'BEYOND THE ROLLING WAVE'

A THEMATIC HISTORY OF GREEK SETTLEMENT IN NEW SOUTH WALES

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cover image: Greek Independence Day, Ayia Trias (Holy Trinity), Surry Hills, 25 March 1937, photograph courtesy of John Procopiadis

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The following story represents only a partial account of Greek settlement in New South Wales. It essentially provides an introduction to the history of Greek settlement, and in this sense remains a 'work in progress'. We would welcome any additional information or stories offered by readers for inclusion in future versions.

Craig Turnbull and Chris Valiotis

INTRODUCTION

The experience of Greek-Australians is an integral part of the history of New South Wales. Since first arriving in the late 1810s, Greeks have made significant contributions to the cultural diversity and prosperity of New South Wales. Today, descendants of the earliest arrivals, immigrants, and their Australian-born children inhabit vital communities throughout the state, the inheritors of a vigorous Greek culture secured through the determined efforts of their forebears. Greek culture survived in colonial New South Wales despite the many obstacles encountered by the first immigrants, some of whom, for example, felt compelled to anglicise their names to deflect the xenophobic hostility of numerically dominant Anglo settlers. A number of themes are central to the history of Greek settlement in New South Wales, particularly religion, migration, commerce, education, and the formation of a diverse array of social institutions. Focussing upon these and other themes, the following story provides an outline of Greek history in New South Wales from the late 1810s to the present, including specific references to sites, places, landscapes, and objects that reflect this history.

TOWNSHIPS

In recent times Greek-Australians are known for inhabiting urban areas around the country's principal metropolitan centres, including Sydney, where they initially gathered in certain inner-city neighbourhoods. As early as the late 1910s a Greek-Australian presence was recorded in an extensive number of Sydney communities, with Redfern, Newtown, Paddington, Balmain, and Manly all having significant collections of Greeks. Other 'suburbs' with a slight Greek presence at this early stage were Double Bay,

Woollahra, Waverly, Coogee, Kensington, Long Bay, Campsie, North Sydney, Mosman, Annandale, Petersham, Parramatta, Kogarah, Gladesville, and Hornsby.[i] In the immediate post-World War Two period, Greek-Australians continued settling in Marrickville, Enmore, Newtown and Redfern, where both men and women worked in nearby industries. Soon after, many members of the first and second generations moved to the 'middling suburbs' of Dulwich Hill, Canterbury and Botany, while subsequent migrations have witnessed further movement of Greek-Australians into 'second settlement' areas, including Randwick, Maroubra, Rockdale, Sutherland, and Hurstville.[ii] Information collected during the 1996 Federal Census showed the five Local Government Areas of New South Wales with the heaviest concentration of 'Greece-born' to be Canterbury, Marrickville, Rockdale, Botany, and Kogarah (Table 1).[iii]

TABLE 1	TOP 5 LOCATIONS	
Local Government Area (LGA)	% Greece-born in LGA Population	Total Number of Greece-born in LGA Population
Canterbury	5.3	6,947
Marrickville	5.0	3,771
Rockdale	4.2	3,578
Botany	3.6	1,242
Kogarah	3.1	1,478

The gradual migration from inner-city working class areas to outer suburbs began in the 1970s, and has resulted in many Greek-Australians being absorbed into the 'anonymity of suburbia'. One historian of Greek-Australians wryly noted how the formation of new ethnic neighbourhoods had been supplanted by a symbolic ethnicity, expressed through 'painting the facades of their homes white and adorning their balconies with classical-

style columns'.[iv]   Those who remained in older communities, such as Marrickville, continued to exert an influence on the local community while developing cordial relations with new arrivals.   For example, a Greek journalist reported there was some 'separateness' between Greeks and newly arrived Vietnamese in Marrickville during the late 1980s, though there was a measure of tolerance between the two communities.[v]

The contemporary association of Greek-Australians with inner-city neighbourhoods and the wider metropolitan area belies the longer history of Greeks in New South Wales. By 1971 when the gradual migration from the inner city to the suburbs commenced, only 7 per cent of Greek-Australians lived outside of Australia's metropolitan areas, yet only 20 years earlier as many as 43 per cent of the population resided in rural Australia.   This national trend in distribution was mirrored in New South Wales.   In the period prior to World War Two, many Greek-Australians lived in towns throughout rural New South Wales, being employed in and often owning small businesses.   In contrast, post-war immigrants from Greece, like those from other southern European countries, typically found employment as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in the growing manufacturing, industrial, and construction sectors of the economy.[vi]

It was in rural New South Wales where Greek-Australians prior to World War Two were successful in pursuing social opportunities, and there are many stories of individuals who achieved public notoriety in a variety of endeavours. During the 1900s and 1910s, for example, Theo Minoukhos became a noted amateur wrestler who also played rugby union and rugby league for Dubbo.[vii] In towns such as Parkes, home of Angelos Pholeros, Greece's controversial first consular appointment in New South Wales in 1891, Greek-Australians prospered in commercial and industrial

enterprises.[viii]   One of the first prominent settlers in the central west was Konstantinos Argyropoulos, who became a profitable landowner in Parkes. Arriving in Sydney in 1854, Argyropoulos, like many of the early rural settlers, soon changed his name and headed for goldfields in the Araluen Valley where he struck good gold.   Constantine Fisher, as he was now known, journeyed 'home' to Izmir with his wife Mary Robinson before returning back to Sydney and later Parkes, where he purchased a block of land on the fringe of town.   Fisher soon obtained more land until he managed 36 hectares, and with the help of his family, including four sons, cleared the land, planted crops, kept a herd of cows and built a modest wooden house.   Three of Fisher's sons married Australian women, with Constantine Fisher junior serving successfully as an alderman of the Municipality of Parkes for 34 years, and Mayor for one year.[ix]   Greek communities continue to prosper in present day rural New South Wales, including in Albury, where around 250 people are members of a local community organisation established in 1943.[x]

Despite experiencing considerable economic success, early settlers in rural New South Wales often encountered hostility among town populations dominated by western European settlers. Gerasimos Apozogi was another successful Greek-Australian in Parkes during the late nineteenth century, working as a vigneron and a blacksmith until he obtained part-ownership of a local flour mill, eventually becoming the mill's manager.   Yet like Konstantinos Argyropoulos and many other early immigrants, Apozogi was compelled to anglicise his name to circumvent the enmity of the local British settlers. The owner of the Olympia Café – one of the most renowned Greek establishments in rural New South Wales – experienced considerable hardship after settling in Murrurrundi. George Gabriel was born in Kythera

in 1907 and immigrated to Australia in 1924 where he joined his brothers Victor and Peter, who had arrived earlier in 1912. Gabriel remembered his early experience of Australia as involving conflict, sometimes violent, between 'dagos and Kangaroos', leaving him with feelings of bitterness. Until he died in the early 1990s Gabriel lived in semi-retirement, only opening the Olympia on rare occasions. In 1998 the Olympia was listed for future purchase by the New South Wales Roads and Traffic Authority, and had been subject to damage by vandals.[xi] In many ways the Olympia is symbolic of the fate of rural New South Wales' Greek heritage, despite the ongoing presence of local community organisations in some towns. Indeed, it is in metropolitan areas such as Sydney where the retention of language, national institutions, and a 'sense of community' endures.[xii]

<center>Convicts</center>

Prior to the settlement of rural areas, Greek-Australians figured in the early convict history of New South Wales, albeit in a fairly inconspicuous manner. The first reputed reference to Greek convicts in 1817 or 1818 remains unsubstantiated and the subject of popular conjecture, existing as a fable due to repetition in books and popular stories.[xiii] An 'unspecified issue' of the *Sydney Gazette* is reported to contain a warning of the dangers posed by 'Irish, English and Greek convicts' or 'Greek and Irish Scum' to young children, although one author concedes the persistence of this story is owing to the number of times it has been told among Sydney Greeks. Another chronology of Greek-Australians claims the *Gazette* also reported the first reference to Greeks was in 1818 when 'law breakers and revolutionaries' were 'brought to the colony as convicts'.[xiv] The most notable convicts of Greek origin transported to New South Wales were

seven sailors convicted of piracy in 1828. After allegedly pillaging a British merchant ship off the Libyan coast, the nine-man crew of the Greek vessel *Herakles* were captured and imprisoned on Malta, and eventually brought to trial by a British Court of Vice-Admiralty. Considerable controversy accompanied the protracted trial of the Greek sailors, some of whom faced a penalty of death. Eventually seven of the sailors were convicted of having 'piratically and feloniously boarded the English merchant-brig *Alceste* and taken therefrom sundry goods, wares and merchandises and with having put in fear of their lives the master and crew', and were sent from Malta to England to await transportation to New South Wales. On 7 September 1829 Andonis Manolis, Damianos Ninis, Ghikas Boulgaris, Georgios Vasilakis, Konstantinos Stroumboulis, Nikolaos Papandreou and Georgios Laritsos disembarked from the *Norfolk* at Port Jackson along with 200 other male convicts, and began the first stage of the 'official' settlement of New South Wales by Greek-Australians.[xv] Apart from the seven 'pirates', Joseph Simmonds was the only other convict of Greek origin to arrive in New South Wales. After being sentenced to transportation for life at Dorchester for stealing a handkerchief in 1831, Simmonds, described as a Protestant with no education, worked on a garden gang in Sydney, and on one occasion absconded from the gang and received a flogging of 50 lashes for his absence.[xvi]

The experiences of the seven 'pirates' were remarkably similar to other transportees: most were repatriated, while two remained and were eventually emancipated to join the growing number of people engaged in pastoral enterprises. Before returning to Greece in 1837 three of the 'pirates', Laritsos, Papandreou, and Vasilakis, together with Manolis, who eventually settled permanently in New South Wales, were among the 100

male convicts employed in shearing and agricultural work on William Macarthur's Camden estate, although the Greeks may have spent most of their time tending to the estate's vineyards, first planted in 1820. The colony's surveyor, Major Mitchell, once walked through the garden of John Macarthur, near Parramatta, and later remarked that he had seen 'Greek pirates at work, training vines to trellises which had just been erected according to the manner of their country'.[xvii] In a manner foreshadowing journeys undertaken by future Greek-Australians, five of the 'pirates' returned to Greece after being drawn by the promise of a return to a homeland that had recently achieved independence.[xviii] After twice declining the offer of assisted return to Greece, Ghikas Boulgaris and Andonis Manolis both began the process of settling into their lives as emancipated convicts in New South Wales. Living until 1880, Manolis was engaged in gardening and viticulture in the Picton district, and was naturalised in 1854, indicating his intent to remain in New South Wales, and ensuring legal title over a small block of land he purchased in Upper Picton. The headstone of Manolis's grave is suggestive of the dislocation felt by many early European settlers in New South Wales, particularly Greeks, who were doubly isolated from their homeland and from their culturally foreign fellow settlers. The headstone in Upper Picton, marked by a plaque at the cemetery's entrance and recently restored by the Athenian Association of Sydney and New South Wales to honour Manolis for his pioneer journey, bears the inscription: 'In a strange land the stranger finds a grave, far from his home, beyond the rolling wave'.[xix]

PASTORALISM

Like other successful Greek-Australians who followed him during the early years of European settlement, Boulgaris was renowned as an itinerant stockman and shepherd throughout southern New South Wales, and later purchased his own pastoral run. While employed on a frontier grazing property north of Braidwood in 1836, Jigger Bulgary, as he became known, married Mary Lyons, a servant girl from Ireland. After settling at Bukalong, a village west of Bombala, Bulgary bought a nearby 'block': 26 hectares of lightly timbered hillside near the Bombala River, and soon acquired another 126 hectares as a free selector, much to the chagrin of a local squatter who dominated land ownership in the district. In the late 1860s Bulgary and Lyons moved north to a sheep-run near Nimmitabel, maintaining ownership of his property to the south. When Bulgary died in 1874 he bequeathed substantial assets to his numerous sons and daughters, including the 126 hectare 'Ando' property, left to his eldest son William. Despite being a 'pioneer' with many children, there is little to commemorate the life of Ghikas Boulgaris, one of New South Wales most notable early Greek-Australians. While it is claimed the local population in the Monaro were aware of Bulgary's Greek heritage, as an isolated settler he could never sustain a 'mono-ethnicity', and as his great-granddaughter, Doreen McTaggart suggests, Bulgary became part of an enterprise undertaken by different people who combined elements of their own ethnicity to succeed. 'I think the diversity of our multicultural society is what is making Australia such a great country', said McTaggart, 'what has come through from both sides of the family to which I was born – my mother's side and my father's side – was one of hard work, family, the right to express your views and the right to express your religious views'. When Bulgary died, he was buried

with Roman Catholic rites in the Old Cemetery near Nimmitabel, and a well-kept headstone still marks the site.[xx]

A number of other early settlers achieved success in rural enterprises, and their notoriety is testament to hard work and persistence in the face of considerable adversity. George Lymberidis became one of the biggest wheat-growers in New South Wales and Nikolaos Lourantos one of the wealthiest landowners whose property ran thousands of sheep. Both Lymberidis and Lourantos were regarded as 'great benefactors' of the Greek community, and were knighted by the New South Wales Governor for their efforts.[xxi]

Possibly the most successful early Greek settler in rural New South Wales was the reputedly well-educated Michael Manousou, who arrived in Sydney in 1853 from Lesvos after a brief sojourn in the United States. Like many of the men arriving in the 1850s, Manousou beat a hasty path to the southern goldfields where he found little gold, eventually marrying Sarah Baldwin, the 17-year-old daughter of a Worcestershire farmer. In the late 1850s the newly married couple moved to Bodalla where Manousou worked variously as a shepherd and a farm labourer, and eventually became a tenant farmer on a large estate at Eurobodalla, where he became a prominent public figure. By 1862 Manousou acquired 130 hectares of farmland at Eurobodalla and three years later was involved in the establishment of the 'Grecian' Hotel in the township. Prior to the district being inundated with floods in 1874, Manousou became an important member of the Eurobodalla community, acquiring a local inn, participating in local civic affairs and litigation, and serving as chairman of the local school board. After the floods Manousou drove his stock together with his family 320 kilometres north-west to a new 'selection' near Mendooran, where he oversaw the

building of a large and comfortable homestead, 'Biambil', surrounded by a sumptuous garden. Manousou's hopes for a 'dynasty' were largely unfulfilled when he died in 1907: most of the family were scattered throughout central New South Wales at great distance from the 'Biambil patrimony', and nor did any of them become identified with the later Greek community.[xxii]

MINING

As the experience of these early Greek-Australians demonstrates, mining was the most common pursuit of immigrants prior to engaging in pastoral or commercial activities, and gold was the lure for the majority of Greek men before 1900. Census figures and anecdotal evidence indicates that around 200 Greeks worked the goldfields of rural New South Wales and Victoria in the 1850s, and as many as 1000 had done so by the end of the century. Like Michael Manousou and Konstantinos Argyropoulos, most Greeks on the goldfields were transient men who typically intermarried, anglicised their names, and 'blended in' with the dominant western European culture.[xxiii] The most significant collection of Greek miners before 1880 was at Tambaroora, 50 kilometres north of Bathurst near the present ghost town of Hill End. Like many other instant gold towns Hill End was a cosmopolitan community of 800 people in the mid-1850s, and in its 'boom year' of 1872 was a thriving settlement of 2,500 people. Among this collection of gold seekers and their followers was probably the first gathering of Greek settlers in Australia: a group of about 20 miners and their wives and children living in 'Greektown', a cluster of shanties on Tambaroora's northwest outskirts near a tented camp of more than a thousand Chinese miners.[xxiv]

Poor facilities and the haste of miners made the mining trade at Tambaroora, as elsewhere, extremely hazardous, and many lives were lost through accidents and other misfortunes. One Greek miner, Dimitrios Moustakas, was noted as being involved in one serious accident at Hill End. While Moustakas was managing a claim on Hawkins' Hill in 1872 a miner named Everett fell into a waterlogged mine and drowned. Volunteering to rescue Everett, Moustakas descended into the mine and eventually recovered the body of the dead miner, tying it to himself to be hauled out. A local reporter declared Moustakas' action to be 'an act of courage and nerve … which will last, in the minds of those who saw it, for the rest of their days'. A number of Greek miners participated in local political affairs during their days at Tambaroora and Hill End. In 1871 John Rossitis signed his name to a petition to raise the Tambaroora postmaster's salary, while many Greek names appear on another petition to have Hill End and Tambaroora declared a separate electoral district from nearby Mudgee: Christie Totolos, George Doikos, Dimitrios Moustakas, and several other possible Greeks, John Nicholls, George Boziques, William Alexander, Thomas Costa, George Simons, and Septimal Zurras.[xxv] Little evidence of the Greek goldfield experience remains, although a cottage inhabited by Gerasimos Vasilakis at the foot of Bald Hill still stands, vacant and run-down. Recorded as a 'labourer' in Tambaroora under the name Jeremiah Williams, Vasilakis was naturalised in 1876.[xxvi]

MIGRATION

A distinguishing feature of Greek-Australians, like members of other 'diaspora communities' around the world, is their shared tradition of travel and settlement. The immigration of Greeks to New South Wales was, and

continues to be, part of broader global movement, and has profoundly impacted on Greek ethnic identity. Greek emigrations and settlements abroad, declared historian Michael Tsounis, have been recurring events since ancient times: 'Migration movements were frequent as Greek city-states founded daughter colonies overseas and as Greek merchants traversed the length and breadth of the regions bordering the Mediterranean and Black Sea'.[xxvii] The contemporary Australian Greek communities represent only one gathering of people among many around the world. The largest of the Greek 'diaspora communities' is in the United States, followed by Australia, the republics of the former Soviet Union, Canada, South Africa, Germany, Argentina, and Brazil.[xxviii] As Lex Marinos observed in 1998, the quest for identity among Greek-Australians has assumed even greater importance when combined with the 'Greek predilection for travel and migration'.[xxix] Travel and settlement figure prominently in the collective history of Greeks, with the term *Mavri Xenitia* being coined to express the often difficult experiences attending departure from 'home' and adjustment to new lands. Literally translating as 'black foreign land', *Mavri Xenitia* is understood to mean 'sojourning in foreign parts with overtones of longing for the homeland', or 'hardship and misery abroad'.[xxx] Greek-born community members, those who arrived in Australia during the 1950s and 1960s, experienced *Mavri Xenitia* often, and also became familiar with the stories of those Greek-Australians who preceded them. With the 'first generation' Greek-born now aged in their 50s and 60s, it has become important for the memories of *Mavri Xenitia* and of the immigration experience generally to be conveyed to the 'second' and now 'third' generations. The migration history of Greeks in Australia, observed one social scientist after the 1996

census, has reached the point at which consideration needs to shift to the third generation.[xxxi]

Prior to the 1940s, Greek immigration to Australia proceeded at a slow, steady rate, and arrivals were widely distributed across New South Wales. Excluding an unusually large influx from 1920 to 1922, immigrants came in small numbers pre-1940, and the permanency of settlement varied. For example, in 1924 the Federal government set Greece's annual immigrant quota at 1200, yet this number was reached only once in 1927; and during this period the number of departures typically equalled, or were even greater than, new arrivals.[xxxii] In the early twentieth century Australia was not a favoured destination of Greeks seeking to settle permanently in a new home; most chose the United States, where Greeks had settled in large numbers since the 1890s. Between 1900 and 1921, for example, the United States claimed as many as 384,000 out of a total 405,000 Greek emigrants.[xxxiii] To be sure, until 1921, all Australia could manage in comparison was around 6000 Greeks, over 40 per cent of whom left again at various times, with the country experiencing a general departure rate of 66 per cent in the period from 1915 to 1920.[xxxiv] Those who did travel to Australia had largely done so in response to a series of forces 'pushing' them to depart either their homes in Europe, or newly settled communities in the United States. During conflict between Greece and Turkey, for example, both countries agreed to a population exchange in mid-1922, and many of the people subsequently displaced joined the refugees already journeying to Australia. The combined influx of refugees and people displaced during the 'official' population exchange accounts for the high number of arrivals in the early 1920s. Moreover, the path of immigration to the United States was partially closed in 1924 when quotas were established to restrict arrivals from Southern and

Eastern Europe, and many of those turned away saw Australia as offering a promising alternative to life in North America.[xxxv]

Political pressures could also combine with natural disasters to initiate emigration. In 1905 Adam Tavlaridis departed for Australia from the village of Sarkis on the north shore of the Dardanelles, and was soon followed by his four younger brothers. Prompted by a series of earthquakes on the Gallipoli peninsula and anxiety over Turkish nationalist intentions towards Greek residents, Tavlaridis' mother and his five sisters followed the male family members seven years later. The experience of the Tavlaridis family, however, was uncharacteristic of the majority of immigrants who arrived before the 1940s, most of whom were single males. In 1947, on the eve of large-scale Greek immigration, there were three men for every one woman, a ratio reflective of the situation in New South Wales, and one that represented an improvement on earlier years.[xxxvi] Fifteen years earlier, the ratio between men and women in New South Wales was closer to four to one, when Greek men totalled 2347 and women only 593.[xxxvii]

The first 'official' female Greek settler only arrived in New South in 1835 when Catherine Crummer, formerly known as Aikaterini Plessos, landed in Sydney with her husband Captain James Henry Crummer and their three children. Plessos and Crummer were married in 1831 after the Captain's regiment was posted in the Ionian islands, and he was appointed Commandant and Deputy Governor of Kalamos, an island designated as a refuge for Greek women and children from war on the mainland. After occupying a series of government offices in Newcastle and Port Macquarie, Crummer died in 1867, after which Catherine moved to Sydney to live in a house on the now demolished Rialto Terrace near Kings Cross. Catherine Crummer survived her husband by 40 years, ending her days in the Kings

Cross Terrace in her 98th year, and was buried in Waverly cemetery.[xxxviii] One of the most distinctive features of these pre-World War II immigrants was their shared geographical origins in Greece: between 1890 and 1940 around 40 per cent of arrivals were from the islands of Kythera, Ithaca, and Kastellorizo, with settlements in New South Wales dominated by Kytherians.[xxxix] This pattern of emigration and settlement was the result of a process of 'chain migration'. More than two-thirds of immigrants in the period before 1970 were 'chain migrants': those who followed successful 'pioneer' Kytherians, Ithacans and Kastellorizans. Successful immigrants created 'chains' by encouraging and sometimes sponsoring their kin and friends to emigrate, though news of their apparent good fortune in New South Wales was often sufficient to stimulate successive emigrations from villages in Greece.[xl]

The early immigrants established a tradition of repatriation that has endured throughout the history of Greek settlement in New South Wales. Repatriation is noted among historians of Greek-Australians as being a 'significant historical pattern', and although this pattern is clearly evident during the early years when departures occasionally exceeded arrivals, it continues to be a feature of Greek life.[xli] Many new arrivals returned to Greece due to long-term unemployment, language difficulties, or other problems associated with life among a foreign culture. John Comino, one of the four sponsors of the first modern Greek book published in Australia during 1916, *E Zoi En Afstralia* (Life in Australia), noted how the early experiences of Greek settlers were characterised by alienation: 'No one can deny that a Greek coming to Australia suddenly finds himself in a strange and unknown world. Language, customs, social traditions, manners, occupations, sanitary arrangements, church, law, administration—everything

is different'.[xlii] Young Greek men were excluded from many jobs in the early years, and regular employment was typically limited to work in Greek-owned businesses that were unable to cope with the number of new arrivals. Louis Elias recalled his father, who arrived in Sydney in 1924, was sacked from a job in a cement factory because his employers discovered he was Greek, not German as supposed.[xliii] Community leaders in Sydney, such as the Comino brothers, warned potential emigrants of the difficulties to be encountered in Australia. Writing to a Kytherian newspaper from Sydney in 1898, the brothers implored emigrants to prepare before leaving their homes:

> We beg you to make it known in your esteemed journal that those of our fellow-countrymen who come here must have some knowledge of English; otherwise, they must have their return fare, because there are no jobs here. So, because it is impossible to get a job in an Australian shop if one has no English, it would be better if they stopped coming here, where they can expect to encounter unemployment and adversity—for which we are not responsible.[xliv]

Many immigrants did indeed return after prolonged hardship in New South Wales, though others were drawn back to Greece by families or events in their homeland. In 1912, for example, the Balkan League was formed in Greece and war declared on Turkey to achieve the liberation of Turkish-ruled Thessaloniki and the Northeast, and many Greeks living in New South Wales returned to contribute to the war effort.[xlv]

The slow but steady influx of Greek immigrants produced a stable and vigorous community in Sydney on the eve of World War Two, when an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 Greeks lived in the city and surrounding suburbs.[xlvi] This stage of Greek settlement in New South Wales resulted in the formation of a community with distinctive characteristics. The Sydney settlement was a

'typical Greek ethnic community', according to Michael Tsounis, who noted that:

> The suggestion that Greek communities and Greek Orthodox Communities were synonymous was not without foundation, while such tenets as Community rights, authority and bond, became deeply rooted in the idiosyncrasies of pre-war Greeks, Greek Orthodox Communities had become indispensable to the whole structure of Greek ethnic communities as they were the very backbone of the Greek establishment that had emerged by 1940.[xlvii]

World War Two marks a significant turning point in the history of Greek settlement in New South Wales. This period witnessed a substantial alteration in the demographic character of immigrants, who now began arriving in unprecedented numbers, resulting in the transformation of communities across the state, particularly those based in and around Sydney. Between 1947 and 1954 the number of Greek-born immigrants living in Australia doubled, rising from 12,291 to 25,862, and by 1961 the figure had increased six-fold to reach 77,333. The peak years of post-war immigration occurred in the 1960s, boosting the total number of Greek-born to 140,089 in 1966, and 160,200 by 1971. Overall, between the end of World War Two and the early 1980s, over a quarter of a million Greeks arrived in Australia, and in contrast to the 'early years', the majority of these immigrants were intent on permanent settlement.[xlviii] Like earlier periods, Greek emigrants were 'pushed' by unfavourable economic conditions and political conflict, and were 'pulled' to Australia and other 'new world' countries by expanding post-war economies demanding labour resources.[xlix] Greek immigrants were also attracted by the promise of assisted passage offered by the Australian government, who subsidised thousands of new arrivals in the 1950s and

1960s, particularly women. Between 1953 and 1956, for example, 29,344 Greeks made the journey to Australia, and almost 17,000 of them were provided with financial assistance by the federal government.[1] Women were well-represented among the post-war arrivals, helping to redress the imbalance between Greek men and women evident throughout the early years, and in contrast to most previous immigrants, Greeks were now drawn from all areas of the home country, in addition to Egypt, Turkey, and Cyprus.[li]

COMMERCE

Like the waves of immigrants who arrived after World War II, most Greek-Australians during the early years were semi-skilled or unskilled workers. However, the potential disadvantages accompanying this position in the labour force were quickly overcome, with Greek-Australians being self-employed, or becoming employers themselves. In fact, on the eve of large-scale post-war immigration, 54 per cent of Greek-born males were either employers or self-employed.[lii] In the drive to become both employers and self-employed, Greek-Australians became small-businessmen, predominantly in the catering trades, although Greeks also worked as general labourers, wharf and maritime workers, hawkers, fishermen, tailors, suburban market gardeners, domestic servants, store and restaurant employees and boarding house operators.[liii] The catering trades were attractive because of a 'traditional peasant desire' for independence and security, though of equal importance was the possibility of employing kinsman and compatriots. Such trades were also relatively free from government regulation and trade union interference, an important feature for Greek-Australians who were systematically excluded from unionised labour.[liv] Catering businesses in

Sydney benefited from the growing trade with community members, attracted to urban areas by the growth of ethnic institutions, yet Greek-Australian cafés, shops, and other businesses such as theatres also prospered in rural New South Wales during the twentieth century. The first overview of the 'Shop-keeping Phenomenon' was provided by *Life in Australia* in 1916, where the author intended to list around 250 of the reputed 625 Greek shops in Australia. Only 124 shops were eventually described, and of these, 67 were owned by Kytherians. The shops were described variously as cafés, oyster-bars (Figure 1) and mixed businesses, ranging in value from £1,000 to £4,000. Most occupied two-storey buildings, supplying living quarters for the three to four people employed in the shop. Of the 124 shops listed, 15 were either owned partly or entirely by the person credited with the growth of the 'Shop-keeping Phenomenon': John Comino.[lv]

The ongoing immigration of Kytherian Greeks to New South Wales and the expansion of Greek shop-keeping in the early twentieth century was partly attributable to the commercial success of Ioannis Dimitrios Kominos, later known as John D. Comino, a Kytherian who arrived in 1884. Before achieving fame as the 'oyster king' of New South Wales, Comino was a port labourer in Piraeus who emigrated to join his brother Athanasios, the 'pioneer' of the Greek 'fish shop' in Australia. Athanasios landed in Sydney in 1873 and soon found work in a colliery at Balmain. After having acquired considerable savings, doctors advised Athanasios, who was suffering from prolonged ill-health, that colliery work was too dangerous and that he should seek some lighter employment. As a friend of the Comino family recalled, Athanasios soon struck upon the idea of opening his own fish shop:

One day, while still without work, he was walking down Oxford Street, Sydney, and saw a fish-shop owned by a Welshman. He remembered that the doctors said he could eat fish, so he went in for a meal. While there, he saw that the Welshman did no more than drop fish into boiling fat, fork it out after a few minutes, slap it on a plate or some paper, and hand it to the customer. After some time watching this, Comino began to think that here was an occupation requiring little experience or hard labour … At all events, he and [friend] Theodore decided to try it, rented some premises and opened a small fish-shop at 36 Oxford Street, some time in 1878.[lvi]

John D. Comino helped expand Athanasios's business firstly as a clerk and later a partner when he began acquiring his own shops and oyster leases, the first on the Bermagui River estuary on the South Coast.

After Athanasios died at 53 in 1897, John Comino developed an extensive and complex business supplying oysters to restaurants, fish shops and oyster saloons in New South Wales. After being naturalised in 1898, Comino acquired more shops and several more oyster leases on the New South Wales coast, and in 1906 joined with three other oyster merchants to found the firm of Woosward, Gibbons and Comino, which dominated oyster marketing in the state.[lvii] The fish shops operated by Comino and others provided a crucial source of employment to young male immigrants, though as the experience of Georgios Lianos demonstrates, a typical work day was long, hard, and only modestly rewarded. The day began for Lianos at 3am when he would walk to the markets and clean fish until 7am, then return to his employer's fish shop to scrub floors and tables, and clean chairs and cutlery, working in the cellar-kitchen until 10.30am, when he would have breakfast. From 11am to 2pm he would be opening oysters and would then have a two-hour lunch break. From 4pm until 6.30pm he would again be

opening oysters, then from 7pm until midnight he would be in the pantry, cleaning cutlery or cutting bread, or in the restaurant, clearing plates from the tables. At 3am he would rise again and trudge to the markets.[lviii]

Small businesses were opened to cater for the growing Greek community in early twentieth century Sydney, though many cafés and fish shops were also opened in rural New South Wales. Zakharias Simos, for example, toiled during many 16 hour work days in Sydney fish shops before opening his own café in 1915: the celebrated Paragon in Katoomba. In the early years of the twentieth century Greek fish shops were located in downtown Sydney along George, King, and Pitt Streets, and also to the east and south-east of Hyde Park down William and Oxford Streets. Fish shops and other catering concerns were typically staffed by Greek cooks, kitchen hands, waiters, oyster openers and general assistants who lived close to their employment: Surry Hills, East Sydney, Woolloomooloo, Darlinghurst and King Cross.[lix]

Prior to the 1940s, Greek-Australians were widely distributed across New South Wales, with cafés and shops opening in many rural towns. The metropolitan population of Greek-Australians in New South Wales grew from 419 to 950 in the period from 1911 to 1921, though so to did the non-metropolitan population, increasing from 403 to 629.[lx] As late as 1933 almost half of Greek-Australians living in New South Wales resided in non-metropolitan areas (Table 2).[lxi]

Table 2   **Distribution of Greek-Australians in New South Wales, 1933**

Metropolitan			Rural Towns			Rural (non-urban)			Total		
Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1128	370	1498	751	142	893	452	81	533	2347	593	2924

Responding to this dispersed population, and to demand among non-Greeks in rural towns, cafés and shops opened in Newcastle, Tumut, Bellingen, Forbes, Narrabri, West Maitland, Scone, and many other towns. After working in the George Street restaurant of his cousin Vretos Margetis, Dimitrios Papadopoulos acquired two shops in Grafton, where the Notaras brothers opened a café and later the Saraton theatre.[lxii] Greek entrepreneurs in rural areas often became members of local Chambers of Commerce, and made valuable contributions to local improvement projects. In Orange, for example, entrepreneurs in the Greek community helped raise a large sum of money towards the construction of an Olympic swimming pool in the 1950s. Regular visits between shop owners and their families in neighbouring towns also fostered cultural networks among isolated Greek settlers in rural and regional areas.[lxiii] Despite this dispersion, settlements outside of metropolitan areas were relatively small in size, and in all cases were too small to initiate large-scale chain migrations. Even Newcastle, which attracted as many as 61 Greeks in 1901 did not grow into a larger community until after 1921, when Angelos Tarifas' Niagara Café at 112 Hunter Street grew in popularity, though not as much as its more famous namesake in Gundagai.[lxiv] Opened in 1916 and situated half way between Melbourne and Sydney, Gundagai's Niagara was renowned for its seafood before achieving fame as the best milk-bar style travellers' rest in rural New South Wales. The café, noted for its Art Deco architecture, was managed by the Castrission family from 1919 to 1983, when brothers Jack and Vic finally sold it to another Greek-born man, Nick Loukassis, who now runs the Niagara with this family.[lxv]

Besides fish shops, coffee-houses were important commercial enterprises and places where Greek-Australians, particularly men, met socially. Coffee-houses were established in the early years of Greek-

Australian settlement to provide a social setting where people gathered to discuss political, religious, community, and sporting issues, to promote ethnic ties, and sometimes to gamble. Many coffee-houses provided services such as the sale of Greek newspapers and magazines, advertising community events, and they also functioned as labour exchanges.[lxvi] Reputedly, Sydney's first coffee-house, or *Kafeneion*, was conducted by a Corfiot named Spinelli, who was allegedly an emancipated convict from Tasmania. Spinelli's coffee-house, advertised by a sign-board bearing a painting of a camel, was at the rear of Grace Brothers department store in Glebe, where a lane has retained the name 'Greek street' since 1871.[lxvii] The Greek-Australian family most closely associated with the coffee trade in New South Wales is Andronikos. Seven Andronikos brothers emigrated from the Kytherian village of Mylopotamos, four of whom developed a thriving tea, coffee, and chocolate business. The brothers opened a successful shop at 197 George Street (Figure 2) and one of the brothers, Nicholas, managed the Marathon café at 72 George Street, while another, George, joined forces with a cousin and brought the large Aspley Hotel in Walcha, which they managed until 1919.[lxviii] Milk bars were also embraced by Sydney's Greeks as an important venue for good food, drink, and social interaction. After returning from a trip to the United States in 1932, Joachim Tavlaidis, later known as Mick Adams, reputedly opened Sydney's first authentic milk bar, the 'Black and White' at 24 Martin Place.[lxix]

LABOUR

Collectively, the expectations of life in Australia set the post-war immigrants in contrast to the majority of earlier arrivals. As one historian adjudged, post-war immigrants 'did not seek adventure, nor were they drawn

by the attractions of becoming Australians or any other romantic yearnings, but came to find work, build capital and raise families'.[lxx] Like post-war immigrants from other countries, Greeks envisioned a better future in Australia through work, and with high demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour, many Greek men and women entered the ranks of the working class. In contrast to earlier periods, the majority of Greek-Australians now found themselves in labour-intensive factory employment, rather than owning or working in small-businesses. In 1971, for example, only 17 per cent of people worked in small-business, with the remainder employed as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers; in the same year it was estimated 60 per cent were employed as 'labourers or process workers', compared to 7 per cent before the war'.[lxxi] Employment in post-war industries was hard work, typically performed in oppressive conditions with poor financial rewards. For example, Despina Angelis, who eventually helped organise the Marrickville Greek Senior Citizens' Club in the 1990s, worked in Sydney's Vicars Woollen Mills for 13 years, taking the 3pm to 11pm shift while her husband worked the morning shift. When Angelis commenced work at the mill, there were 600-700 people employed, of which around 60 per cent were post-war Greek immigrants. Working conditions were physically demanding and repetitive, with the air constantly filled with dust and wool waste, creating health problems for many of the workers. Most Greek workers in places such as the Woollen Mills experienced little employment mobility, often teaching jobs to new English-speaking workers who would then move on to 'better jobs' elsewhere.[lxxii] Despite these obstacles, post-war immigrants successfully acquired capital, directing it towards the goals of home ownership and education for their children, though many worked towards owning small-businesses in the manner of

older Greek-Australians. The 'mixed business' eclipsed catering enterprises as the favoured commercial business, with many Greeks opening shops in residential areas, particularly on street corners or near small suburban shopping-centres.[lxxiii]

RELIGION

The adversity and alienation experienced by many post-war immigrants was mitigated by the spiritual guidance, welfare, and social services provided by Greek churches. Religion and churches have been important components of the Greek-Australian experience in New South Wales, beginning with the formation of the Sydney Greek Orthodox Community in 1897, an organisation known today as the Greek Orthodox Community of Sydney and NSW (GOC).[lxxiv] The Greek Orthodox faith has provided Greek communities in New South Wales with the opportunity to maintain a crucial socio-cultural and religious link with Greece, as well as providing the basis for a strong ethnic and religious unity within Australia. The practice of Orthodoxy in Australia through church services and religious and other cultural festivals has allowed for greater community interaction and for the development and promotion of networks of support and social empowerment.[lxxv]

The first Greek Orthodox church in New South Wales was Ayia Trias [Triodos] (Holy Trinity), built in Surry Hills and completed on 29 May 1898 (Figure 3). Prior to this the small Greek community in the colony adhered to their faith on intermittent occasions in what can only be described as makeshift services. Sydney's *Anglican Journal* for December 1897 records an example of the early makeshift arrangements undertaken to provide Greek settlers with an Orthodox religious service. Father Dorotheos, a

Greek Orthodox priest from the island of Samos, visiting New South Wales and Victoria between 1896 and 1898 to administer religious communion to the Greek Orthodox population of both colonies, was offered the use of St. James Hall for Orthodox services for the Greeks in Sydney.[lxxvi]

The first service at Holy Trinity was administered by Father Seraphim Phokas. Phokas, fluent in both Arabic and Greek, was appointed to the Holy Trinity by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem because the church in Surry Hills had been conjointly founded by migrants from Greece as well as from Syria and Lebanon.[lxxvii] However, the early symbiotic relationship forged by the Greek and Arabic speaking laity of Holy Trinity was shortlived. By the early years of the twentieth century the Greek-speaking members of the church turned for their priestly appointments to the Church of Greece. This alienated the migrants from Syria and Lebanon who subsequently sought for an alternative location to practise their religion. Though the process had begun earlier, in 1921 the Syrians completely disassociated themselves from the Holy Trinity to found their own church.[lxxviii] By then, membership of the Holy Trinity was restricted to those of Greek descent living in New South Wales and Queensland, while those elected to office remained solely the preserve of those living in Sydney. By 1927, Sydney had its second Greek Orthodox church, the Cathedral of St Sophia, built in Dowling St., Paddington.[lxxix] This was the result of the influx of more Greek-speaking immigrants, many of them evicted from Turkey by the government of Ankara soon after the First World War.

Greek Orthodoxy in Australia, particularly in New South Wales, has not been without its problems and conflicts. Many of these problems reflected complicated legal, theological and socio-political issues that arose out of, and continued to be based on, the control of ecclesiastical property

and jurisdiction, but were also partly a product of the specific immigrant experience of Greeks in New South Wales. The earliest Greek settlers in Australia fell under the jurisdiction of the Church of Greece. After the First World War when the Patriarchate of Constantinople lost much of its congregation due to the departure of a sizeable Greek population from within Turkey, the Patriarch enforced its right of jurisdiction over the diasporic Greek communities throughout the world; by the early 1920s this was granted to him by the Church of Greece. As a result, the Patriarchate of Constantinople established the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Australia and New Zealand in 1924. This brought out into the open a degree of tension in Australia between the existing Greek communities and the new religious authority. The established communities disapproved of a religious leadership that emanated from outside of Greece and that was answerable to a foreign government, in this case Turkey.[lxxx]

In New South Wales, the developing rivalries and divisions between the Greek Orthodox Church and the GOC were partly based upon regional differences originating in Greece. The first priest sent by the Archdiocese of Constantinople to Australia, Metropolitan Knetes, hailed from the Greek island of Samos. During his time as the head of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia, Knetes relied mostly on the support of immigrants from Samos. Knetes and his supporters were constantly at loggerheads with the GOC, which has traditionally been dominated by Kytherians.[lxxxi]

On 1 September 1959, the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Australia and New Zealand became the Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, and Metropolitan Ezekiel, who at the time was the incumbent leader of the church in Australia and New Zealand, having held the position for just under four months, was elevated to the rank of Archbishop.[lxxxii] Ezekiel had

journeyed to Australia via the United States, where he had spent time as a prelate for the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America. On arrival, he sought to provide for all religious affairs to be managed by himself and the Greek Orthodox Church of Australia, financed by the Greek Orthodox laity. GOC's throughout Australia took umbrage at Ezekiel's proposal, and an ideological conflict subsequently developed between the two opposing parties. This situation was further complicated by the increasing influence of some post-war immigrants, who, espousing socialist beliefs, secured positions of dominance in the organisation and management of many GOC's. These changes were particularly evident in New South Wales, where the leftist GOC leaders insisted upon their prerogative to own and manage ecclesiastical property despite the appropriation of these rights by the Greek Orthodox Church, an institution they considered representative of conservative political power.[lxxxiii]

In 1970, the combined churches of Australia and New Zealand were transformed into independent organisations, and as a result the Archdiocese of Australia came into existence. In the meantime, rivalries between GOC's and the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia had not subsided. After a decade of attempting to set up an alternative religious authority for Orthodox Greeks in Australia, the GOC's combined by 1974 to establish an independent Orthodox church with the support of schismatic churches in Adelaide, Newcastle, the Greek-Cypriot 'Apostolos Andreas' in Victoria, and the five churches of the Sydney GOC.[lxxxiv] However, it is important to bear in mind that "a vast majority of the practising Greek Orthodox Christians clearly accept the authority and practice their Faith within and under the auspices of institutions of the Greek Orthodox Church."[lxxxv] The GOC churches proved unsuccessful, as shown by poor attendances, partly

attributable to the influx of post-war immigrants who were reluctant to attend services conducted by schismatic priests. Most new immigrants were subsequently attended to by priests recognized by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, in churches established by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia. These were often located in areas of NSW newly settled by Greeks.[lxxxvi] The current head of the Archdiocese of Australia is Archbishop Stylianos, who was elected on 13 February 1975. The Archdiocese of Australia is located on Cleveland Street, Redfern, and has been situated there since its relocation from Edgecliff Road, Woollahra in 1968.[lxxxvii] The current site of the Orthodox Church was formerly the property of the Anglican Church. The focus of the Cleveland Street site is a church with considerable heritage value designed by colonial architect Edmund Blackett.

There have been two events of notable achievement for the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia. The first of these was the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Greek Archdiocese in Australia in 1976, which was attended by twelve high ranking bishops from abroad, including Archbishop Iakovos from America. The second notable landmark was the establishment of the Standing Conference of the Canonical Orthodox Churches in Australia (SCCOCA) in September 1979, a forum for inter-Orthodox unity whose establishment was mostly due to the work of Archbishop Stylianos.[lxxxviii]

The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia promotes the Greek Orthodox religion through its monthly publication, the *Voice of Orthodoxy*. Ecclesiastical radio programmes, annual visits of two Athonite monks and other reputable authorities on religion to help in the administering of church functions and rituals, and annual Greek Orthodox youth 'pilgrimages' to

Greece, Jerusalem, and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, all help sustain the vitality of Orthodoxy in New South Wales. The Biennial National and State Youth Conferences, which began in 1982, functions to advance youth participation in ecclesiastical affairs.[lxxxix]

More recently, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia has been involved with events of international significance. One of the most important milestones in recent church history was the official visit of His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew in November 1996.[xc] The international standard of the church's choir was recognized in 2000 when it was selected to perform during the Olympic Games in Sydney. Together with the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, the Millennium Choir of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia performed the Olympic Hymn during the opening ceremony of the Games.

In New South Wales, the Archdiocese currently (2001) comprises 15 parishes and 20 parish communities, and has promoted many significant projects, including four monasteries, the establishment of welfare centres, colleges and day schools. Other institutions and services include the ProviCare Foundation for Drug and Alcohol Rehabilitation, the Estia Foundation for Children with special needs at Gladesville, St Basil's Homes with some 340 aged care facilities (headquarters at Lakemba), and St. Andrew's Theological College, the first Orthodox Theological College in the Southern Hemisphere established in 1986 after strenuous fund-raising and organisational efforts by Archbishop Stylianos and many leaders of the Greek community.

EDUCATION

Greek immigrants valued their traditional language and culture as important components of Greek-Australian identity. Most people considered it crucial that their children retain a strong level of practical proficiency in Greek language, as well as developing an understanding and appreciation of Greek history, religion, and culture. As such, Greek has been formally taught in New South Wales ever since the first Greek school was established in Sydney at the Church of the Holy Trinity in Surry Hills in 1914, although 'classical' Greek was taught earlier in some secondary schools.[xci] Folk memory exists of 'Greek lessons' being conducted at the Church of the Holy Trinity as early as 1899.[xcii] These lessons were the initiative of Father Phokas, who was keen to promote Greek history, language, and culture among the children of Greek immigrants. However, it was not until 1914 that Greek schooling became institutionalised in Sydney with an organising body, a curriculum, and a qualified teaching staff paid to instruct.[xciii]

Most children of Greek descent in New South Wales receive some level of after-school or weekend tuition in Greek. A variety of subjects are taught, including Greek comprehension and grammar, Greek mythology, poetry, religion, and history. Students of Greek have also participated in annual celebrations commemorating cultural and historical events of great significance to Greeks: these include the annual Greek Independence March, conducted on 25 March, and the Greek *OXI* festivities held on 28 October.[xciv] An education in Greek provides many children of Greek immigrants with the opportunity to establish stronger social ties within the Greek community as well as mitigating the linguistic, cultural, and generational divide many experience with their parents.[xcv] Initially, Greek schools were conducted by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia, as well as the Greek Community of New South Wales, and they were held in

such places as 'churches, community halls, small school buildings which were bought or built for this purpose, hired premises and, more frequently, in Australian public school premises.'[xcvi]

From the early 1970s, Modern Greek or 'Hellenic' Studies have become a part of the Australian tertiary education system. In New South Wales, Charles Sturt University, Macquarie University, the University of New England, the University of New South Wales, and the University of Sydney have all taught Modern Greek Studies. The University of Sydney maintains the only endowed chair of Modern Greek Studies among these institutions, established in the 1970s and named after Sir Nicholas Laurantus, it helps sustain the department's worldwide reputation for successful scholarship. It is estimated that around 50,000 primary, secondary and tertiary students Australia-wide are currently engaged in the study of Modern Greek language and history, and approximately 38 per cent of them are from non-Greek-speaking backgrounds.[xcvii] Departments of Modern Greek and Hellenic Studies continue to expand in size and diversity, offering an unprecedented variety of subjects, including language and grammar, literary theory, literature, culture, linguistics, the history of Greek migration and settlement, and contemporary Greek history.[xcviii]

The Greek community has produced numerous individuals who have received acclaim in the field of education and research. Manuel Aroney, for example, became an acclaimed Professor of Chemistry at the University of Sydney. [xcix] The eminent psychologist George Paxinos currently holds a position as Adjunct Professor in the School of Psychology at the University of New South Wales, and continues to have a major influence in the field of neuroscience. Beginning with his position as director of the Australian excavations at Zagora on the island of Andros in the late 1960s, Alexander

Cambitoglou became one of the most important scholars and practitioners in the field of archaeology. Cambitoglou later became director of the Australian excavations at Torone, Northern Greece, and curator of the Nicholson Museum, Sydney. He currently serves as Emeritus Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Sydney.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Greek-Australians have been very active in forming social institutions in New South Wales. Since World War Two they have established more cultural and ethnic organisations than any other ethnic group in Australia.[c] By 1973, it was estimated that Greek-Australians were responsible for the organisation of some 600 social institutions, including Greek Orthodox churches and communities, regional fraternities, and pan-Hellenic organizations.[ci] In 1987 the Federal Government published data on as many as 67 permanent Greek Ethnic organizations in New South Wales.[cii] These institutions have existed in a variety of contexts. For example, the Greek Sub-Branch of the Returned Servicemen's League (RSL) was founded in 1942 and recognised in 1950 by RSL Headquarters and in 2001 had 160 members, covering the Sydney region. Among the historically important social spaces for the Greek population of New South Wales are suburban and rural shopping districts, where cafes and restaurants run by, and almost exclusively patronised by, Greeks have operated; churches in rural and urban areas; religious, community, and sporting clubs organised to promote orthodoxy and the celebration and commemoration of Greek culture and society; and the family home.

Greek-Australians have maintained many of their social and domestic traditions in New South Wales. Over the years Greek women have been

expected to attend to the domestic duties of the private home and attend to the needs of the family, sometimes in addition to undertaking full-time employment. Greek men have often held two, and sometimes three jobs at the one time, mostly in factory and other labour-related areas, while pursuing prominent positions in the organisation of ethnic, religious, economic, and cultural matters concerning their families and compatriots. Even accounting for their limited access to public affairs, Greek-Australian women have been active in the organisation of charities, numerous religious, cultural, and ethnic functions, and other celebrations and festivities.[ciii] For example, in the early part of the twentieth century the Panhellenic Women's Association in Athens acknowledged the efforts of the Union of Greek Women, whose membership comprised many of Sydney's Greek-Australian women. The Athenians were particularly grateful for the Australian women's financial contribution to the Greek war effort during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.[civ]

Some of the more notable social institutions established by Greek-Australians in New South Wales include the Greek Orthodox Community of New South Wales, organised in 1898, the Greek Orthodox Metropolis (1924), and later, the Australian Archdiocese (1959). The Athenian Club, established in 1911 at 208 Castlereagh Street was also a focus for the Greek community, as was the Hellenic Club, first organised in 1924, and currently located on 251-255 Elizabeth Street.[cv] More recently, the Castellorizian Club on Anzac Parade has become an important social institution for the Sydney community. Many of these organisations and social institutions have successfully established lecture programmes, youth groups, charity drives, Greek-dancing lessons, and other community and social activities to promote Greek culture and society in New South Wales. Most of these

social institutions are well equipped to finance community activities, having acquired funds from real estate holdings and other business ventures as well as from strong membership recruitment.[cvi]

WELFARE

The ageing of the 'first generation' has presented challenges to Greek communities throughout New South Wales, who have responded by creating an array of services to care for older community members. As early as the late 1980s, Paul Kringas noted that the increase in the number of elderly Greeks requiring assistance had prompted 'welfare concerns' and produced a number of studies and reports on the needs of aged migrants.[cvii] Many of these welfare issues have been dealt with by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia, and are commented upon in the section on religion above. Community members in Marrickville responded to this concern by organising a successful Greek Senior Citizens Group in 1994. When established, the seniors group operated out of the Marrickville Community Health Centre and met at Herbert Greedy Hall, and proved to be an effective support group. In 1994 the seniors group was run by Freda Economidis, who won a Marrickville Rotary Club Pride of Workmanship Award in 1991 for her efforts in the community.[cviii] Other groups, such as Greek Community of Newcastle and the Autocefalic Greek Orthodox Church of the Illawarra Community, have established aged daycare facilities considered to be significant achievements in the respective communities.[cix] These localised efforts supported the extensive service networks provided by the Greek Welfare Centre (Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia), established at Redfern during 1975 and currently located on King Street in

Newtown. Since its inception, the Greek Welfare Centre has developed and expanded its services to Casework, Advocacy, Community Development and Community Education, with the organisation and coordination of programs for all ages.[cx]

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LEISURE

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Attending theatres to enjoy film screenings and live performances has been a common leisure activity among Greeks throughout the history of settlement in New South Wales. As early as the 1920s, Vretos Margetis, a small-businessman who arrived in Sydney in 1903, began successful operation of a small theatre in Rose Bay, often featuring his own short, black and white silent 'newsreels'. Many 'newsreels' featured functions within the Greek community such as weddings and christenings, proving popular for Greek families seeking entertainment, while the theatre provided the community with a venue for socialising.[cxi] The Rose Bay theatre operated by Margetis was only one of the many theatres owned and managed by Greeks throughout New South Wales. Indeed, a number of Greek-Australians, including George Hatsatouris, managed more than one theatre. From 1926 until the mid-1970s, Hatsatouris managed numerous theatres in Port Macquarie, Walcha, Taree, Kempsey, and Laurieton.[cxii] Prior to the 1970s, theatres provided a focal point for entertainment and social activity for communities throughout the state, particularly in rural and regional areas.

The number of theatres in mid-century New South Wales is indicative of their social and cultural importance. In 1951 the state was home to 295 'country towns' containing 385 'enclosed picture theatres', and between 1915 and the 1960s, 116 of these theatres were at some time operated by 66 Greeks in 57 towns. Greeks consequently exerted a significant influence

over entertainment in towns across the state, particularly during the 'golden-age' of high attendance at theatres in the absence of registered clubs, evening opening of hotels, television, and professional sport. As one film historian observed, Greeks had 'direct input into the moral and social values of the communities in which they operated [theatres]. They brought national and international events to the rural areas in the form of feature films, newsreels', documentaries, and live theatre.[cxiii] Typical of these Greek owned and managed regional theatres was the Saraton, opened in 1926 in Grafton. The Saraton, still situated on Prince Street in Grafton, was owned and operated by John and Anthony Notaras, who arrived in Australia from Kythera in the early 1900s, joining their father in the catering business. The Saraton displays important aesthetic characteristics, being described in a series of heritage reports as 'one of the most decorative and architecturally handsome' theatres in New South Wales. Elements of the exterior offer an insight into the design of theatres constructed in the 1920s, though it is the interior that possesses the greatest architectural significance. The foyer, reported architect Ross Thorne, with 'its dado bands, skirtings, door architraves and doors, and the ceiling, remains an excellent example of a foyer for a better class of the late 1930s large theatre, built in a small country city or well-populated suburb of Sydney'.[cxiv] The Notaras brothers extended their father's catering interests, opening a café in Grafton, then taking control of three theatres, two in Grafton and another in Woolgoolga. Although the brothers leased the Grafton theatres to an independent film exhibitor from the early 1930s to the 1960s, a member of the family, Irene Notaras, resumed operation from 1982.[cxv]

SPORT

Greek communities have also been bound by sport in the post-war period, particularly those located in metropolitan areas. Greek sport in New South Wales has generally celebrated masculine values, though as historian Dominique Francois De Stoop found, second generation girls and young women now have a visible presence in local sports such as netball and basketball.[cxvi] In the immediate post-war period, Greek immigrants with a 'soccer heritage' fostered the creation of local sporting clubs to facilitate participation, and to create venues for social interaction and reaffirmation of their ethnicity.[cxvii] The principal Greek soccer club in Sydney during the 1960s, 'Pan Hellenic', was established by Dunlop factory workers, who regularly kicked a ball around during their lunch breaks. The workers formed a team, participating successfully in the Pan Hellenic Games and encouraging the organisation of a larger club to represent a broader group of Greeks.[cxviii] Pan Hellenic's record was initially modest, reaching the first division and state finals in 1965, 1967, and 1968, though when reconstituted as Sydney Olympic, the club won the National Cup in 1983 and 1985 and the national championship in 1989-90. The club's on-field performance is closely followed by many Greeks, though this element of the club forms only part of its importance to the community, for whom the club provides a central focus for social and cultural activities.[cxix] At times the club and team success has managed to overcome disputes among rival community members. When Pan Hellenic won entry into the state First Division in 1960, for example, the celebration held at Paddington Town Hall attracted such 'notables' as the Greek Consul General, the Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia, and the head of the leading secular organisation, the Sydney *Koinotita*. The prevailing dispute between the church and the *Koinotita* over religious affairs was temporarily forgotten

amid the collective euphoria of the team's success, which provided the community with a focus for ethnic confidence and prestige. In more recent times, Sydney Olympic continues to function as an important repository of Greek ethnic identity.[cxx]

COMMUNICATION

Greek-Australians in New South Wales have established many viable networks of communication. Newspapers, radio, television, and books have provided methods of promoting Greek identity and culture beyond those offered by religious and social institutions. While many of the more eminent figures of the Orthodox church and the Greek Community of New South Wales have used the media to promote their views and acquire a stronger support base, the Greek press in New South Wales has also provided a platform for some popular participation. Like religious and social institutions the Greek press and Greek-Australian writers, writing both in English and Greek, have been concerned with depicting events of political, cultural, social, and religious significance both in Greece and Australia as well as promoting, and sometimes even challenging, notions of Greek-Australian identity and custom.

The first Greek-Australian newspaper to be printed in New South Wales was the *Greek National Vema* in Sydney in 1914, known as *Afstralis* in its early years of publication.[cxxi] The Greek press in Sydney has not been without its conflicts and structural challenges. The two newspapers, *Hellenic Herald* established in 1926, and *Nea Patris* established in 1967, espoused opposing political views, causing bitterness and enmity between the publishers of both newspapers as well as within the Greek community. The *Hellenic Herald* identified with the Greek Community and championed

socialist causes, while *Nea Patris* was more conservative in outlook and often reflected the views of the official Church. However, in 1971 both newspapers settled many of their differences, agreeing to publish on alternate days, and later merging to form one newspaper and company. Prior to this union, both newspapers had moderated their views and opposition to one another, with the *Hellenic Herald* tempering its support of the independent Church, and *Nea Patris* identifying less with the official Church and the military dictatorship in Greece.[cxxii]

Greek language, culture, religion, and social custom have all benefited enormously from the programming policies of both the multicultural radio station 2EA in Sydney, and its television station equivalent, SBS. On 16 June 1975, both 2EA in Sydney and 3EA in Melbourne began broadcasting programs in the Greek language. 2EA complemented the news items provided by Sydney's Greek newspapers by providing commentary in Greek from reporters and announcers in both Greece and Australia. In 1987 SBS radio commenced transmission of Greek language programming Australia-wide. From its inception, this national program provided coverage of local, international and Greek news, in addition to weather and sports reports, interviews, talkback, and round-table discussions. The well-patronised SBS program is currently heard daily between 7am and 8am, and again in the evening between 6pm and 7pm.[cxxiii] Coverage of events in Greek was further developed with the advent of SBS television in 1980: Greek reporting on television provided greater scope and clarity, and promoted a sense of nostalgia among Greek-Australian viewers seeing areas of the 'home' country in news stories and feature programs. Both radio and television have used Greek language to provide an information service for Greek-Australians, as well promoting Greek culture and customs through a

wide variety of programmes.[cxxiv] Greek-Australians have also contributed a large amount of written material on Greek-Australian identity, culture, and society, beginning with *Life in Australia* in 1916. The 1916 book, edited and financed by John Comino, was a guide that provided Greek-Australians with information about Australia and the Greek-Australian community of the early twentieth century.[cxxv] The book included 215 biographies of Greeks in Australia and some 10,000 copies were sold and distributed both in Australia and Greece.[cxxvi] From 1952 to 1983, 73 books by Greek-Australians were published in Australia, 'fifty-five in Greek, ten in English, one partly in Greek and partly in English, five bilingual publications and two literary translations'.[cxxvii]

EVENTS

Events of major importance associated with the Greek Orthodox faith focus upon Easter, Christmas, and New Year celebrations. Easter is especially important to Greek-Australians, especially the elders in the community, many of whom fast and attend church services daily in the lead up to Easter Sunday. Even those who adhere less strictly to the Orthodox faith, including many of the younger members of the community, attend church service on the night of Easter Saturday. The 'official' Church also plays an important part in the Greek National Independence March on 25 March, as well as observing the 'blessing of the waters' ritual every January.[cxxviii] Irregular church-goers have celebrated patron-saint 'name-days', regardless of whether or not they attend church service on these 'name-days'. Other community events that are especially observed by Greek-Australians include wedding ceremonies, baptisms, funerals, and other services commemorating the dead.[cxxix] These can sometimes be rather

elaborate, colourful, and well-attended affairs, as preparation for them will more often than not have been weeks, months, and, in some cases even, years in advance.

Another event that has grown in popularity amongst Greek-Australians, and the general population of New South Wales, is the Greek Festival of Sydney. The festival is a month-long celebration of Greek-Australian 'lifestyle, culture and heritage', encompassing a range of events including educational activities for students, art exhibitions, film nights and musical concerts.[cxxx] The community has also been united by their opposition to particular political events, such as the Australian Government's decision to recognise independent Macedonia in 1992. The rally in opposition to this decision witnessed one of the largest civilian demonstrations in Australia since the Vietnam War.[cxxxi] The international debate on Macedonia in the lead up to the former Yugoslav republic's recognition as an independent state was one issue that united both the 'official' Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek Community of New South Wales, with both condemning the Federal Government's decision.[cxxxii]

CONCLUSION

The rich and complex history of Greek settlement in New South Wales encompasses an extensive range of people, stories, and themes, and cannot be fully captured in this brief document. Nonetheless, the account provided here does convey the broad outline of Greek settlement, and demonstrates the importance of a number of key themes in the experiences of Greeks in New South Wales since first arriving in the late 1810s. These key themes reveal the central place of Greek-born immigrants and their children in the economic progress of New South Wales, and highlight their

important contribution to the development of the state's social and cultural diversity. The themes also reveal the determination of Greeks to sustain traditional cultural forms in New South Wales, particularly those concerning religion and social institutions. However, the successful retention of culture did not preclude Greeks from adapting to the society they encountered in their adopted home, and in doing so, they enhanced tradition by fashioning a distinctly Greek-Australian culture.

[i] Hugh Gilchrist, edited list of the 1916 'Secret Census' of New South Wales Greeks; John D. Comino et al., *E Zoi En Afstralia (Life in Australia)*, Australian Printing and Publishing Co., Melbourne, 1916; both cited in Leonard Janiszewski and Effy Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"': An Insight Into the Early Greek Presence, 1810s-1940', in Shirley Fitzgerald and Gary Witherspoon (eds.), *Minorities: Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, State Library of New south Wales Press, Sydney, 1995, pp.23–4.

[ii] Nina Mistilis, 'Greek Community Life in Sydney' in J.Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*, 2001, (manuscript).

[iii] 1996 Census-Customised Matrix Table CS070, cited in Peter McDonald, *Community Profiles 1996 Census: Greece Born*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2000, p.7.

[iv] Nicholas Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', in Richard Clogg (ed.), *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*, Macmillan, London, 1999, p.76.

[v] *To Neo*, March 1986, cited in Richard Cashman and Chrys Meader, *Marrickville: Rural Outpost to Inner City*, Hale and Iremonger, Petersham, 1990, p.74.

[vi] Charles Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1963, p.6.

[vii] Nicholas Doumanis, 'The Greek Community', in Philip A. Mosely, Richard Cashman, John O'Hara, Hilary Weatherburn (eds.), *Sporting Immigrants: Sport and Ethnicity in Australia*, Walla Walla Press, Crows Nest, 1997, p.65.

[viii] Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks: The Early Years*, Halstead Press, Rushcutters Bay, 1992, pp.302–311.

[ix] Ibid., pp.90–2.

[x] Community Organisation Survey, Greek Community of Albury Wodonga and District, August 2001; for more on the late nineteenth century distribution of Greeks in rural and regional New South Wales compared to the developing Sydney community, see: J.

Wolforth, 'Residential Concentration of Non-British Minorities in 19th Century Sydney', *Australian Geographic Studies*, vol.12, no.2, October 1974, pp.208–9.

[xi] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p.92; Effy Alexakis and Leonard Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image: Greek Australians*, Hale and Iremonger, Alexandria, 1998, p.203; the RTA's plan to purchase the Olympia Café for bridge extensions and road widening has since been abandoned.

[xii] Doumanis, 'The Greek Community', p.64.

[xiii] For notes and bibliography on the earliest Greek presence in Sydney, see: Janiszewski and Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p.16.

[xiv] Alexakis and Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p.10; Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p.20; H. Hirakis and M. Yiangou, *Greek-Australians: A Preliminary Chronology*, no.10, Multicultural Education Centre, NSW Department of Education, 1981, p.1.

[xv] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, pp.25–32; Hirakis and M. Yiangou, *Greek-Australians*, p.1.

[xvi] AONSW×707, cited in Convict Database, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 14 February 2001.

[xvii] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p.32.

[xviii] Andreas Papageorgopoulos, *The Greeks in Australia: A Home Away From Home*, S. Halkeas Printing, Chippendale, 1981, p.42.

[xix] Papageorgopoulos, *The Greeks in Australia*, pp.40–2; Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, pp.38–40; Liz Vincent, *The Forgotten Village of Picton: Introducing Upper Picton (Redbank)*, Alted Printing, Picton, 1995, p.52.

[xx] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, pp.40–44; Alexakis and Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p.23.

[xxi] Anastasios M. Tamis, *An Illustrated History of the Greeks in Australia*, Dardalis Archives of the Greek Community, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1997, pp.9–11.

[xxii] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, pp.88–90.

[xxiii] Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.59.

[xxiv] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, pp.88–90.

[xxv] Ibid., pp.84–6.

[xxvi] Alexakis and Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p.47.

[xxvii] Michael P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1971, p.5.

[xxviii] Richard Clogg, 'The Greek Diaspora: the Historical Context', in Richard Clogg (ed.), *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*, Macmillan, London, 1999, p.14.

[xxix] Lex Marinos, cited in Alexakis and Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p.7.

[xxx] Alexakis and Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p.138; Clogg, 'The Greek Diaspora', pp.3, 17; Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.74.

[xxxi] McDonald, *Community Profiles 1996 Census*, p.34.

[xxxii] In 1919, 1920, 1929, and 1932 departures exceeded arrivals, Charles Price, *Greeks in Australia*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1975, p.21.

[xxxiii] K. Kassimatis, *Migration and Resettlement: The Problematic of the Second Generation*, EKKE, Athens, 1984, cited in Michael Tsounis, 'The History of Australia's Greeks: Some Signposts and Issues', in Andros Kapardis and Anastasios Tamis (eds.),

Afstraliotes Hellenes: Greeks in Australia, River Seine Press, North Melbourne, 1988, p.16.

xxxiv Tsounis, 'The History of Australia's Greeks', p.16.

xxxv Price, *Greeks in Australia*, p.21.

xxxvi Ibid.

xxxvii Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: Census of 1933, vol. 1, cited in Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, p.201.

xxxviii Alexakis and Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p.11; Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, pp.45–51.

xxxix Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.59; Hirakis and Yiangou, *Greek-Australians*, p.3; for notes on the number and distribution of Kytherian Greeks, see: J. Michaelides, *Portrait of Uncle Nick: A biography of Sir Nicholas Laurantus, M.B.E*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1987, p.2; and Alexakis and Janiszewski, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p.24; Greek-Cypriots also arrived in Sydney quite early. By 1947 there were 226 Greek-Cypriots in New South Wales, the most of any state, and today Sydney accommodates two Greek-Cypriot community organizations, see: C.A. Price, 'Greek Cypriots', in James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1988, p.533.

xl Tsounis, 'The History of Australia's Greeks', 1971, p.17; Hirakis and Yiangou, *Greek-Australians*, p.5; I.H. Burnley, 'Greek Settlement in Sydney, 1947-1971', *Australian Geographer*, vol.13, no.3, March 1976, cited in Cashman and Meader, *Marrickville: Rural Outpost to Inner City*, p.67.

xli Alexakis and Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p.11.

xlii Four Greek individuals are associated with the production of *Life in Australia*: John D. Comino, Kosmas Andronicos, Emmanuel Andronicos, and George E. Kentavros, see Alexakis and Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p.16; Comino, *E Zoi En Afstralia (Life in Australia)*; John Comino, cited in Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p.367.

xliii Interview with Louis Elias, 'Yanina' Station, Moura, Queensland, 20 November 1987, cited in Alexakis and Janiszewski, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p.21.

xliv Comino brothers, cited in Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p.191.

xlv Hirakis and Yiangou, *Greek-Australians*, p.2.

xlvi Alexakis and Janiszewski, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p.30.

xlvii Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, pp.284–5.

xlviii Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.65.

xlix Price, *Greeks in Australia*, pp.23–8.

l Ibid., p.26.

li Ibid., p.27; Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.65.

lii Price, *Greeks in Australia*, p.29.

liii Alexakis and Janiszewski, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p.20.

liv Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, pp.156, 160–9.

lv Comino, *E Zoi En Afstralia*, cited in M.P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', in C. Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*, Australian University Press, Canberra, 1975, p.58.

lvi John Raftopoulos, cited in Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p.195.

lvii Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, pp.195–6.

lviii Ibid., p.198.

[lix] Hugh Gilchrist, edited list of Greek naturalisation records for NSW before 1903; George E. Andronicus, private papers; Wolforth, 'Residential Concentration of Non-British Minorities'; all cited in Janiszewski and Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', pp.21–2.

[lx] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: Censuses of 1911 and 1921, cited in Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1975, p.54.

[lxi] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics: Census of 1933, vol. 1, cited in Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, p.201.

[lxii] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p221; Ross Thorne, 'An Assessment of the Saraton Theatre, Grafton, prepared for the New South Wales Heritage Office', n.d.

[lxiii] Kringas, 'Post-war Greek Immigration', in James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1988, p.516.

[lxiv] 'The Niagara Café', SBS Foodlovers Guide to Australia, www.sbs.com.au/foodlovers/ingredients13.html, 20 August 2001; Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, p.201; Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p.220.

[lxv] Papageorgopoulos, *The Greeks in Australia*, p.16.

[lxvi] Price, *Greeks in Australia*, pp.43–4.

[lxvii] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p.192; the term 'Corfiot' is used to describe a native of Corfu.

[lxviii] Ibid., pp.202–4.

[lxix] Janiszewski and Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', pp.22.

[lxx] Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', pp.58–9.

[lxxi] Ibid., p.68; Gillian Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1979, p.47; Price, *Greeks in Australia*, p.6.

[lxxii] Interview with Despina Angelis, cited in Meader, Cashman, and Carolan, *Marrickville: People and Places*, pp.18–19.

[lxxiii] Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.69.

[lxxiv] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, p.287.

[lxxv] Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.62.

[lxxvi] *Anglican Journal*, December 1897, cited in M. Chryssavgis, 'Greek Orthodoxy in Australia', in A. Kapardis and A. Tamis (eds.), *Australiotes Hellenes: Greeks in Australia*, River Seine Press, Melbourne, 1988, p.54.

[lxxvii] Price, *Greeks in Australia*, p.11.

[lxxviii] H.L.N. Simmons, *Orthodoxy in Australia: Parallels and Links with the USA*, Hellenic College Press, Brookline, 1986, pp.7–8; Mistilis, 'Greek Community Life in Sydney', p.2.

[lxxix] Mistilis, 'Greek Community Life in Sydney', p.2; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 February 1927.

[lxxx] Simmons, *Orthodoxy in Australia*, p.8.

[lxxxi] Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.63.

[lxxxii] Hirakis and Yiangou, *Greek-Australians*, p.4.

[lxxxiii] Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', pp.72–3.

[lxxxiv] Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia',1975, p.39; Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.73; the five churches of the GOC are the Cathedral of St Sophia, corner of

Napier and South Dowling Streets, Paddington; the Church of Apostolos Andreas, 21 Church Street Camperdown; the Church of The Assumption of The Blessed Virgin, 360 Abercrombie Street, Redfern; the Church of St Peter and St Paul, 264 Stanmore Road, Stanmore; and the Church of the Holy Trinity, corner of Ridge and Bourke Streets, Surry Hills.

lxxxv Personal Community from Michael Diamond, Solicitor to His Eminence the Archbishop and the Archdiocese, 29 November 2001, Centre for Community history Archives.

lxxxvi Mistilis, 'Greek Community Life in Sydney', p.5.

lxxxvii Chryssavgis, 'Greek Orthodoxy in Australia', p.62.

lxxxviii Ibid., pp.62–3.

lxxxix Ibid., pp.56–7.

xc Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia, 'Major Events in the History of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia', www.cygnus.uwa.edu.au/~jgrapsas/pages/Church_history.html, 27 November 2001.

xci M. Varvaressos, education lecturer, University of New South Wales, interviewed by Chris Valiotis, 7 August 2001.

xcii Janiszewski and Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', p.30.

xciii M. Varvaressos, 'Paideia and Diaspora: A History of Greek Schooling in Australia', 1895-1985, PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, 2001; esp. chapter 3.

xciv OXI literally translates to English as 'no'. This was General Metaxas' response to the Italian call for surrender after its attack on Greece, 28 October 1940. The date has since remained important to Greeks and is celebrated every year as a national holiday. Greek immigrants and religious leaders continued to place importance on the event and date irrespective of where in the world they found themselves.

xcv Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1975, pp.59–60.

xcvi Ibid., p.59.

xcvii A. Tamis, 'Hellenic Research Studies and Scholarly sources in Australia', in E. Close and M. Tsianakis (eds.), Greek Studies in Australia: Research Perspectives, proceedings of the First Biennial Conference of Greek Studies, Flinders University, 1999, pp.1–2.

xcviii Ibid.

xcix Hirakis and Yiangou, Greek-Australians, pp.4–5.

c Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', p.69.

ci Hirakis and Yiangou, Greek-Australians, p.5.

cii Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Directory of Ethnic Community Organisations in Australia 1987, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1987, pp.24–31.

ciii Mistilis, 'Greek Community Life in Sydney', p.3.

civ Gilchrist, Australians and Greeks, pp.327–8.

cv Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, p.13.

cvi Mistilis, 'Greek Community Life in Sydney', p.6.

cvii Kringas, 'Post-war Greek Immigration', p.517.

cviii Meader, Cashman, and Carolan, Marrickville: People and Places, p.105.

cix Community Organisation Survey, Autocefalic Greek Orthodox Church of the Illawarra Community, Greek Community of Newcastle, August 2001.

[cx] Community Organisation Survey, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia Greek Welfare Centre, August 2001; Greek Welfare Centre, pamphlet, n.d.; Josef Vondra, *Hellas Australia*, Widescope, Melbourne, 1979, p.165.

[cxi] Comino, *Life in Australia*, p.201; interview with Kath Capsanis, cited in Janiszewski and Alexakis, '"That Bastard Ulysses"', pp.27–8; Capsanis has a copy of a film of her parents' wedding shot by Margetis, and Dora Margetis is in possession of another, while the original was deposited with the National Film and Sound Archive.

[cxii] Ann Coward, 'The Picture Show Men', *Kytherian Cinema Supplement*, October 2001.

[cxiii] K. Cork, 'Parthenons Down Under: Greek Motion Picture Exhibitors in NSW, 1915 to 1963', PhD Thesis, University of Western Sydney, 1998, cited in Ross Thorne, *An Assessment of the Saraton Theatre, Grafton*, prepared for the New South Wales Heritage Office, n.d., pp.9, 11–12.

[cxiv] Thorne, *An Assessment of the Saraton Theatre*, pp.2–6, 14.

[cxv] Ibid., pp.8, 11.

[cxvi] Dominique Francois De Stoop, *The Greeks of Melbourne*, Melbourne, 1996, pp.225–6, refers to Greek womans' participation in Victoria, through her assertions are equally applicable to New South Wales.

[cxvii] Philip Mosely, *Ethnic Involvement in Australian Soccer: A History, 1950-90*, Australian sports Commission, Canberra, 1995, p.21.

[cxviii] Doumanis, 'The Greek Community', p.67.

[cxix] Ibid., p.68.

[cxx] Ibid., pp.68–70. Sydney Olympic are traditionally known as the 'nomads' of the National Soccer League. To date, they have never developed strong ties with any particular home ground, although this may change after a recent move to 'Shark Park' in the Sutherland Shire. The relocation to Sutherland coincided with a renaming of the team, now known as the Olympic Sharks.

[cxxi] Hirakis and Yiangou, *Greek-Australians*, p.3.

[cxxii] Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1975, pp.44–5.

[cxxiii] Alex Catharios, SBS Greek language radio program, interviewed by Chris Valiotis, 28 August 2001.

[cxxiv] Papageorgopoulos, *The Greeks in Australia*, p.60.

[cxxv] Hirakis and Yiangou, *Greek-Australians*, p.3.

[cxxvi] G. Kanarakis, *Greek Voices in Australia: A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama*, Pergamon Press, Rushcutters Bay, Australia, 1987, p.19.

[cxxvii] G. Kanarakis, 'The Literary Presence of Greeks in Australia', in Kapardis and Tamis, *Afstraliotes Hellene*, p.43.

[cxxviii] Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1975, pp.58–9.

[cxxix] Ibid., p.59.

[cxxx] 'The Greek Festival of Sydney', pamphlet, n.d.

[cxxxi] Doumanis, 'The Greek Community', p.67.

[cxxxii] Ibid.