the viewpoint of books, in spite of the small number of Greek immigrants and the difficult social and financial situation which they faced, nevertheless, quite amazingly in 1916 in Sydney the first book in the Greek language appeared under the title *I zoi en Afstralia* (Life in Australia).⁸ Wholly set up and printed in Australia, it was published under "the generous care of the compatriot John D. Kominos (Honorary President of the New South Wales Greek Community) and in collaboration with the brothers Kosmas and Emmanuel Dom. Andronikos and George E. Kentavros" (sic). This publication, subtitled "an encyclopaedic book" was not really a literary work. Rather it was a book of general information about Australia and the Greeks in the country, including demographic statistics, the system of government, a tradesman's guide, 215 short biographies of members of the Greek community in Australia, photographs, etc.

Later books also fell into the same category of reference books and guides to prospective immigrants. The second book appeared in Sydney in 1920, published in Greek for the Sydney Greek community under the title *Odigos tu Ellinos en Afstralia* (Greek Guide to Australia). It contained commercial and legal advice, immigration and naturalization laws, workmen's compensation acts, rules of health and conduct, and information on banking, education, religion, agriculture, etc. The author was Oscar E. Georgoulas, an agriculturist and member of the Royal Horticultural Society of England.

The third book, the *International Directory of 1927*, was published partly in English and partly in Greek, with a short section about Australia in French, by the International Publishing Company in Adelaide in 1927.⁹ It included sections on industry, commerce, science, history, poetry, etc., in addition to statistical information, some biographies and photographs of Greeks in Australia.

THE PRE-WAR GENERATION

The first generation of writers of literary merit appeared during the two decades preceding the Second World War. The literature of this period was characterized mainly by specific traditional themes, such as love for Greece, the problems resulting from the immigrant experience, the difficulties of life in the foreign land, and longing for the homeland and for final return to the birthplace. Quite naturally, it reflected a nostalgia for Greece and presented a romantic view of the life and places which had been left behind. Gradually, however, the literature was enriched by new subjects, such as nature, eros, travel, and love for life.

A distinguishing characteristic of this period, in contrast with the earlier one, is that the literary production far surpasses it both in terms of quantity and quality. The people who contributed to this development were now writers, even if by interest rather than by profession, and furthermore, all the writers of this period actively published in the newspapers and journals of the Greek community, and several of them even went on to publish books in later years. In addition, almost all of them contributed significantly to the social as well as to the intellectual life of the community.

Of all the writers who belong to this period, six figures stand out: *Theodore Georgantopoulos* (Theo Georgeson) (1905-1978), poet, prose writer and translator of British poetry; *Kostis Malaxos-Alexander* (1900-1975), a poet with a philosophical tendency who wrote both in Greek and English; the journalist and prose writer *Michael Malachias* (1901-1957); *James Galanis* (1910-1970), who published short stories and articles for over thirty years in the Greek and Australian newspapers and journals of his time; the stage director *George Payzis* (1890-), the man who has dedicated most of his life to the Greek community theatre of Sydney, but who has also contributed short lyrical poems in traditional style; and the prose writer *Alekos Doukas* (1900-1962)¹⁰, who is admittedly the most gifted writer of this period, his works having appeared successfully in literary journals of Greece as well of the Diaspora.

THE WAR YEARS

The outbreak of World War II in Greece signalled the beginning of a new period in the Greek literary production of Australia. During the war and post-war years, the literature produced by the Greeks in Australia reflected a refreshed and intensified nationalist dimension, which in addition to the traditional one, has always been present in the literature both of metropolitan Greece and of the Diaspora.¹¹ It gave rise to new themes such as the struggle for liberty, the heroic deeds of the Greek soldiers, the Greek resistance movement, etc., but in focusing upon the great trials of the war and the sufferings of the people, it also established a tradition which related specifically to the events of World War II. The war years definitely left their traces on many of the writers who lived during those times and persisted to influence the work of a number of writers even of the next period.

The author who has contributed work most representative of this nationalist trend is *Stathis Raftopoulos* (1921-). A type of folk poet, Raftopoulos has written five volumes of poetry, one of which appeared during the war with all its poems expressing deeply patriotic feelings. In his work, however, one can also clearly see his attachment to the traditional subjects of the family, love, society, etc., and more specifically of *xenitia*. These subjects also appeared in the works of other writers of this period, including the short stories of the journalist *Thanos Nikolaidis* (1916-1978) and especially the works of *Yannis Lillis* (1916-1969) who published prose and poetry of notable quality both in Greece and in Australia.

It is worth mentioning that in the works produced during the beginning of this period, the nationalist emphasis is more intense, whereas the more the period progresses, the more the traditional themes gain momentum and come to the fore.

MORE RECENT AND CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS

The decade of the 1940's was a period of conflict, destruction and bitterness in Greece. The tremendous pressures of post-war socio-economic conditions made numerous Greeks turn to emigration as a solution for themselves and their families, both those who would eventually follow and those who would remain behind. Chain migration to Australia which had been suspended during the war years revived, but many Greeks who were seeking the opportunity to emigrate were still unable to leave for want of passage money. It was the assisted passage agreement between Australia and Greece in February of 1952 which gave a significant impetus to Greek emigration to Australia. In addition, these years also saw large numbers of Greeks arriving from different parts of the Greek Diaspora, specifically Egypt, Constantinople, Roumania, and elsewhere.

This new influx of Greek immigrants brought new vitality to the Greek communities, particularly insofar as this period saw more educated groups arriving in Australia. The significant point is that many of the new arrivals had already completed high school and some even had university education. Many of them brought within themselves both the desire and the inclination to express themselves through writing, and this was realized as soon as they had overcome the early difficulties of settlement and adjustment and had become economically more secure and independent. Their creativity was supported by the availability and readiness of a significant number of Greek newspapers and journals and by more accessible printing facilities. The newspapers, both those already in existence and those newly established, presented them with a forum for their works and the opportunity to become known in the Greek communities of Australia. On the other hand, in addition to the much improved printing facilities of the newspapers, privately-owned print shops began to appear. As a result, this period started witnessing new literary trends as new themes and ideas were introduced and blended with the host culture creating a new dynamic force in the Greek literary presence in Australia.

More work, poetry and prose, was beginning to be translated into English; more writers were being encouraged to write, and their activities started receiving encouragement and support through grants awarded by the official organizations of the Australian government. Additionally, a new generation of Greek writers started producing bilingual editions

to reach a larger audience than just the Greek-speaking members of the Australian community. Little by little, more Australians began showing interest in the works of the Greek writers, and greater recognition was accorded their efforts.

The quality of the work of some of these writers is such that they have attracted the attention and recognition not only of the Greeks of Australia, but also of the mainstream of Greek letters in Greece where some have already had their works published by noted publishing houses in Athens (Ikaros, Estia, Gutenberg, etc.) and Thessaloniki (Nea Poreia, etc.), and a few have been awarded prizes by literary associations in Greece. Furthermore, some of these Greek writers have received considerable attention in Australian literary circles, to the extent that translations of their works have even been included in anthologies of Australian literature.

This period, even until now, has given us by far the largest number of writers (whose works have either been published or still remain unpublished) because of the very length of the period and also because they are the most active and productive of any previous period.

Examining the poetry and prose of this period, one can see that the picture which the writers now paint is multi-dimensional and broad in scope. For the first time, we encounter, both thematically and stylistically, almost the entire spectrum of these genres, spanning from the traditional to the avant-garde. Either in book form or in unpublished works, themes range from the traditional subjects of *xenitia*, love, nature, etc., all the way to symbolic interpretations of life and society, as well as works of a metaphysical nature expressed in terse and elliptical language.

Of those Greeks who reached Australian shores in the huge migratory wave of the 1950's, there have been several individuals who have contributed significantly to the Greek literary movement of Australia. One could mention, among others: in Perth, the poetess and prose writer *Vasso Kalamara*; in Melbourne, the poets *Dimitris Tsaloumas*, *Nikos Ninoulakis* (1923-1982), *Christos Fifis*, *Georges Michelakakis*, and *Andreas Triantaphyllopoulos*, the poetess and short story writer *Dina Amanatidou*, and the prose writer *John Vassilakakos*; and in Sydney, the poets *Costas Stamatiadis*, *George Kazouris*, *Yota Krili-Kevans*, the novelist *Erasmia Papageorgiou*, and the short story writer *Dimitris Stathopoulos*.

During this time, significant achievements were made not only in prose and poetry, but also in theatre. Although the first efforts in this genre were made by *Anargyros Fatseas* in the early fifties, the real foundations in playwriting in Australia were set in this period by *Lambis Paschalides* and *Theo Patrikareas*. These two writers have several points in common. Both had been educated in large urban centres of Hellenism, Paschalides in Cairo, and Patrikareas in Athens. Both had already started writing even before emigrating, and both had brought with them the cosmopolitan and intellectual air of the Hellenic centres which they came from, creating therefore a fresh atmosphere and renewing the enthusiasm for Greek theatre in Australia.

Except for the efforts of Paschalides and Patrikareas, there were no other significant endeavours in the writing of Greek theatre until the decade of the seventies. That is not to say there were no theatrical productions, but the plays staged were imported from Greece and occasionally even performed by Greek companies on tour in Australia.

Among those who have been writing plays within recent years are *John Vassilakakos* and *Lambis Kalpakidis* in Melbourne, *Vaggelis Mygdalis* in Sydney, and *Vasso Kalamara* in Perth. Both Kalpakidis and Mygdalis wrote on the subject of the Greek immigrant in Australia, from the humorous point of view, and both have now repatriated to Greece. The most successful Greek playwrights to this time, whose talent has not only been established in the Greek communities of Australia but is already breaking the confines of this country and is spreading overseas, are John Vassilakakos and Vasso Kalamara.

So far, we have seen that the majority of Greek writers have been composing their works in the Greek language. Although the phenomenon of Greeks writing in English is not as contemporary or as recent as one might think, going back even to the times before World War II, after the 1950's the few intermittent cases began to increase, and now we have reached the point to witness the phenomenon of a significant number of people of Greek

origin writing in English. A comparison of these two groups reveals the interesting point that the earlier writers not only were decidedly fewer in number, but also that several of them were writing in both languages. The second group, on the other hand, is much larger in number, and, moreover, is writing only in English, an interesting phenomenon from the literary perspective as well as the linguistic and sociological aspects.

The defining characteristic of this second group is that they are either first generation immigrants, who were born out of Greece, like *Aristides Paradissis* who came from China and *Antigone Kefala* from Roumania via New Zealand, or they came to Australia during their early childhood like *P.O. (Peter Oustabasidis)*, or they are the Australian-born children of Greek parent(s), like *Angelo Loukakis*, *Nick Athanasou*, *Timoshenko Aslanides*, *Zeny Giles*, and others.

Of this group of writers, Timoshenko Aslanides, and Aristides Paradissis have devoted themselves to writing poetry, Angelo Loukakis, Nick Athanasou and Zeny Giles to writing prose, and Antigone Kefala has made contributions of both. It is to their credit that most of these writers have already made a name in the literary circles of this country and that their works have been published by established Australian companies. Furthermore, an indication of the recognition which their literary talent has achieved is the fact that several of them have been awarded important prizes and grants, as, for example, Timoshenko Aslanides who received the 1978 Commonwealth Poetry Prize for his book of poetry *The Greek Connection* (published privately), and Angelo Loukakis, winner of the 1981 New South Wales Premier's Literary Award, for his volume of short stories *For the Patriarch* (University of Queensland Press).

In this study I have attempted to outline the origin and development, from the first efforts to the present, of the literary activities of the Greeks (first and second generations) in Australia, who have expressed themselves either in Greek or in English, and in a very few cases in both languages. What appears clearly is the indisputable fact that the vitality of the Greek element in this country, in its history of over one and a half centuries, has not restricted itself to superficial cultural activities, but it has made an essential contribution to the intellectual life of the country. Although it is undeniable that if, for any reasons, immigration from Greece does not rise again (something anticipated), literary production in Greek in this country will diminish and eventually may die away. Nevertheless, the literary contribution of the Greeks in Australia who write in English will continue for much longer, not only because of the growing ranks of second generation Greeks in this country, but also because of the higher education which they pursue. Moreover, there is a well-founded conviction that their work will continue to mature and will further enrich the steadily growing and diversifying body of literature created by the Greeks in Australia.

NOTES

1. There are no official statistics to provide the accurate number of Greek emigrants throughout the world today. Unofficial estimates bring the number up to 3,720 in some 760 communities (*Greece: A Portrait*, Research and Publicity Centre, Kede Ltd., Athens, 1979, pp. 187-190). Figures higher than this seem rather exaggerated. Nonetheless, compare the number of Greeks living abroad with the number living in Greece, i.e. 9,268,478, the mid-year estimate for 1977 (*Statistical Yearbook of 1978*, National Statistical Service of Greece, Athens, p. 16).
2. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Demographic Statistics Quarterly* (December Quarter, 1982, Advance Release.) Catalogue No. 3103.0, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 8 June 1983, p. 1.
3. Some claim that either Chicago or Astoria, New York are larger than Melbourne in terms of Greek population, i.e. about 300,000 Greek residents each. The subject is open to debate, however, due to the lack of accurate statistics.
4. See A. Goomas, "O philelinismos stin Afstralia" (Philhellenism in Australia), *Krikos* (Krikos) 79-80 (1957), p. 79; *Hydraika Nea* (The Hydra News) E, No. 50 (June, 1972), p. 2 and Nos. 51-52 (July-August, 1972), p. 1; Hugh Gilchrist, "Australia's First Greeks", *Canberra Historical Journal*, March 1977.
5. Cf., for example, "The Caucasian — Played Out", *The Bulletin*, 20 August, 1892; K.H. Bailey, "Public Opinion and Population Problems" in F. Eggleston, ed. *The Peopling of Australia: Further Studies*, Mel-

- bourne: Melbourne University Press, 1933, pp. 80-81; E. Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1935, pp. 141-143; Social Education Materials Project, *Ethnic Voices*, Richmond, Victoria: Heinemann, 1978, pp. 14-16, 36; Social Education Materials Project, *A Melting Pot? New Reality*, Richmond, Victoria Heinemann, 1980, pp. 22-37.
6. Cf. Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964; George Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada*, Ottawa: privately printed, 1955; E. Mantzaris, *The Social Structure and the Process of Assimilation of the Greek Community in South Africa*, University of Cape Town (unpublished M.A. thesis), 1978; J. Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain: A Study of Adjustment*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965; etc.
 7. The oldest surviving foreign-language newspaper is the French-language publication of Sydney, *Le Courier Australien*, which was first published in April, 1892. It was printed weekly until 1973 when it became a monthly.
 8. Although in 1916 there were estimated to be less than 4,600 Greek immigrants in the whole of Australia (cf. Charles Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 11 and M.P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia" in *Greeks in Australia*, C. Price, ed., Canberra: A.N.U. Press, 1975), ten thousand copies of the book were published, most of which were sent free to the various Greek authorities in Australia and elsewhere.
 9. In the same year this directory was also published in French and English.
 10. Alekos Doukas was the younger brother of Stratis Doukas, a major figure in metropolitan Greek letters, whose book *I istoria enos ehmalotu* (Story of a War Prisoner) is considered a classic of Modern Greek literature.
 11. For a recent survey of the literature of the Greek Diaspora since the mid-nineteenth century, see George Kanarakis, "I logotechnia tu apodimu ellenismu ke i thesi tis sta Neoellinika Grammata" (The Literature of the Greek Diaspora and its Place in Modern Greek Letters), *TOMES*, Vol. 6, Nos. 64-65 (1980), pp. 39-48.