

Aegean Islander Migration to the United Kingdom and Australia, 1815-1945: Emigration, Settlement, Community Building, and Integration

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university, and the research within will not be submitted for any other future degree or diploma without the permission of Flinders University; and to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed: _____

Date: 13th of March 2024

Abstract

This thesis explores Greek Aegean islander migration to the English-speaking world between 1815-1945. Two case studies form the focus – islanders from Chios who migrated to London between 1815-1910; and islanders from Ikaria that migrated to South Australia between 1900-45. This research aims to unravel how these two early migrant communities emigrated, settled, built communities, and integrated into their new nations, in a period which is often overlooked in modern accounts of Mediterranean emigration. Both communities left their homelands during turmoil (including the 1822 Chios Massacre, the Balkan Wars, and WWI), however, economic aspirations also played a role in their emigrations. Despite originating in the same part of the world, these islanders traversed different ends of the social strata (from working, to middle and upper class), gender compositions, and administrative contexts. The ways in which they maintained identities (islander, Greek, and diasporic), interacted with the policies and populace of their new nations, and utilised broader imperial networks, all form part of their narratives. It is the contention of this thesis that these migrations reflect the major political and economic world events of the period, local ethnic and national identity tensions between newly formed Greece and the Ottoman Empire, migration trends and policy in the Anglosphere, as well as the individual challenges and identity crises of early migrants, illustrating that these histories are inextricably linked, culminating in a significant early Aegean islander migration to the West.

Dedication

This research is dedicated to my distant ancestor, John Gronthos, who spurred on my interest in this topic; and my Pappoú of the same name, who encouraged my love of history, and always has the time for a deep conversation.

Secondly, it is dedicated to the memory of close family members who have left us – Yiayiá Despina & Aunty Irene – as well as my great-grandmother Nana Pet (Marian Simpson), who passed away in 2022 at age 107.

Thirdly, it is dedicated to the next generation, including my niece, nephews, godchildren, younger cousins, and my soon-to-be daughter.

Finally, this research is dedicated to all migrants, both free and coerced, as well as to the victims of the Chios Massacre, and of all massacres.

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Introduction

In 1956, the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, Athenagoras Kavadas, criticised the descendants of the early Chiot migrants to London, claiming they had been 'Anglicised', and were no longer really 'Greek':

At the Sunday service, 5 February 1956, the Archbishop of Thyataira officiated and preached at length about the education of Cypriot children in the UK in Greek language and culture. He claimed that unless they sent their children to such schools, they would meet the same fate as the children of the people from Chios, who came to the UK many years ago and established a Church, Agia Sophia, but neglected to give their children Greek education with 'the result that today most of these children have been Anglicized and cannot speak their mother tongue.'¹

Although critical of how Chiots had 'neglected' their Greek identity, the archbishop's acknowledgements, nonetheless, testified to the continuity of the British Chiot community's identity more than 130 years after their settlement in the 1820s.

This long-term diaspora identity was not unique to the Chiots, extending to other Aegean islanders in other parts of the Anglosphere. On a Saturday afternoon in November 2018, I attended the play *The Gods of Strangers* by Elena Carapetis at the Dunstan Playhouse, Adelaide. The tri-lingual performance, set in 1947 Port Pirie, South Australia, portrayed an ethnically diverse world, where Greek, Cypriot, Italian, and Anglo-Celtic Australian lives converged.² Carapetis, of Ikarian and Cypriot descent, presented a world she had reconstructed from oral histories and no doubt her own family history. Of Ikarian and English descent myself, and my wife is of Cypriot and Greek descent, I could not help but identify with the world Carapetis portrayed, despite being a third-generation Australian born in the 1990s, never having experienced migration first-hand.

¹ Andrekos Varnava, 'Border Control and Monitoring "Undesirable" Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1945–1959', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 40 (1-2), 2022, 132-76; See: FC0141/3348B, secret, Terezopoulos to Administrative Secretary, 6 February 1956.

² Elena Carapetis, *The Gods of Strangers*, State Theatre Company South Australia, Dunstan Playhouse, 2018. See also: Louise Nunn, 'Elena Carapetis's *The Gods of Strangers* opens in Port Pirie for State Theatre', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 22 October 2018.

Aim

These examples of persistent migrant and regional identities raise the question: How did early Greek Aegean islanders emigrate, settle, and build communities that both integrated into the Anglo-speaking world and retained Greek and regional, including islander, identities?

The study of how migrants emigrated, settled, and built communities is both diverse and inexhaustible, as the world is ever more geared towards constant flows of people. In recent decades, the stories of post-WWII migrants to the Anglosphere have guided the migration discussion, as it is one of the most profound and accessible migrations. The unmistakable effects of post-War migrations are observable in the large number of surviving migrants, existing community structures, recent family histories, and even many aspects of day-to-day life, such as schools, cuisines, and places of worship. Earlier migrations to the West do not offer as many tangible signals of their presence, giving them a seemingly 'silent' image. This thesis aims to unravel how two of these early migrant communities emigrated, settled, built communities, and integrated in a period which is often overlooked in modern accounts of Mediterranean emigration.

The two communities in question, the nineteenth century Chiots of London, and the early-twentieth century Ikarians of South Australia, both had similar origins – the North Aegean islands (Map 1.1.). They both flowed between different administrations when emigrating: Ottoman with levels of autonomy (for both), and autonomous and Greek (for the Ikarians). They also shared prominent regional identities, which they carried and tried to maintain in their new lands. The case studies, however, are differentiated in many aspects, including but not limited to class, gender, age, professions, marital status, and return migration, all of which are explored.

It is the contention of this thesis that these migrations reflect the major political and economic world events of the period (particularly those events connected to the Eastern Mediterranean region), local ethnic and national identity tensions between newly formed Greece and the Ottoman Empire, migration trends and policy in the Anglosphere, as well as the individual challenges and identity crises of early migrants. Although these explorations are not unique to the case studies, this contention will still illustrate that these histories are inextricably linked, culminating in a significant early Aegean islander migration to the West.

Ultimately, this research aims to improve current understandings of the Greek migrant experience in the Anglosphere by bringing to light new archival material that demonstrates the significant presence, persistence, and notability of Greek Aegean islander communities in the West within the pre-1945 period. It also aims to establish a common thread between the case studies, which can be applied to other migrant diasporas beyond this thesis. Essentially, this thesis argues that Greek Aegean islanders followed similar patterns of emigration, settlement, community building, and integration in the Anglosphere, while also retaining their local islander identities.



Map 1.1: Map of key locations for this thesis, including Chios and Ikaria.

Scope

This thesis spans the period from 1815-1945 and is distinguished by the two case studies, which have separate but overlapping periods: from 1815-1910 for the Chiots, and 1900-1945 for the Ikarians. The Ikarian migration also extends post-WWII, which is beyond the

scope of this study, but is discussed briefly in terms of identity and long-term community building. The case studies also fall into the period which historians have been comfortable in using as a chronological frame, referred to as the 'long nineteenth century' (1789-1914).³ However, this research focuses on the nineteenth century after the 1815 Congress of Vienna, which many historians consider a defining transition in world power diplomacy and policy, and as Chapman emphasised, "it marked above all the end of an era".⁴ Philip Payton acknowledged the importance of 1815 as a turning point in European emigration, stating "In the years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, European emigration developed apace. Some 50 million people left Europe for overseas destinations between 1815 and 1914."⁵ This study's scope extends to 1945, because much of the migration of the early-nineteenth century was intertwined with events leading up to and including WWII, especially for the Ikarians. This included diaspora communities being involved in both the WWI and WWII war efforts.⁶ Historian of European emigration Dudley Baines also used similar parameters, noting that:

The movement of large numbers of people from Europe to the Americas and other parts of the world was one of the most important features of the international economy in the years after the Napoleonic wars...The temporal pattern was that the volume and the rate of emigration rose to the First World War, continued at a

³ Hobsbawm identifies the long nineteenth century beginning in 1789 with the French Revolution and British Industrial Revolution and ending in 1914 with the outbreak of WWI. See: Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*, 1962, ebook edn., Orion Books, London, 2010, 10; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1987, ebook edn., Orion Books, London, 2010, 34-8. See also: Thomas W. Gallant, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1768 to 1913: The Long Nineteenth Century*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2015.

⁴ Tim Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna 1814-1815: Origins, Processes, and Results*, Routledge, London & New York, 1998, 1-2. See also: Mark Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and Its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon*, I.B. Tauris, London & New York, 2013, 353; Richard C. Frucht (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe: From the Congress of Vienna to the Fall of Communism*, Garland, New York, 2000; Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2014; Gordon A. Craig, *Europe since 1815*, 3rd edn., Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1971, 3-4.

⁵ Philip Payton, 'Maritime history and the emigration trade: the case of mid-nineteenth-century Cornwall', *History in focus*, Issue 9: The Sea, Autumn 2005.

⁶ Conscription records found in the NAA attest to this, such as: 'CHARNAS GEORGE: Service Number - NX174360', NAA: B883, NX174360, 5582931, 1939-48; 'KOUNDONPIS LEONIDA GEORGE: Service Number - Q151603', NAA: B884, Q151603, 4871449, 1940-47; 'TUNIS STEVEN: Service Number - W57239', NAA: B884, W57239, 6501452, 1939-48; 'KOTSORNITHIS NICHOLAS TRIANLAPILLOS: Service Number - N321086', NAA: B884, N321086, 6189517, 1939-48. See also: Yianni Cartledge, 'Angelakis, George (1920-1993)', *ADNB*, ANU Press, Acton, ACT, 2021, 20-1.

lower rate in the 1920s, and collapsed in the international depression of the early 1930s.⁷

Historiography

The pre-existing literature surrounding Aegean islander migration during the project's scope is somewhat limited, with most studies on Greek migration focussing on the larger post-WWII and Greek Civil War diaspora beginning in the late-1940s.⁸ However, there are existing studies which offer a guide into early Aegean islander migration to the English-speaking world, as well as many important comparative studies. The range of general histories, microhistories, such as memoirs and studies on individuals, contextualised studies, and comparative studies, as well as the contributions of notable historians, are explored and rationalised in the positioning of this study. This research seeks to expand on these existing studies of the Chios and Ikarians, while also re-examining them within the framework of the core concepts of emigration, settlement, community building, and integration, as well as identity maintenance. This will demonstrate the consistency in

⁷ Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1991, 7. See also: Dudley Baines, 'European emigration, 1815-1930: looking at the emigration decision again', *Economic History Review*, XLVII(3), 1994, 525-44.

⁸ Varnava and Smith also make this observation in relation to Cypriots in the UK and Australia during a similar period to the case studies: Andrekos Varnava & Evan Smith, 'Dealing with Destitute Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1914-1931', in Philip Payton & Andrekos Varnava (eds.), *Australia, Migration and Empire: Immigrants in a Globalised World*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2019, 277. Examples of Post-World War II Greek migration studies include: Joy Damousi, *Memory and Migration in the Shadow of War: Australia's Greek Immigrants after World War II and the Greek Civil War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2015; Richard Clogg (ed.), *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*, Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, Hampshire & London, 1999; Joy Damousi, 'Silence and noise: Legacies of war and migration for second generation Greek-Australians', *Agora*, 48(2), 2013, 11-8; Joy Damousi, 'The Greek Civil War and child migration to Australia: Aileen Fitzpatrick and the Australian Council of International Social Service', *Social History*, 37(3), 2012, 297-313; Katherine Whitehead, 'Not Just a Waltzed Matilda: A Study of Migration and Culture: Greek Women in South Australia, Post-World War II to the Present', in *Greek Studies in Australia*, Flinders University, Adelaide, September 1997, 14-34; George Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities: Their Struggles for Social Justice and Cultural Rights: The Role of Greek-Australians*, Common Ground, Australia, 2009; Dimitris Tziouvas (ed.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture*, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, 2009, 1-3; Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vols. 2-3*, Halstead Press, Broadway, Sydney, 1997-2004; Charles Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1975; Srebrenka Kunek, 'Greek female migration in the post World War II period in Australia', *Australian Studies (London, England)*, 2, June 1989, 36-58; Lena Korma, 'The historiography of the Greek Diaspora and migration in the twentieth century', *Historiein*, 16(1-2), 2017, 47-73. A notable recent work deals with the pre-WWII period, which has been reviewed by the author: Peter Prineas, *Wild Colonial Greeks*, Arcadia, North Melbourne, 2020; Yianni Cartledge, 'Review: Peter Prineas, *Wild Colonial Greeks*, Arcadia/Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2020.', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 23, July 2021, 235-6.

their patterns despite the evident differences in places of origin, time periods, demographics, and contexts. It will also contribute deeper understandings of the earlier narratives of Greek migration, which hitherto have been enveloped by the abundant post-1945 focused literature.

Chiots in London

Of the two case studies, the Chiots of London have a more extensive list of pre-existing literature, likely due to the age and prominence of the community.⁹ However, the historiography rarely explores the various distinct aspects of the migrant experience together, let alone in a comparative context. It is generally concentrated into a handful of streams – general histories, genealogies, memoirs, histories of individuals, business and economic studies, and studies on the Phanariots, who were an elite Greek merchant class based in Istanbul’s Fener quarter (*Phanar* in Greek). Panayi noted the Chiots in his study on London, identifying them as a “migration of elites”, being “based upon family networks”, having the Chios Massacre as their community’s turning point, and expanding into the British Empire.¹⁰ This study expands upon Panayi’s assessments.

Most scholars acknowledge that the Chios Massacre was the single largest factor in the scale of the nineteenth century Chiot diaspora.¹¹ The Chios Massacre occurred from March-August 1822, only one year into the Greek War of Independence, and saw as many as 100,000 Chiots be killed, enslaved, or displaced by Ottoman forces under Kapudan Ali Bey Pasha.¹² Helen Long, in her succinct account, detailed the journey taken by Chiots escaping the massacre, from the islands of Psara and Syros, to all the major ports of Europe, and finally London.¹³ Long noted also that the diaspora itself was mostly of the

⁹ See the notable older works: Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, self-published, London, 1993; Michael Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1933; Theodore E. Dowling & Edwin W. Fletcher, *Hellenism in England*, John (Joannes) Gennadius (intro.), Faith Press, London, 1915.

¹⁰ Panikos Panayi, *Migrant City: A New History of London*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 2020, 125-7.

¹¹ Philip P. Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios: Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports*, The Bodley Head, London, 1932, xxxiii-xxxiv; Peter Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton: A Memoir of Eight Centuries’, *Encounter*, 57(6), 1 December 1981, 24; Peter Calvocoressi, ‘The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora’, in *Greece and Great Britain During World War I: First Symposium Organized in Thessaloniki (December 15-17, 1983) by the Institute for Balkan Studies in Thessaloniki and King’s College in London*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1985, 247; Panayi, *Migrant City*, 125-7.

¹² Yianni John Charles Cartledge, ‘The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism’, *Historical Research*, 93(259), February 2020, 52-72.

¹³ Helen Long, *Greek Fire: The Massacres of Chios*, Abson Books, Abson, Wick, Bristol, 1992, 116-20.

affluent class, as they had the easier means of escape, such as through bribery.¹⁴ Long used notable prior works when dealing with the Chiots.¹⁵ These early works laid the foundational story of the Chiots' emigration, detailing the massacres and the journeys of individuals and families thereafter.

Christopher Long, Helen's son, has been researching and tracing the Chiots for more than thirty-five years and has dedicated an archival website to cataloguing the genealogies, arrivals, and stories of the London Chiot community.¹⁶ Long's archive is extensive, cataloguing arrival dates, images, and references, especially in relation to the Vlasto family, from which he and his mother descend. There is also a similar project, the *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, detailing much of the Chiot diaspora, especially the Agelasto and Negroponte families.¹⁷ Likewise, Mihail Sturdza's and Philip Argenti's genealogical works detail much about the genealogies, family origins, and migrations of the aristocratic Chiot families.¹⁸ These genealogical studies all trace the Chiots within the context of Byzantine, Genoese, Venetian, Phanariot, and other aristocratic families, emphasising the class link that most authors acknowledge.

Mai Wann also focussed on the community, although veering from the general diaspora narratives and highlighting rather their place within British society, their successes, and their unique identity.¹⁹ Wann treated the nineteenth-century migration as historical background, as the group who laid the groundwork for mid-twentieth-century London Chiots.²⁰ Due to this, the identity of the later Chiots were her focus. Wann lends

¹⁴ Long, *Greek Fire*, 114.

¹⁵ These notable prior works include: Dr Alexander M. Vlasto, *XIAKA or "The History of the Island of Chios from the Earliest Times down to its Destruction by the Turks in 1822"*, original 1840, A.P. Ralli (trans.), privately printed by J. Davy & Sons, London, 1913; Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*; Numa Denis Fustel De Coulanges, *Mémoire sur l'île de Chio*, Paris, 1856; Georgios I. Zolotas, *Ιστορία της Χίου*, A(I-II), P.D. Sakellariou, Athens, 1923;

¹⁶ Christopher Long, 'Greek Migration: Phanariot & Chian Families', talk given to *The London Hellenic Society* at the Hellenic Centre in London, 19 May 2005; Christopher Long, 'Genealogies', accessed 10.09.2019: <https://ChristopherLong.co.uk/gen/index.html>

¹⁷ *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, accessed 07.05.2020: <http://www.agelastos.com/genealogy/index.php>

¹⁸ Mihail Dimitri Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*, self-published, Paris, 1983; Philip P. Argenti, *Libro D'Oro de la Noblesse de Chio*, 1, Oxford University Press, London, 1955. Note: Abraham Galanté similarly details the Jewish families of Chios. See: 'Index of Surnames', in Abraham Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs de Rhodes, Chio, Cos, etc.*, Société anonyme de Papeterie et d'Imprimerie, Istanbul, 1935.

¹⁹ Mai Wann, 'Chiot Shipowners in London: An Immigrant Elite', Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, Coventry, research paper no. 6, 1987, 1.

²⁰ Georgia Kouta in a recent study of the London Greek diaspora in the 1910s similarly used the Chiots as background for the London Greek community. Georgia Kouta, 'The London Greek Diaspora and National

important insight into the effects that the earlier nineteenth-century community had on the mid-twentieth century Chiots, who “found the remains of a previous [century’s] Chiot community”.²¹ Jonathan Harris offered a parallel to Wann’s twentieth century Chiots, noting that the nineteenth century Chiots met remnants of the eighteenth century’s ‘silent’ and less affluent Greek community.²²

The noted historian Peter Calvocoressi, of Chiot descent, discussed the Chiot community and traced the merchant families’ migrations from the medieval period in Byzantium, Genoa, and Venice, to Chios, and then onto Western Europe, focusing on Britain. Calvocoressi painted the Chiots in London as part of a larger diaspora of merchant families originating in the Middle Ages and noted how he himself was born in India to British Chiot parents, continuing the mode of generational movements.²³ Of the affluent London community Calvocoressi observed that the diaspora suffered a ‘shock’ due to their coerced migration from Chios, which has dominated their memory.²⁴ Long and Calvocoressi both compared the Chiot and Jewish communities in Britain, with Calvocoressi stating that, “The London Greeks were in many ways like the more successful Jews, distinct, self-sufficient as a community and proud.”²⁵ Harlaftis also compared the nineteenth-century London Greek merchant houses to the Jewish and Armenian diasporas, believing that, “Their business epitomized the resilience of older, traditional forms that had been created by certain peoples and had been surpassing boundaries for centuries.”²⁶

Long, Calvocoressi, and Wann, also focused on the fourteenth to sixteenth-century Genoese connection as an important origin story for the London Chiots, reiterating their self-image as a successful age-old merchant class.²⁷ Historian and Chiot descendant Philip

Politics: The Anglo-Hellenic League and the Idea of Greece, 1913-1919’, PhD thesis, King’s College, University of London, July 2015, 27-71.

²¹ Wann, ‘Chiot Shipowners in London’, 2.

²² Jonathan Harris, ‘Silent Minority: The Greek Community of Eighteenth-Century London’, in Tziouvas (ed.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700*, 31-3.

²³ Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton’, 20-6.

²⁴ Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton’, 25.

²⁵ Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton’, 25-6. See also: Long, *Greek Fire*, 126-7.

²⁶ Gelina Harlaftis, ‘From Diaspora Traders to Shipping Tycoons: The Vagliano Bro.’, *Business History Review*, 81(2), Summer 2007, 239-40. See also: Maria Christina Chatziioannou & Gelina Harlaftis, ‘From the Levant to the City of London: Mercantile Credit in the Greek International Commercial Networks of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’, in Cottrell, Lange & Olsson (eds.), *Centres and Peripheries in Banking*, Aldershot, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, 2007, 13-40; Stuart Thompstone, ‘Vagliano, Panayis Athanase (1814-1902)’, *ODNB*, 23 September 2004.

²⁷ Long, *Greek Fire*, 127; Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton’, 21; Calvocoressi, ‘The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora’, 248-9; Wann, ‘Chiot Shipowners in London’, 5.

Argenti, also maintained this image when discussing Chiots.²⁸ Argenti added an early 'imperialist' element to the Chiots, making the simile of "the Chian members returning for their education to Italy in a manner reminiscent of the British in India."²⁹ An earlier work by Dimitrios Rodocanachi, covered this period in depth.³⁰ In later studies, this focus on the origins of the merchant class translated into exploration of the Chiots' 'entrepreneurial' consciousness.³¹ Vlachopoulou, in a recent chapter, evaluated its connection to islander identity – an idea that this thesis expands upon.³² Some scholars even tied the Greek merchant class diaspora to Greek national consciousness.³³ This was seen especially through the diasporas' role during the Greek Revolution.

In a focussed paper, Calvocoressi addressed the refugee status of the Chiots, and their immigration and settlement in Britain. An important characteristic that Calvocoressi emphasised was the staggered nature of the Chiot diaspora, calling it "a trek by gradual stages."³⁴ Calvocoressi placed the London Chiots as originating from pre-existent diasporas outside of Chios and the Aegean, and prior to the Chios Massacre, such as the Rallis who moved to London between 1815-20.³⁵ French historian Fustel De Coulanges also made this observation, noting that members of the same Chiot merchant families

²⁸ Philip P. Argenti, 'Introduction to Hieronimo Giustiniani's *History of Chios*', in Hieronimo Giustiniani, *History of Chios*, Philip P. Argenti (ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1943, xvi-xxi.

²⁹ Argenti, 'Introduction to Hieronimo Giustiniani's *History of Chios*', xx.

³⁰ Dimitrios Rodocanachi, *Ιουστινιάναι-Χίος*, Typois Penieri Printezi, Syros, 1900.

³¹ See: Katerina Vourkatioti, 'The House of Ralli Bros, c.1814-1961: The entrepreneurial archetype of the Greek Diaspora', PhD thesis, Panteion University, Athens, 2004; Maria Christina Chatziioannou, 'Greek Merchant Networks in the Age of Empires (1770-1870)', in McCabe, Harlaftis & Minoglou (eds.), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, Berg, Oxford & New York, 2005, 374; Despina Vlami & Ikaros Mandouvalos, 'Entrepreneurial forms and processes inside a multiethnic pre-capitalist environment: Greek and British enterprises in the Levant (1740s-1820s)', *Business History*, 55(1), 1 January 2013, 98-118; Gelina Harlaftis & John Theotokas, 'European Family Firms in International Business: British and Greek Tramp-Shipping Firms', *Business History*, 46(2), 2004, 219-55; Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou & Stavros Ioannides, 'Market-Embedded Clans in Theory and History: Greek Diaspora Trading Companies in the Nineteenth Century', *Business and Economic History On-Line*, 2, 2004, 1-26; Evridiki Sifneos, "'Cosmopolitanism" as a feature of the Greek Commercial Diaspora', *History and Anthropology*, 16(1), 2005, 97-111.

³² Anna Vlachopoulou, 'Conquering the World, Remaining an Islander: The Merchant House Ralli in the 19th Century', in Denise Klein & Anna Vlachopoulou (eds.), *Transottoman Biographies, 16th-20th c.*, V&R Unipress, Brill, 2023, 215-40.

³³ Richard Clogg, 'Korais and the Movement for Greek Independence', *History Today*, 33(10), October 1983, 10-4; Deno J. Geanakoplos, 'The Diaspora Greeks: The Genesis of Modern Greek National Consciousness', in Diamandouros, Anton, Petropoulos & Topping (eds.), *Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821-1830): Continuity and Change*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1976, 59-77; George Yannouloupoulos, 'Beyond the Frontiers: the Greek Diaspora', in Robert Browning, *The Greek World: Classical, Byzantine and Modern*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1985, 288-98; Nicolas Argenti, 'Introduction: The Presence of the Past in the Era of the Nation-State', *Social Analysis*, 61(1), April 2017, 5.

³⁴ Calvocoressi, 'The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora', 247-8.

³⁵ Calvocoressi, 'The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora', 248.

were living between the ports of Marseille, Trieste, London, Odessa, Syros, Alexandria, and elsewhere.³⁶ This image, of the Chiot diaspora as mobile and part of a wider migration already in motion, is an important analysis that sets the scene for this thesis.

Essentially, these general histories and genealogical studies act as a base, similar to the diaspora narrative as described by migration historian Eric Richards, which although important in providing “much detailed work about the mechanisms and genealogies of migration”, focuses heavily on community celebration.³⁷ This groundwork leaves the canvas open for a more critical discussion of the emigration, settlement, community building, and integration of the Chiot community in London. Maria Chatziioannou recognised a similar problem of diaspora studies, stating that, “The problem that emerges from this viewpoint, which examines the diaspora as a set of transnational and emotional ties, is that it often disconnects the diaspora from any historical context.”³⁸ Following this need for historical context, Chatziioannou, along with Gelina Harlaftis and others, placed the London Chiots in the wider realm of Greek mercantilism and British economic expansion.³⁹ Chatziioannou argued that the formation of a strong Greek community in London was essential in Britain’s economic enterprise in

³⁶ Fustel De Coulanges, *Mémoire sur l’île de Chio*, 515 & 642.

³⁷ Eric Richards, ‘Emigrants and Historians’, in Philip Payton (ed.), *Emigrants & Historians: Essays in Honour of Eric Richards*, Wakefield Press, Mile End, South Australia, 2016, 136.

³⁸ Maria Christina Chatziioannou, ‘Greek Merchants in Victorian England’, in Tziiovas (ed.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700*, 45.

³⁹ Maria Christina Chatziioannou, ‘War, Crisis and Sovereign Loans: The Greek War of Independence and British Economic Expansion in the 1820s’, *La Revue Historique*, 10, 2013, 33-56; Chatziioannou, ‘Greek Merchants in Victorian England’, 45-60; Chatziioannou, ‘Greek Merchant Networks in the Age of Empires (1770-1870)’, 371-82; Chatziioannou & Harlaftis, ‘From the Levant to the City of London’, 13-40; Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping: The making of an international tramp fleet, 1830 to the present day*, Routledge, London & New York, 1996; Maria Christina Chatziioannou & Gelina Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids: Sea routes and maritime business, 16th -20th centuries*, Kerkyra Publications, Athens, May 2006; Gelina Harlaftis, ‘Greek Maritime Business in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Paradigm for Comparative Studies on Family Capitalism and Diaspora Networks’, in De Goey & Veluwenkamp (eds.), *Entrepreneurs and Institutions in Europe and Asia: 1500-2000*, Aksant, Amsterdam, 2002, 71-90; Gelina Harlaftis, ‘The “Eastern Invasion”: Greeks in Mediterranean Trade and Shipping in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries’, in Fusaro, Heywood & Omri (eds.), *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2010, 223-52; Gelina Harlaftis, ‘The Greek Shipping Sector, c. 1850-2000’, in Fischer & Lange (eds.), *International Merchant Shipping in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: The Comparative Dimension*, Research in Maritime History, 37, IMEHA, St. John’s, Newfoundland, 2008, 79-104; Gelina Harlaftis, ‘The Role of the Greeks in the Black Sea Trade, 1830-1900’, in Fischer & Nordvik (eds.), *Shipping and Trade, 1750-1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History*, Lofthouse Publications, Pontefract, West Yorkshire, 1990, 63-95; Gelina Harlaftis & Costas Chlomoudis, ‘Greek Shipping Offices in London in the Interwar Period’, *International Journal of Maritime History*, 5(1), June 1993, 1-40; Ioannis Theotokas & Gelina Harlaftis, *Leadership in World Shipping: Greek Family Firms in International Business*, Alexandra Doulmas (trans.), Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York, 2009; Victor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis & Olga Katsiardi-Hering (eds.), *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2012.

the Eastern Mediterranean, which can be seen through the funding of loans for the provisional government of Greece in 1824 and 1825, as “the expectations of insurgent Greeks, Greek diaspora merchants, British politicians and bankers, and bondholders intersected”.⁴⁰ In previous studies, such as by Frangakis-Syrett, Galani, and others, similar conclusions were made, where “On arriving in London following the massacre, the Chiots became instantly intertwined economically into British society, and also into Mediterranean and global British trade.”⁴¹

The London Chiots also played a role in empire, expanding later into India, as several scholars have acknowledged.⁴² In addition, Chatziioannou emphasised the interconnectedness of the Chiots within both Britain and Greece, as did the earlier historian John Mavrogordato.⁴³ Chatziioannou’s contextual approach serves as an important model for wider systemic studies on the Chiot and other diasporas. In another article, Chatziioannou portrayed the study of the Greek merchants in London as multidisciplinary, intersecting with business and economics.⁴⁴ To give a ‘fuller’ picture, this study aims to combine a Chatziioannou-inspired approach with the surviving microhistories and migration narratives.

⁴⁰ Chatziioannou, ‘War, Crisis and Sovereign Loans’, 33. See also: Maria Christina Chatziioannou, ‘Merchant-Consuls and Intermediary Service in the Nineteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean’, in Yianguou, Kazamias & Holland (eds.), *The Greeks and the British in the Levant, 1800-1960s: Between Empires and Nations*, Taylor & Francis Group, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, 2016, 162-4.

⁴¹ Cartledge, ‘The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism’, 71. See also: Elena Frangakis-Syrett, ‘Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries: The City-Port of Izmir and its Hinterland’, *International Journal of Maritime History*, 10(2), December 1998, 148; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, ‘The Western Anatolian Coast and the Aigaian Islands in the Late 19th Century and Early 20th Century: an economic survey’, in John M. Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times: Volume II: From 1453 to Modern Times*, Gieben, Amsterdam, 1991, 251-66; Katerina Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars: The Untold Story of a Successful Adaptation*, BRILL, Leiden, The Netherlands, 2017, 217-9; Katerina Galani, ‘The Galata Bankers and the international banking of the Greek business group in the nineteenth century’, in Eldem, Laiou & Kechriotis (eds.), *The Economic and Social Development of the Port-Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast and Hinterland, late 18th – beginning of the 20th century*, Thales Programme, Corfu, 2017, 45-79.

⁴² Katerina Vourkatioti, ‘Anglo-Indian Sea Trade and Greek Commercial Enterprises in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century’, *International Journal of Maritime History*, XI(1), June 1999, 117-48; Stavros T. Stavridis, ‘Footprints of Odysseus in India’, *Hellenic Communication Service*, 18 March 2007; Paul Byron Norris, *Ulysses in the Raj*, Bacsa, Putney, London, 1992; Paul Byron Norris, *Follow my Bangalorey Man*, Bacsa, Putney, London, 1996.

⁴³ Chatziioannou, ‘Merchant-Consuls and Intermediary Service in the Nineteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean’, 163; John Mavrogordato, *Modern Greece: A Chronicle and a Survey, 1800-1931*, Macmillan, London, 1931, 206-7.

⁴⁴ Maria Christina Chatziioannou, ‘When the History of Merchant Houses met Business History: A Comparative Historiographical Approach’, *Entreprises et Histoire*, 63, 2011, 53-65.

The microhistories of the Chiot community are contained mostly in memoirs and studies on individuals. The existing memoirs and reminiscences have notably detailed life within and the history of the London Chiot community. These include works by Roger Adelson, Peter Calvocoressi, Jack Mavrogordato, Christina Agelasto, Leoni Calvocoressi, and Nicolas Argenti, among others.⁴⁵ These works offer an ‘insider perception’ of the community, as well as deal with community ‘lore’, such as Argenti who listed the naming practices within the diaspora;⁴⁶ or Long, who noted playing with Greek toys and eating Greek sweets as a child.⁴⁷

The memoirs also focus on the Chios Massacre and its role in the Chiot diaspora. The acknowledgement of relatives lost during the massacre, and the escape stories of their own family members, are prominent features in these works.⁴⁸ Calvocoressi also intertwined memoir elements into his works, such as when focusing on his family origins, linking his surname to being of both Genoese and Byzantine Greek origins: “The Calvocoressis are the clearest living symbol of the East-West alliance which came to pass on Chios”.⁴⁹ Similar family name origins are discussed throughout the various memoirs, showing a tangible thread of continued oral family history within the diaspora.⁵⁰

There is an array of dedicated histories of individuals within the community, especially on the prominent members of the merchant families. These are more numerous than the general histories, and when paired together they sketch a narrative of the diaspora. The Ralli family has the most dedicated literature.⁵¹ However, other Chiots have

⁴⁵ Roger Adelson, ‘Interview with Peter Calvocoressi’, *The Historian*, 55(2), Winter 1993, 235-52; Jack Mavrogordato, *Behind the Scenes: An Autobiography*, Element, Tisbury, Wiltshire, 1982; Christina Stephen Agelasto, ‘The Agelastos of Chios’, Stamati Michael Agelasto, (trans.), Corfu, 1 December 1983, reviewed by George L. Agelastos, January 2007; Leoni M. Calvocoressi, *Ιστορία του Παππού: 1822 [Grandfather’s Tale]*, TYP. N. CHIOU, Chios, 1902; Nicolas Argenti, *Remembering Absence: The Sense of Life in Island Greece*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 2019, xvii-xlii. See also: Sir Godfrey Ralli, ‘Foreword’, Sandwich, Kent, 1992, in Long, *Greek Fire*; Long, *Greek Fire*, 128-30; Long, ‘Greek Migration’; Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton’, 20-6; Calvocoressi, ‘The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora’, 252-7.

⁴⁶ Argenti, *Remembering Absence*, xxviii-xxix. See also: Timothy (Kallistos) Ware, *Eustratios Argenti: A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964, 43-4.

⁴⁷ Long, *Greek Fire*, 129.

⁴⁸ See: Argenti, *Remembering Absence*, xxiii-xxv; Christophorus Plato Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., Philadelphia, 1851, 11.

⁴⁹ Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton’, 22.

⁵⁰ See: Agelasto, ‘The Agelastos of Chios’; Argenti, *Remembering Absence*, xxiv; Long, ‘Greek Migration’.

⁵¹ Katerina Vourkatioti, ‘The House of Ralli Brothers (c. 1818-1961)’, in Chatziioannou & Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids*, 99-110; Vourkatioti, ‘The House of Ralli Bros, c.1814-1961’; S.D. Chapman, ‘Ralli, Pantia Stephen [Pandias Stephen] (1793-1865)’, *ODNB*, 23 September 2003; S.D. Chapman, ‘Ralli, Stephen Augustus (1829-1902)’, *ODNB*, 03 January 2008; Vikram Doctor, ‘Ralli Brothers: The history remains as a reminder of entrepreneurial abilities of economically shattered Greeks [Panache]’, *The Economic Times*, New Delhi, 3 August 2015; Leoni M. Calvocoressi, *Ο Οίκος των Αδελφών Πάλλη [The House of the Ralli*

also been in focus, such as members of the Agelasto, Calvocoressi, Ionides, Negroponte, Rodocanachi, Schilizzi, Ziffo, and other families.⁵² These histories, which discuss and celebrate the lives of individuals, are integral to consult when contextualising the place of diaspora members within their own community and wider society.

Many references to the Chiot diaspora are entwined within the abundant scholarly work on the wider Greek merchant class, the Phanariots, who were based in nineteenth-century Istanbul, but spread throughout Europe and beyond.⁵³ Thomas Gallant highlighted the importance of the Phanariots, suggesting that:

Brothers], Typographeion P. Iatridi, Chios, 1953; John Gennadius (Ioannes Gennadios), *Stephen A. Ralli: A Biographical Memoir*, privately printed, London, 1902; Stavros T. Stavridis, 'Five Ralli Brothers: From Chios to Building a Global Business Empire in India', *The National Herald*, 5 March 2017; Jack Vlasto, *Ralli Brothers Limited*, J.P. McNulty & Co., London, 1951. See also: Laura Cameron & David Matless, 'Pallis, Marietta (1882-1963)', *ODNB*, 27 May 2010; Richard C. Witt, 'Pallis, Alexander (1850-1935)', *ODNB*, 27 May 2010; Panagiotis Kouloumbis, 'Η Άγνωστη Ιστορία Των Αδελφών Ράλλη Των Δημιουργών Της Ερμούπολης', *Alithines Gynaikes*, 23 April 2017; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis 1793-1865: The Founder of the Greek Community in London*, self-published, London, 1986; Alexander Pantia Ralli & Alexander Antonio Ralli, *A Pedigree of the Rallis of Scio, 1700-1892*, London, 1896.

⁵² Adelson, 'Interview with Peter Calvocoressi', 235-52; Argenti, *Libro D'Oro*; Long, 'Greek Migration'; Long, 'Genealogies'; Sturdza, *Grandes Familles de Grèce*; Agelasto, 'The Agelastos of Chios'; *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*; Claire Brisby, 'Angelia Calvocoressi 1840-1829: a Cosmopolitan Life', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 30(2), 2004, 97-132; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *Constantine Ionidis-Ipliktis 1775-1852 and the Ionidi family*, London, 1988; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Rodocanachis of London: A Pictorial History*, London, 1987; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Schilizzi Family*, self-published, London, 1990; Andrew Watson, 'Constantine Alexander Ionides: Rodin's first important English patron', *Sculpture Journal*, 16(1), 2007, 23-38; Theodore Rodocanachi, *Jean Negroponte*, L. Cerf, Rue Sainte-Anne, Paris, 1898; Ariadni Moutafidou, 'Greek merchant families perceiving the world: the case of Demetrius Vikelas', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 23(2), 1 December 2008, 143-64; David B. Ricks, 'English Influences on Intellectuals of the Diaspora: C.F. Cavafy and Alexander Pallis', in Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times*, 427-32. See also in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: Basil Gray, 'Eumorfopoulos, George (1863-1939)', revised by M. Tregear, *ODNB*, 23 September 2004; C.M. Kauffmann, 'Ionides, Alexander Constantine (1810-1890)', *ODNB*, 23 September 2004; C.M. Kauffmann, 'Ionides, Constantine Alexander (1833-1900)', *ODNB*, 23 September 2004; Peter Mackridge, 'Mavrogordato, John Nicolas (1882-1970)', *ODNB*, 27 May 2010; Linda Parry, 'Coronio [née Ionides], Aglaia (1834-1906)', *ODNB*, 28 September 2006; Stuart Thompstone, 'Rodocanachi, Michael Emmanuel (1821-1901)', *ODNB*, 24 May 2007; Stuart Thompstone, 'Rodocanachi, Peter Pandia (1831-1899)', *ODNB*, 24 May 2007.

⁵³ See: Frangakis-Syrett, 'Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries', 125-54; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, 'Greek mercantile activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1780-1820', *Balkan Studies*, 28(1), 1987, 73-86; Galani, 'The Galata Bankers and the international banking of the Greek business group in the nineteenth century', 45-79; Katerina Galani, 'The Napoleonic Wars and the disruption of Mediterranean shipping and trade: British, Greek and American merchants in Livorno', *La Revue Historique*, 7, 2010, 179-98; Gelina Harlaftis & Radu Păun (eds.), *Greeks in Romania, 19th Century*, Alpha Bank Historical Archives, Athens, 2013; Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775-1861*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Maryland, 2001; Radu Florescu, 'The Fanariot Regime in the Danubian Principalities', *Balkan Studies*, 9(2), 1 January 1968, 301-18; Vlad Georgescu, 'The Romanian Boyars in the 18th Century: Their Political Ideology', *East European Quarterly*, 7(1), Spring 1973, 31-40; Patricia Herlihy, 'Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century', in Sevchenko & Sysyn (eds.), *Harvard Ukrainian Studies Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, III/IV, part 1, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979-1980, 399-420; Olga Katsiardi-Hering, 'City-ports in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean from the mid-sixteenth to the

From the 1770s to 1821, the economies of Russia, the Ottoman Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean became ever more tightly bound with the emerging Eurocentric world economy. Related to this phenomenon was the development of a vast Greek Diaspora trading network that literally spanned the globe from Southeast Asia to North America.⁵⁴

Chios was central in this Phanariot trade network and many of the families who migrated to Britain were of Phanariot origins or had relations or dealings with other Phanariot families, as well as with the prominent British Levant Company, as previous studies suggest.⁵⁵ Apostolos Delis compared these nineteenth-century trade networks, focussing on Syros and its shipbuilding industry, where “The vast majority of these [labourers and shipwrights] originated from Chios, which was already an important crossroads of the eastern Mediterranean by the eighteenth century”.⁵⁶ The place of the Chiots within this system is paramount to this study.

Other important comparative studies include work on previous Chiot and Greek migrations, as well as other migrant groups.⁵⁷ These studies, which focus on different yet

nineteenth century: urban and social aspects’, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 26(2), 1 December 2011, 151-70; Christine May Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 2010; Christine Philliou, ‘Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51(1), 2009, 151-81; Christine Philliou, ‘Families of Empires and Nations: Phanariot *Hanedans* from the Ottoman Empire to the World Around It (1669-1856)’, in Johnson, Sabeen, Teuscher & Trivellato (eds.), *Transregional and transnational families in Europe and beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2011, 177-99; Dimitris Livianos, ‘Relations Gréco-Roumaines: Interculturalité et Identité Nationale/Greek-Romanian Relations: Interculturalism and National Identity’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 26(1), 2008, 230-2; Ioannis Zelepos, ‘Greek Traders and Phanariotes in Southern and Southeastern Europe from the Early Modern Period to the 19th Century’, in Bade, Emmer, Lucassen & Oltmer (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, 472-3.

⁵⁴ Thomas W. Gallant, *Modern Greece: From the War of Independence to the Present*, 2nd edn., Bloomsbury, London, 2016, 22.

⁵⁵ Cartledge, ‘The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism’, 60; Frangakis-Syrett, ‘Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries’, 148; Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars*, 244-5; Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company*, George Routledge & Sons, London, 1908.

⁵⁶ Apostolos Delis, ‘Modern Greece’s first industry? The shipbuilding center of sailing merchant marine of Syros, 1830-70’, *European Review of Economic History*, 19(3), 2015, 261.

⁵⁷ See: Niccolo Fattori, *Migration and Community in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Greeks of Ancona, 1510-1595*, Springer, New York, 2019; Niccolo Fattori, ‘The Chiots in Ancona – Locality and Social Circles in Early Modern Migrant Communities’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, forthcoming; Venetia Evergeti, ‘Living and caring between two cultures: Narratives of Greek women in Britain’, *Community, Work & Family*, 9(3), 2006, 347-66; Ariadni Moutafidou, ‘Giovanni di Niccolo Pappaffy: identities and philanthropies of an Ottoman Greek broker in Malta’, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 28(2), 2013, 191-224; Moutafidou, ‘Greek merchant families perceiving the world’, 143-64; Evan Smith & Andrekos Varnava, ‘Creating a ‘Suspect Community’: Monitoring and Controlling the Cypriot Community in Inter-War London’, *The English Historical Review*, 132(558), 2017, 1149-81; Robin Oakley, ‘Cypriot migration to

key aspects to this thesis (such as Greek-speaking migrants, settlement in Britain, or the nineteenth century), help provide a guiding model of how to contextualise migrants within their own period, community, place of settlement, and the wider world.

In all, elements of the literature surrounding the Chiots are expansive, especially memoirs, microhistories, and related yet indirect studies, such as on the Phanariots. However, in-depth studies on the diaspora are limited, with few general histories existing, and the most prominent deep research focussing almost solely on the business and economics of the community. Due to the limited yet abundant nature of the literature, a gap exists where the pre-existing texts can be used in conjunction with one another, and with primary sources, to help construct a concise narrative with both micro and macro historical elements.

Ikarians in South Australia

By comparison, Ikarian migration to South Australia has little pre-existing research. Most references are snippets discussed by Penny Anagnostou, Themis Speis, Christos Fifis, and others, as well as broader community research by Eleni Apostolaki-Glaros, Michael Tsounis, Panagos Papageorgiou, and George Zangalis.⁵⁸ However, there are many

Britain prior to World War II', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 15(4), 1989, 504-25; Robin Oakley, 'The Control of Cypriot Migration to Britain Between the Wars', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 6(1), 1987, 30-43; W.M. Jacob, 'Anglican Clergy Responses to Jewish Migration in late Nineteenth-Century London', *Studies in Church History*, 51, 2015, 259-73; Colin Holmes & Anne J. Kershner, *An East End Legacy: Essays in Memory of William J. Fishman*, Routledge, London & New York, 2018. See also: Joze Pirjevec, 'The Greek colony in Trieste in the 18th-19th Centuries', in Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times*, 29-34; Gallant, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1768 to 1913*; Molly Greene, *Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1774 [or 1768]*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2015; Daniel Renshaw, 'Old Prejudices and New Prejudices: State Surveillance and Harassment of Irish and Jewish Communities in London - 1800-1930', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 40, 2022, 79-105; Varnava, 'Border Control and Monitoring "Undesirable" Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1945-1959', 132-76.

⁵⁸ Penny Anagnostou, 'Greeks in South Australia', in James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, 401-5; Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities*, 183-91; Christos N. Fifis, 'Michael Tsounis, The Ikarian Greek Australian Historian', *Greek Community Tribune*, issue 41244, 2012, 6; Themis P. Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, Icaria Festival, Fotolio & Typicon Printing House, United States, 2013; Michael P. Tsounis (ed.), 'Articles Published by the "Greek Community Tribune"', Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of South Australia "Ikaros", Unley, South Australia, June 2005; Michael P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1971; Michael P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', in Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*, 18-72; Eleni Apostolaki-Glaros, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia', Petro Alexiou (trans.), in *A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros": 50th Anniversary Jubilee 1958-2008 Commemorative Book*, Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros", Unley, South Australia, November 2008, 50-60; Panagos Papageorgiou, 'The Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of SA Inc.: Part 1', Michael Tsounis (ed.), *Greek Community*

accessible primary sources, which make researching the community feasible, and an abundant catalogue of comparable literature, such as Ikarian migration to North America, and other early Greek migrations to Australia.

Migration historian James Jupp emphasised that Southern European migration, especially Greeks and Lebanese, flourished in Australia post-1869 due to a major factor: the opening of the Suez Canal.⁵⁹ The Suez Canal connected the Mediterranean with the vast 'new' worlds of Australia, New Zealand, South, Southeast and East Asia, and the Pacific, which otherwise were only accessible to Europeans via tedious routes, such as across land or around the southern tip of Africa.⁶⁰ Jupp also highlighted another factor that gave the pre-WWI Mediterranean migrants an edge – the rural nature of both the Mediterranean and Australia.⁶¹ Mediterranean islanders were especially rural, with experience in labouring and farming, which were two predominate areas of their employment in Australia.⁶²

The Ikarrians are often unmentioned and subsumed in larger works on the Greeks in Australia.⁶³ These works, however, provide important period context to the Ikarrian story. Although many overlooked SA during this period, Gilchrist acknowledged the presence of Greek islanders in the four main South Australian ports of Port Adelaide, Port Augusta, Port Pirie, and Port Lincoln.⁶⁴ Wider studies on other Greek islander communities also provide comparative literature, particularly on immigrants from

Tribune, June 2005, 14; Panagos Papageorgiou, 'The Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of SA Inc.: Part 2', Michael Tsounis (ed.), *Greek Community Tribune*, July 2005, 14.

⁵⁹ James Jupp, *Immigration*, 2nd edn., Oxford University Press Australia, Melbourne, 1998, 60-1.

⁶⁰ See: Valeska Huber, *Channelling Mobilities: Migration and Globalisation in the Suez Canal Region and Beyond, 1869-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013; W. Woodruff & L. McGregor, *The Suez Canal and the Australian Economy*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1957, 3-5.

⁶¹ Jupp, *Immigration*, 61.

⁶² Jupp, *Immigration*, 60-3; Charles Price, 'Southern Europeans in Australia: Problems of Assimilation', *The International Migration Review*, 2(3), Summer 1968, 3-5.

⁶³ See: Anastasios Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005; Nicholas Doumanis, 'The Greeks in Australia', in Clogg (ed.), *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*, 58-86; Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1: The early years*, Halstead Press, Broadway, Sydney, 1992; Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*; Anastasios Tamis & Efrosini Gavaki, *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Migration in Australia and Canada*, National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 2002; Elizabeth Kefallinos, 'Migration, Integration, Acculturation: Greek-Australian Women Across Generations', *Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, 16-17(A), 2014, 237-51; Rebecca Fanany & Maria-Irini Avgoulas, 'Greek identity in Australia', in Steven Ratuva (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity*, Springer, Singapore, 2019, 1185-202; Andrea Cleland, 'The Pear Tree: A study of Greek-Australian Families 50 years after migration', in *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the 9th Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, Adelaide, June 2011, 478-89.

⁶⁴ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1*, 117-9 & 239.

Kastellorizo, Ithaca, and Kythera.⁶⁵ There are many studies on other Greek communities in Australia, with their early trials of settlement being an important point of focus.⁶⁶ Piperoglou and Yiannakis in particular have dealt with the perceptions of Greeks in both policy and by the Australian populace.⁶⁷ These many works on the Greeks in Australia serve as important groundwork for Aegean to Australia migration research, while leaving discussion of the Ikarian community as an unfilled gap.

⁶⁵ Peter Prineas, *Katsehamos and the Great Idea: A True Story of Greeks and Australians in the Early 20th Century*, Plateia, Australia, 2006; Gillian Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1979, 41-6; Christos N. Fifis, 'The Pre-World War II Greek Community of Australia: Class Divisions and Trends', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 30(2), 2004, 57-83; Andonis Piperoglou, 'Greeks or Turks, "White" or "Asiatic": Historicising Castellorizian Racial-Consciousness, 1916-1920', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 40(4), 1 October 2016, 387-402; John N. Yiannakis, 'Kalgoorlie alchemy: xenophobia, patriotism and the 1916 anti-Greek riots', *Early Day: Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, 11(2), 1996, 199-211; John N. Yiannakis, *Odysseus in the golden west: Greek migration, settlement and adaptation in Western Australia since 1947*, API Network, Waterford, Western Australia, 2009; John N. Yiannakis, 'Parochialism in Perth: aspects of regionalism amongst Western Australia's Castellorizian community', in *Reading, Interpreting, Experiencing: An Inter-Cultural Journey into Greek letters, Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, special issue, Adelaide, 2015, 97-111; Leonard Janiszewski & Effy Alexakis, 'The "Golden Greeks" from "Diggers" to Settlers: Greek Migration and Settlement during the Australian Gold Rush Era, 1850s-1890s', in *Living in a Cultural Wilderness, Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, special issue, Adelaide, 2017, 159-82; Leonard Janiszewski & Effy Alexakis, 'White Gold, Deep Blue: Greeks in the Australian pearling industry, 1880s-2007', in *Greek Research in Australia*, June 2007, 119-3; Helen Maria Haritos, 'A sense of the past', *Journal of Northern Territory History*, 13, 2002, 57-68; Michael Christie, 'Greek migration to Darwin, Australia, 1914-1921', *Journal of Northern Territory History*, 11, 2000, 1-14; Michael Francis Christie, 'From the islands: a history of Greek settlement in the Top End of Australia, 1914-84', *Working papers on migrant and intercultural studies*, Darwin, 1985; Melissa N. Afentoulis, *Greek Islander Migration to Australia since the 1950s: (Re)discovering Limnian Identity, Belonging and Home*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, 2022.

⁶⁶ See: Andrea Garivaldis, 'Diasporic and Transnational Identities in Selected Short Stories of Greek Australian Writers 1901-2001', thesis, RMIT University, Melbourne, June 2010; Leonard Janiszewski & Effy Alexakis, 'Faces beyond the Greek café: the traditional diversity of Greek-Australian occupational pursuits, 1820s-2010', in *Greek Research in Australia*, June 2011, 400-20; Leonard Janiszewski & Effy Alexakis, 'Greasy spoon dagoes: Sydney's Greek food-catering phenomenon, 1870s-1952', in *Greek Journeys and Philosophical Reflections, Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, special issue, Adelaide, 2019, 186-216; John Powles, B. Hage & D. Ktenas, 'Who came? Who stayed behind? Selection and migration from the Greek island of Levkada', Department of Social Preventive Medicine, Monash Medical School, Prahran, Victoria, 1988; Maria Shialis, 'The Greek-Cypriot Migration to South Australia: An Oral History Study', in *Greek Research in Australia*, June 2009, 213-25; Michael P. Tsounis, 'Australian society and immigrants', *Greek-Australian Review*, 16, September 1973, 11-4 & 18-20; Michael P. Tsounis, *Ethnic schools in Victoria: a report from the investigation of the incidence and nature of ethnic schools in Victoria*, School of Education, Flinders University, Adelaide, 1976.

⁶⁷ Piperoglou, 'Greeks or Turks, "White" or "Asiatic"', 387-402; Andonis Piperoglou, "'Border Barbarisms", Albany 1902: Greeks and the Ambiguity of Whiteness', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 64(4), 2018, 529-43; Andonis Piperoglou, 'Greek Settlers: Race, Labour, and the Making of White Australia, 1890s-1920s', PhD thesis, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 2016; Andonis Piperoglou, 'Rethinking Greek Migration as Settler-Colonialism', *Ergon: Greek/American Arts and Letters*, 2018, 80-4; Andonis Piperoglou, 'Vagrant "Gypsies" and Respectable Greeks: A defining moment in early Greek-Melbourne, 1897-1900', in *Reading, Interpreting, Experiencing*, 140-51; Yiannakis, 'Kalgoorlie alchemy', 199-211; Yiannakis, *Odysseus in the golden west*.

Penny Anagnostou hinted at the notability of the Ikarian community in SA in an entry in Jupp's encyclopedia of *The Australian People*.⁶⁸ Anagnostou stated that:

Between Federation and the beginning of the Second World War, about 1000 Greeks – 70 per cent of them male – had immigrated to SA. In Port Pirie there were Greeks from Kastellorizo, Levisi, Ikaria and Chios, among other places. Port Pirie's Greek population reached 400 or 500 by the mid-1920s, due to there being work available at the BHP smelters. There were 95 Greeks working there in 1916, growing to 362 in 1925.⁶⁹

A compilation by Themis Speis includes a photograph of eighteen Ikarian mine workers in SA dated to the 1910s, confirming their community beginnings in the decade.⁷⁰ The community was discussed in further depth by Ikarian South Australian Eleni Apostolaki-Glaros. In 2008, she wrote and organised a 50th anniversary booklet, self-published by the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia. Apostolaki-Glaros detailed the founding of the Brotherhood, although little is mentioned of the early community pioneers, with a focus on the organisation and its operations.⁷¹ She mentioned the Ikarrians' fervent regional identity as a motivation for the formation of the Brotherhood:

Of course it is their love for Ikaria that drives them, their pride in their Greek heritage, their Ikarian heritage, and their need to get together with their compatriots, the need to be 'all of us' together!⁷²

This study, although providing important historical timelines, aimed at elevating the community, and was to an extent commemorative and hagiographic.

Similarly, renowned historian and Ikarian migrant to Port Lincoln, Michael Tsounis, along with Panagos Papageorgiou, gave an overview of the organisation's beginnings in an article published by the Brotherhood.⁷³ Tsounis noted the length of Ikarian migration as "100 years of more or less continuous migration to Australia and fifty

⁶⁸ Anagnostou, 'Greeks in South Australia', 401-5.

⁶⁹ Anagnostou, 'Greeks in South Australia', 401-2.

⁷⁰ Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, 26, image 17. See in this thesis: Image 5.2.

⁷¹ Apostolaki-Glaros, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia', 50-60.

⁷² Apostolaki-Glaros, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia', 59.

⁷³ Tsounis (ed.), 'Articles Published by the "Greek Community Tribune"'; Nicky Mariam Onti, 'Historian Michael Tsounis Passes Away', *Greek Reporter Australia*, 29 October 2012; Papageorgiou, 'The Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of SA Inc.: Part 1', 14; Papageorgiou, 'The Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of SA Inc.: Part 2', 14.

years of creative collective activity.”⁷⁴ He also noted the Brotherhood’s later involvement in humanitarian work on the island, cementing the idea of a continued connection between the diaspora and Ikaria. In his 1971 PhD thesis, and a subsequent chapter, Tsounis listed the Ikarians as among the most significant of the Aegean islander fraternities in SA, along with Greeks from Chios, Lemnos, Mytilene, and Samos.⁷⁵ These works are useful reference points when beginning research on the formation, organisation, and operations of the Ikarian community.

In an interview, Tsounis reminisced on his pre-WWII migration experience to Port Lincoln, acknowledging that “several other Frantiotes [people of the village Frantato, Ikaria]” had migrated to SA.⁷⁶ In his autobiography, Tsounis again echoed the early Frantiotes of SA, and emphasised the cosmopolitan nature of the Ikarians, who were living abroad in places like Egypt, Turkey, the US, Belgian Congo, Argentina, and elsewhere, as well as in key areas of Greece, such as Crete, the Peloponnese, and Athens.⁷⁷ This is reminiscent of the cosmopolitan Chiots, who hailed from many of Europe’s ports. Tsounis, Georgia Xenophou, and Joanna Tsalikis have also all produced oral histories that included discussions with early Ikarian migrants.⁷⁸

Fifis highlighted the connection of the Ikarians with left-wing politics: “Many [Ikarian] villagers were communists and most still vote for the KKE (Communist Party of Greece). Poverty but also oppression forced people to emigrate.”⁷⁹ Ethnic community radio broadcaster and workers’ rights activist, George Zangalis, detailed the community

⁷⁴ Tsounis (ed.), ‘Articles Published by the “Greek Community Tribune”’. A short commemorative piece published in the newsletter *Historia* briefly discusses the community’s history and acknowledges the age of the community: Yianni Cartledge, ‘110 years of Ikarians in South Australia’, *Historia*, 32, June 2020.

⁷⁵ Tsounis, ‘Greek Communities in Australia’, 1971, 557; Tsounis, ‘Greek Communities in Australia’, 1975, 69.

⁷⁶ Fifis, ‘Michael Tsounis’, 6.

⁷⁷ Michalis Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, self-published, Adelaide, Winter 1991, 6-10 & 22. For more on early Greeks community of South Australia see: Michael P. Tsounis, *The Story of a Community: A short pictorial history of the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia*, Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia, Adelaide, 1991.

⁷⁸ Georgia Xenophou, *Greek Women in South Australian Society: 1923-1993*, Greek Women’s Society of S.A., Adelaide, 1994; Michael Tsounis, Alex Gardini, G. Pezzano, Christos Pneumatikos & Irene Pneumatikos, ‘Migrant Oral History Project (Social History Museums)’, *State Library of South Australia*, OH 12, 1983-1984; Interview with Bill Frangos, conducted by Joanna Tsalikis, *State Library of South Australia*, OH1014/023, 30 September 2013.

⁷⁹ Fifis, ‘Michael Tsounis’, 6. See also: Mick Tsounis, ‘The Greek Left in Australia’, *Australian Left Review*, 1(29), March 1971, 53-60; Toulia Nicolacopoulos & George Vassilacopoulos, ‘Platon: Adelaide’s Greek Workers’ League’, in *Greek Research in Australia*, June 2007, 173-82.

as well, focussing heavily on the Ikarians' leftist political involvement in SA.⁸⁰ Zangalis stated that:

Many of Adelaide's Left had come from Ikaria, the 'Red Island', where even now the residents vote in their majority for the Communist Party. By their own efforts and working together with other democratic, progressive Greeks and later with ALP supporters and members, they were a formidable political force, exercising a major influence in the Greek community.⁸¹

Zangalis discussed many Ikarian South Australian families who had a history of involvement in the Adelaide left and unionism, including members of the Tsounis, Lesses, Speis, Apostolakis, Kourakis, Mavrogiorgis, Tsapaliaris, and Papas families; and noted that WWII was an important turning point for the community's political activism.⁸² Zangalis' work detailed a paramount chapter of the Ikarian story in SA, which greatly aids and contextualises the diverse perspectives of the early community.

There is an integral comparative body of work on the Ikarians of America. Anthony Papalas and John Chrysochoos, among others, have discussed the prevalence of the Ikarian-Americans, particularly on the East Coast.⁸³ Papalas traced the earliest settlements of Ikarians to the 1890s, with Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, being the largest concentration.⁸⁴ These studies have combined important major works on Ikarian history, most notably by Ioannis Melas and Ioannis Zelepos, with the local histories of Ikarian-

⁸⁰ SBS, 'George Zangalis (transcription)', *Unwanted Australians Series*, 2014.

⁸¹ Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities*, 183. See also: Antonis Kalamvogias (Antonios Kalamvogias), *Ikaria – O «Κόκκινος Βράχος»: Χρονικό [Ikaria – The 'Red Rock': A Chronicle]*, Sygchroni Epochi Ekdotiki, Athens, 2016.

⁸² Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities*, 183-91.

⁸³ Anthony J. Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals: Icaria 1600-2000*, Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Wauconda, Illinois, 2005; John Chrysochoos, *Beyond the Blue Ikarian Sea: life in Greece and North America*, 2nd edn., Rosedog Books, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 2014; John Chrysochoos, *Ikaria – Paradise in Peril*, RoseDog Books, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 2010. See also: Nikitas J. Tripodes, *History of the Icarian Greeks of Southern California*, H&P Publications, South Pasadena, California, 2001; Nikitas J. Tripodes, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood', *Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of America*, n.d; G. James Patterson, 'Kafenía and community: coffee houses and Greek life in Aliquippa and Ambridge, Pa., 1938-1941', *Pittsburgh History*, Winter 1991, 147-54; Nicholas H. Batouyios, 'The Early Ikarians of the United States and the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of America "Icaros"', *Ikaria*, 24, 2002, 11-14; Nicholas Diamantides, 'Aristides E. Phoutrides: Harvard's Schizocardiatic Scholar', in Theofanis G. Stavrou (ed.), *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 8, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1992, 75-93; John Sakoutis & George Paralemos, 'Brief History of the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of New York', *Pan-Icarian Convention*, New York, 2016, 25-30; Yiannis S. Tsantes, 'Ιστορία της Ικαριακής, Πανικαριακής Αδελφότητας Αμερικής 'Ο Ίκαρος' 1903', *Pan-Icarian Convention*, New York, 2016, 31-4; Topsy Douris, *Ikarian Tales: A collection of stories about a very unusual island*, self-published, Kindle, 2016; Filia Xilas-Pattakou, *The Pursuit of Happiness: An Ikarian Story*, self-published, Kindle, 2015.

⁸⁴ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 125-52.

Americans.⁸⁵ They do not significantly mention Australia or any Ikarians that may have traversed between Australia, Ikaria, and the US.

Ikaria during the study's scope had three transitions: the mostly autonomous Ottoman Ikaria until 1912; the Ikarian Revolution and the forming of the Free State of Ikaria in July 1912; and the unification with Greece from November 1912.⁸⁶ These transitions directly affected the shifting identities of Ikarian emigrants. Papalas noted that in the early-twentieth century, Ikaria became a 'frontier province', reliant on the American community and community members abroad.⁸⁷ This return of wealth to the island from the diaspora confirms Tsounis' idea of the communities' continued connection with Ikaria and is an important feature of the Ikarian diaspora. Discussing this, Papalas, like Apostolaki-Glaros, emphasised the unique local identity of the Ikarians, which is comparable to the Chiot identity mentioned by Wann.⁸⁸ This thesis explores these local or regional 'islander' identities further, with a focus on SA.

Despite the minimal pre-existing literature, there is a prominent base of Greek islander migration research that allows room for further exploration of the Ikarians in SA. To fill this gap, the existing discussions are combined with wider migration stories of the period, comparable examples, and microhistories as found through archival research.

⁸⁵ See: Ioannis Melas, *Ιστορία της Νήσου Ικαρίας*, Ikarion, Athens, 1955-59; Ioannis Melas, 'Η ιστορία της Ικαρίας: Η μακράϊωνη πορεία του νησιού από τη νεολιθική εποχή έως σήμερα', *Επτά Ημέρες – Η Καθημερινή*, 21 June 1998, 2-6; Ioannis Zelepos, 'Die Insel Ikaria vom Juli bis November 1912', in Vassis, Henrich & Reinsch (eds.), *Lesarten: Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis*, Walter De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 1998, 338-50; Ioannis Zelepos, 'Τα Κάστρα της Ικαρίας', in Κανναδία & Damoulios (eds.), *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου «Η Οχυρωματική Αρχιτεκτονική στο Αιγαίο και ο Μεσαιωνικός Οικισμός Αναβάτου Χίου»*, 26-28 Σεπτεμβρίου 2008, Chios, 2012, 171-82. See also: Anthony J. Papalas, *Ancient Icaria*, Bolchazy-Carducci, Wauconda, Illinois, 1992; Maria G. Bareli, 'Facets of Crisis in a Greek Island: The Ikarian Case', *Practicing Anthropology*, 36(1), Winter 2014, 21-7; Maria Bareli-Gaglia, 'Voyaging in the Sea of Ikarian Commons and Beyond', in David Bollier & Silke Helfrich (eds.), *Patterns of Commoning*, The Commons Strategies Group & Off the Common Press, 2015; Joseph Georgirenes, *A Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos and Mount Athos*, Henry Denton (trans.), W.G., London, 14 July 1677; Giorgos Vasilaros & Philippos Mavrogiorgis (eds.), *Η Ικαρία Μέσα Από Τα Πράκτικα [Ikaria Through the Practices]*, Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Athens, Athens, 1993.

⁸⁶ See: Nikolaos P. Soilentakis, *Η Ελευθέρα Πολιτεία της Ικαρίας: 17 Ιουλίου-5 Νοεμβρίου 1912*, Haralambos Chrysanthakis (prologue), Ekdoseis Kalligrafos, Athens, 2012; Giorgos Pel. Lomvardas, *Αντιστασιακή Προοδευτική Ικαρία*, 2nd edn., Ekdoseis Alfeios, Athens, 2014, 26-9; Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 104-11; Zelepos, 'Die Insel Ikaria vom Juli bis November 1912', 338-50; Sophia Stamouli, *Λαογραφικές Συνθήκες Δημογεροντίας Φαναρίου (Δήμου Αγίου Κηρύκου) Ικαρίας*, Ekdoseis Grigori, Athens, 2005, 11-22. On this period see: Antonis Liakos & Nicholas Doumanis, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 20th and Early 21st Centuries: Global Perspectives*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2023.

⁸⁷ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 134.

⁸⁸ See also: Apostolaki-Glaros, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia', 59; Wann, 'Chiot Shipowners in London', 1.

This contextualises the Ikarians within the global systems of the early-twentieth century, while offering an in-depth insight into the little-discussed community.

Theoretical Framework

This study relies on a theoretical intervention that contextualises the themes of emigration, settlement, community building, and integration.⁸⁹ The separate theoretical phenomena of emigration, immigration, mobility, diaspora, identity, community building, and integration, underpin the primary and secondary sources used in this research, placing them within the wider realms of migration mechanics and forms. Eric Richards suggested that migration can be categorised into three distinct schematic forms, being “first the individual account, second the general narrative of migratory behaviour, and third the grand theories of migration.”⁹⁰ A blending of these three schematic forms is employed in this thesis, connecting microhistories and individual accounts with the larger behavioural narratives and ‘grand’ theories.

Emigration

Emigration, the act of ‘leaving’ one’s home country for another, is characterised by the background, circumstances, reasons, methods, and context for the movement of the migrant case studies. Modern variants of emigration originated and evolved from a combination of sources. Bailyn posed the early Middle Ages, the *Völkerwanderung*, the Industrial Revolution, the forming of new frontiers, the constant expansion of borders and intermingling of peoples, and even the offshore positioning of the British Isles, all as important factors that contributed to modern emigration.⁹¹ To Bailyn, these factors culminated in the transatlantic movement of peoples, which he called “one of the greatest events in recorded history.”⁹² This movement of peoples to the Americas can be seen as a genesis of modern mass migration, as Richards, agreeing with Bailyn, emphasised: “there

⁸⁹ ‘Settlement’ as a larger theme entails dual aspects, thus in this study it is encompassed by theory discussing the immigration process and diaspora formation.

⁹⁰ Eric Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750-1900*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2018, 9.

⁹¹ Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*, Tauris, London, 1987, 4-5.

⁹² Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America*, 5.

was a great structural transformation which caused the massive mobilisation of peoples from one end to the other of the linked oceanic system”.⁹³

Adam McKeown suggested that many historians have recognised industrialisation in Europe and transatlantic movement as key factors in mass global emigration, but have ignored the importance of north and southeast Asian migrations, which “were broadly comparable in size and timing”.⁹⁴ Dirk Hoerder similarly connected global developments in both Asia and Europe to shifts in emigration patterns, such as the fleets of the Chinese Empire (1440s) and Columbus (1492), as well as Portugal’s introduction of slave-trading from West Africa to Iberia, spreading eventually to the Americas, and the use of “state-backed, heavily armed trade” over traditional merchant practices.⁹⁵ McKeown’s and Hoerder’s analyses illustrate the global nature of modern emigration. Freddy Foks additionally saw emigration as driven by settler-imperialism particularly in the ‘Angloworld’, of which settler-colonialism was a key aspect and a utilised system of power.⁹⁶ This system pushed people to the growing colonies, while also pulling people to Britain as the central receiver. By the nineteenth century, Hoerder argued, labour migrations had developed into five major systems:

Africa-to-the-Americas slave migration...the Indian Ocean system with the hemisphere-wide British-Empire imposed system of indenture...the proletarianizing mass migrations from Europe’s peripheral societies to its industrializing core and to US and Canadian industrial and mining regions; and, transcontinentally...the Russo-Siberian system...[and] the northern China-to-Manchuria system.⁹⁷

Britain and Australia would have found themselves being touched by elements of all five systems, especially the first three, creating a deeply interconnected world for Greek islander emigrants to traverse.

⁹³ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 8.

⁹⁴ Adam McKeown, ‘Global Migration, 1846-1940’, *Journal of World History*, 15(2), June 2004, 155.

⁹⁵ Dirk Hoerder, ‘Transcultural Approaches to Gendered Labour Migration: From the Nineteenth-Century Proletarian to Twenty-First-Century Caregiver Mass Migrations’, in Dirk Hoerder & Amarjit Kaur (eds.), *Proletarian and Gendered Mass Migrations: A Global Perspective on Continuities and Discontinuities from the 19th to 21st Centuries*, BRILL, Leiden & Boston, 2013, 42-3.

⁹⁶ Freddy Foks, ‘Emigration State: Race, Citizenship and Settler Imperialism in Modern British History, c. 1850-1972’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 35, 2022, 170-99; Alicia Cox, ‘Settler Colonialism’, *Oxford Bibliographies*, 25 July 2017; Joy Damousi, *Colonial Voices: A Cultural History of English in Australia, 1840-1940*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010.

⁹⁷ Hoerder, ‘Transcultural Approaches to Gendered Labour Migration’, 44-5.

The class of emigrants was paramount when exploring both case studies' emigrations. Many historical emigrations were initiated due to economic reasons, including depressions and famines, which affected the lower and working classes most intensely. The case studies in this dissertation, however, traversed the lower, working, middle, and upper classes, due to sets of circumstances unique to each case. This supports the idea of emigration not being a static phenomenon to certain classes, as Richards further emphasised that it was not always necessarily the poor, but rather those that wanted "economic advantage – for better living standards, a better future for the next generation...This is the universal driver of emigration".⁹⁸ Lucassen and Lucassen also expanded on these ideas, reflecting on the nuances between the various types of emigrants, such as free vs unfree, and labour migrants vs refugees.⁹⁹

Emigration from islands lends a different viewpoint to that of migrations from contiguous regions. Islands offer a defined boundary with an isolated identity within a limited spatial setting, as opposed to mainland cities and township clusters, which are usually more conducive to mobility and cosmopolitanism. Most external influences on islands during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries came via the islands' ports, and with lack of air travel, telephone, or internet, island identities could have remained endogenous for centuries. Gloria Pungetti argued that "European island landscapes also have a unique identity...Island identity is shaped by the local heritage, culture, customs and traditions, and is marked by remarkable architectural, archaeological and historical sites."¹⁰⁰ Pungetti had previously referred to this identity shaping phenomenon as "Islands as 'laboratories'", a term used by others since.¹⁰¹ Pungetti paraphrased Evans, stating that, "islands could be perfect places for the experimental study of human

⁹⁸ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 5. See also: Eric Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution*, Routledge, London & New York, 1973.

⁹⁹ Jan Lucassen & Leo Lucassen (eds.), *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, Peter Lang, Berne, 1997, 10-1.

¹⁰⁰ Gloria Pungetti (ed.), *Island Landscapes: an expression of European culture*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon & New York, 2017, 14.

¹⁰¹ Gloria Pungetti, 'Islands, culture, landscape and seascape', *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, 1(2), December 2012, 53. See also: Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*, John Murray, London, 1859; R.H. MacArthur & E.O. Wilson, *The Theory of Island Biogeography*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1967; M. Patton, *Islands in Time*, Routledge, London, 1996; J. Makhzoumi & G. Pungetti, *Ecological Landscape Design and Planning: The Mediterranean Context*, Spon, London, 1999; I.N. Vogiatzakis, G. Pungetti & A.M. Mannion (eds.), *Mediterranean island landscapes: natural and cultural approaches*, Springer, Dordrecht, Netherlands, 2008.

development, societies and culture within archaeology.”¹⁰² This approach can be transferred to the discipline of history, where historical island cultural developments can be interrogated and their effects, in this case on emigration, can be traced. Vogiatzakis, Pungetti, and Mannion, also regarded Mediterranean island identity as especially different from other islands, stating that “Mediterranean Islands are among the most visited, studied and exploited. They also feature prominently in subjects such as mythology, literature, radio, television and travelling material.”¹⁰³

The romance surrounding Mediterranean islands contributed to the self-image of Aegean islanders and perception of them abroad as emigrants. Panitsa and Dimopoulos furthered this by placing the Aegean islands “at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa...it has long been a meeting point for humans coming from the three continents”.¹⁰⁴ The tri-continental nature of the Aegean is extremely important when understanding the geographic context of the case studies and is paramount in their analysis and comparison. The nature of the Ottoman Aegean is also integral to the story of emigration, as scholars have acknowledged.¹⁰⁵ This included structural changes within the Ottoman world in the nineteenth century, including reforms and nationalist movements, which caused coastal peoples, who were “accustomed to rely on the sea for their survival and were thus highly mobile”, to begin emigrating westward en masse.¹⁰⁶

Richards also noted the uniqueness of islands for studies of emigration, as “[islands] seem to offer less complicated conditions, simpler forces at work, and are commonly insulated from wider national influences. Small islands are especially interesting because they show their main features in relatively manageable form.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Pungetti ‘Islands, culture, landscape and seascape’, 53. See: J.D. Evans, ‘Islands as laboratories of culture change’, in Colin Renfrew (ed.), *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1973, 517-520.

¹⁰³ Vogiatzakis, Pungetti & Mannion, *Mediterranean island landscapes*, 4.

¹⁰⁴ Maria Panitsa & Panayotis Dimopoulos, ‘Cultural heritage hotspots and island landscape diversity in the Aegean Archipelago, Greece’, in Pungetti (ed.), *Island Landscapes*, 139.

¹⁰⁵ Andrekos Varnava, ‘Cypriot Emigration, 1820s to 1930s: Economic Motivations within Local and Global Migration Patterns’, in M. Ruiz (ed.), *Bridging Boundaries in British Migration History: In Memoriam Eric Richards*, Anthem Press, London, 95-122; Nedim İpek & K. Tuncer Çağlayan, ‘The Emigration from the Ottoman Empire to America’, in A. Deniz Balgamiş & Kemal H. Karpat (eds.), *Turkish Migration to the United States: From Ottoman Times to the Present*, The Centre for Turkish Studies at the University of Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 2008, 29-44; Kemal H. Karpat, ‘The “Syrian” Emigration from the Ottoman State, 1870-1914’, [Lieu de publication non identifié], 1984, 285-300; Kemal H. Karpat, ‘The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17(2), May 1985, 175-209.

¹⁰⁶ Karpat, ‘The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914’, 176.

¹⁰⁷ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 20.

These manageable spaces allow historians to work with a type of scale model that fits within the context of its wider world, albeit free from many of the complexities and interconnected routes of major centres. That is not to say that the wider world does not leave its mark on islands, or that nearby islands do not leave marks on each other. It also does not mean that islander emigrants are inherently different in motives and outcomes from mainland emigrants. However, there are differences in the sea space contexts that they originate from, which are shaped differently from cosmopolitan mainland networks. Christos Bakalis, when rationalising the sea spaces in which islands exist, emphasised that, “The Aegean Sea is a hypertext cultural space where vertical and horizontal relations connect different eras and geographies.”¹⁰⁸ To Bakalis, geopolitical conditions intersect with “historical facts of major importance”, leaving permanent marks on the relatively isolated localised island economies, societies, and cultures.¹⁰⁹ These permanent marks are part of the driving forces behind emigration.

Immigration

Immigration, ‘the arriving’, as opposed to emigration, ‘the leaving’, is guided and shaped by the existing policies and power structures of the time. Jupp used the case of Australia to illustrate this, noting that “For most of the past two centuries it has been assumed that an Australian people would be created through continuing immigration. Migration was to be controlled to produce long-term social consequences”, and that periodical immigration reflects era’s policies.¹¹⁰ This was echoed by both Richards, who recounted the racial prejudice of the White Australia Policy (1901-73), including Prime Minister Bruce’s 1925 goal “to keep Australia 98 per cent British”; and Panayi, who emphasised the shift in Britain from an ‘open door’ immigration policy to a “continual tightening of the restrictions” between 1815 and the Aliens Act of 1905.¹¹¹ Furthering this, Kathleen Paul

¹⁰⁸ Christos Bakalis, ‘Tobacco Networks in the Aegean Islands’, *Advances in Historical Studies*, 5(2), 2016, 65.

¹⁰⁹ Bakalis, ‘Tobacco Networks in the Aegean Islands’, 65-6.

¹¹⁰ Jupp, *Immigration*, 151-2.

¹¹¹ Eric Richards, *Destination Australia: Migration to Australia since 1901*, UNSW Press, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2008, 106; Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain: 1815-1945*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1994, 42-3; Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 2014, 61-3. See also for the White Australia Policy (1901-1973): Jupp, *Immigration*, 75-8; Piperoglou, “Border Barbarisms”, *Albany 1902*, 529-43; Piperoglou, ‘Greek Settlers’; Piperoglou, ‘Greeks or Turks, “White” or “Asiatic”’, 387-402. See also for the shift in Britain from an ‘open door’ policy to the Aliens Act (1905): Robert Winder, *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain*, Little, Brown, London, 2004, 112-9; Leo Lucassen, *The*

noted that “Migration has a long history as a political tool in Britain, and many groups have been welcomed or discouraged according to their perceived value.”¹¹² When immigrating, Greek migrants navigated these discriminatory policies and ideologies, and at times conflicted with them, to rationalise their place in their new homes and communities.

The ways in which immigration happens are also distinguishable features, such as the phenomena of assisted and unassisted migration, free migration, chain migration, familial migration, forced or coerced migration, and return migration. By taking these methods into consideration, one can determine much of the ‘why’ and ‘how’ a migrant has immigrated, as well as differentiate when analysing their mobility. Richards on discussing these modes of mobility noted that “This is an extendable list which, taken together, and with much more detail, offers a straightforward and reasonable explanation of migration in modern times.”¹¹³

Offering an explanation, the Marxist approach to immigration, as described by Eytan Meyers, concludes that “economic factors and a class-based political process shape immigration policies.”¹¹⁴ Hoerder and Kaur furthered this, noting the Eurocentric nature of immigration, as well as its man-driven nature, where slaves and indentured workers of colour were treated separately from white and European migrants, and terms such as ‘worker’ and ‘migrant’ became loaded “with the unspoken connotation of maleness.”¹¹⁵ Phizacklea and Miles discussed the British (and extending to Australian) case, noting that migrant labour became an inextricable feature of capitalism and acted as a geographically

Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850, University of Illinois Press, Urbana & Chicago, 2005, 27-9; Evan Smith & Marinella Marmo, *Race, Gender and the Body in British Immigration Control: Subject to Examination*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2014, 22-3; Amy J. Lloyd, ‘Emigration, Immigration and Migration in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *British Library Newspapers*, Gale, Detroit, 2007; John A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910*, Oxford University Press, London, New York & Toronto, 1971, 22-47.

¹¹² Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London, 1997, 65. See also: Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*, Pluto Press, London, 2010; John Solomos, *Race, Ethnicity and Social Theory*, Routledge, London & New York, 2023; Daniel Renshaw, *Socialism and the Diasporic ‘Other’: A comparative study of Irish Catholic and Jewish radical and communal politics in East London, 1889-1912*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2018.

¹¹³ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 3-6.

¹¹⁴ Eytan Meyers, ‘Theories of International Immigration Policy – A Comparative Analysis’, *The International Migration Review*, 34(4), Winter 2000, 1247-1250.

¹¹⁵ Amarjit Kaur & Dirk Hoerder, ‘Understanding International Migration: Comparative and Transcultural Perspectives’, in Hoerder & Kaur (eds.), *Proletarian and Gendered Mass Migrations*, 3-4.

mobile solution in times of labour supply issues.¹¹⁶ Due to its economic importance, Castles, de Haas, and Miller, saw international immigration as a 'central dynamic' within the globalised world.¹¹⁷

Historian of immigration to Britain, Panikos Panayi, offered his own ideas for the 1815-1945 period, suggesting that traditional theories of push, pull, and enabling factors, were prevalent, especially for the British case.¹¹⁸ He listed these factors as "differentiating between political refugees and economic migrants", population growth, autocratic political systems, the development of shipping, immigration policy, and chain migration, among others.¹¹⁹ Colin Holmes echoed these factors, noting "Some immigrants...came as political refugees, others...arrived as slaves, visible reminders of an expanding metropolitan...and still others...entered as businessmen or workers".¹²⁰

These factors can be combined with microhistorical immigration elements, which Richards characterised as including more specifically "the voyages, the conditions, the circumstances, the personnel, the destinations, the conditions of receptions, and the subsequent lives of the immigrants."¹²¹ These microhistorical immigration 'tools' can paint both positive and negative images of the 'success' of an immigration, ranging from celebratory immigrant 'success stories' to migrant persecutions. These 'tools' are useful in understanding the wider systems of immigration at play, and how an individual's status may have been perceived on arrival.

The reception of immigrants is affected by policies and notions of class, race, and gender, as well as the cultivated nationalism of the nation of arrival. Social anthropologist Ernest Gellner saw nations as evolving out of the fragmentation of empires, in places where "A sense of loyalty and identification on the part of the population is one of the factors which contribute to such cohesion as happens to be achieved."¹²² In the cases of

¹¹⁶ Annie Phizacklea & Robert Miles, *Labour and Racism*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston & Henley, 1980, 10-1. See also: Robert Miles, *Racism & Migrant Labour*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston, Melbourne & Henley, 1982.

¹¹⁷ Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas & Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 5th edn., Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, & New York, 2014, 5. See also: Stephen Castles & Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2000.

¹¹⁸ Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain*, 3.

¹¹⁹ Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain*, 3-4.

¹²⁰ Colin Holmes, 'Introduction: Immigrants and Minorities in Britain', in Colin Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, George Allen & Unwin, London, Boston, & Sydney, 1978, 13.

¹²¹ Richards, 'Emigrants and Historians', 134-5.

¹²² Ernest Gellner, 'Scale and Nation', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 3, 1973, 1-2.

Britain, a colonial centre, and Australia, a colonial periphery, national identity was centred on 'Britishness'.¹²³ In Britain, 'Britishness' was portrayed as an attainable 'goal' for new immigrants, grounded in religion, language, race, and political affiliation, leading to the creation of hybrid identities amongst migrant communities.¹²⁴ Nineteenth-century British identity itself was imbued with a connection to a classical past that incorporated Greek culture.¹²⁵ This classical ideal, however, was chiefly concentrated in the 'educated elite', who saw the Greeks as an Occidental 'Self'. This perception did not always translate to the regular British person, who often perceived the Greeks as an Oriental 'Other'.¹²⁶

In Australia, the myth of the population being '98 per cent British' was heavily elevated during the early-twentieth century, however, as Jupp emphasised, it "has never been true."¹²⁷ McMinn noted that "In the 1880s something in the nature of a national ferment had undoubtedly begun to work in Australia: out of it came both the White Australia Policy and a strong anti-immigration movement in working-class circles."¹²⁸ Certain 'unwanted' and 'undesirable' immigrants to Britain and Australia threatened the ideas of 'Britishness' and 'whiteness', inspiring stronger nationalist identities and racial

¹²³ For Britain see: Winder, *Bloody Foreigners*, 8-9; John K. Walton, 'Britishness', in Chris Wrigley (ed.), *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, Massachusetts, Oxford & Melbourne, 2003, 518-9. For Australia see: John Eddy, 'Australia: Nationalism and nation-making from federation to Gallipoli', in John Eddy & Deryck Schreuder (eds.), *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa first assert their nationalities, 1880-1914*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, Wellington, London & Boston, 1988, 131-59; Jan Keane, *National Identity and Education in Early Twentieth Century Australia*, Emerald Publishing, Bingley, Bradford, West Yorkshire, 2018, 111-4.

¹²⁴ Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, 182-4. See: Panayi, 'Ethnicity, identity and Britishness', in *An Immigration History of Britain*, 136-99.

¹²⁵ See: Yiorgos Anagnostou, *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America*, Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio, 2009, 7; Fiona Rose-Greenland, 'The Parthenon Marbles as icons of nationalism in nineteenth-century Britain', *Nations and Nationalism*, 19(4), 2013, 654-73.

¹²⁶ Margarita Miliiori, 'Europe, the classical polis, and the Greek nation: Philhellenism and Hellenism in nineteenth-century Britain', in Beaton & Ricks (eds.), *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, 2009, 66; Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism', 52-3. For Occidentalism see: Meltem Ahiska, 'Occidentalism: The Historical Fantasy of the Modern', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102(2), Spring to Summer 2003, 351-79; James G. Carrier, 'Occidentalism: The World Turned Upside-down', *American Ethnologist*, 19(2), May 1992, 195-212; Fernando Coronil, 'Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories', *Cultural Anthropology*, 11(1), February 1996, 51-87; Jukka Jouhki & Henna-Rückka Pennanen, 'The Imagined West: Exploring Occidentalism', *Suomen Antropologi*, 41(2), Summer 2016, 1-10. For Orientalism see: John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, theory and the arts*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1995; Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, Penguin Books, London, 1995; William V. Spanos, *The Legacy of Edward W. Said*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana & Chicago, 2009.

¹²⁷ Jupp, *Immigration*, 57. See also: Gill Bottomley, 'Ethnicity, Race and Nationalism in Australia: Some Critical Perspectives', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 23(3), August 1988, 169-83.

¹²⁸ W.G. McMinn, *Nationalism and Federalism in Australia*, Oxford University Press Australia, Melbourne, 1994, 97.

prejudices against the migrant 'Other'.¹²⁹ Early Mediterranean immigration elevated these nationalist tendencies in both nations, spurring on anti-Greek riots in Australia, and the existence of British "Racialist and xenophobic pressure groups and political parties" between 1845-1945.¹³⁰ In other Anglosphere countries, similar receptions occurred, with Greeks becoming the target of both the Ku Klux Klan in Utah during the 1920s and anti-Greek riots in South Omaha, Nebraska in 1909 and Toronto in 1918.¹³¹ Jowan Mahmud in a study on the Kurdish diaspora observed that "Migrated people, in general, pose a threat to the homogeneous nation-state".¹³² This was true in both Britain and Australia, where loyalties of migrants were often questioned, and diaspora communities treated as 'suspect communities' by officials and the public, such as during WWI.¹³³

From the 1870s-1960s, a 'creation of whiteness' emerged. This called into question the racial ambiguity of Mediterranean peoples, particularly Southern Europeans. For the Chiotis of London, the important themes contrasting their immigration were the British nationhood ideas of religion, empire, and liberalism, which they intersected with significantly. Currently, there are shifting ideas on race and nationhood, which mostly complicates the Ikarian case, and to a lesser extent the Chiotis. This especially surrounds the debate on the ideas of British race patriotism and 'Britishness',

¹²⁹ See: Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain*, 102-27; Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*, 100-9; George M. Fredrickson, *The Comparative Imagination: On the History of Racism, Nationalism, and Social Movements*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, Los Angeles & Oxford, 1997, 116; Eric Richards, 'British Emigrants and the Making of the Anglosphere: Some Observations and a Case Study', in Payton & Varnava (eds.), *Australia, Migration and Empire*, 13-43; Piperoglou, 'Greeks or Turks, "White" or "Asiatic"', 387-402; Evan Smith, 'Shifting Undesirability: Italian Migration, Political Activism and the Australian Authorities from the 1920s to the 1950s', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 2021, 1-26; Varnava, 'Border Control and Monitoring "Undesirable" Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1945-1959', 132-76.

¹³⁰ Richards, *Destination Australia*, 39 & 67; Yiannakis, 'Kalgoorlie alchemy', 199-211; Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain*, 6-7.

¹³¹ Helen Zeese Papanikolas, 'Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 38(2), Spring 1970, 158 & 178-81; John G. Bitzes, 'The Anti-Greek Riot of 1909 - South Omaha', *Nebraska History*, 51, 1970, 199-224; Thomas W. Gallant, Michael Vitopoulos & George Treheles, *The 1918 Anti-Greek Riot in Toronto*, Thessalonikeans Society of Metro Toronto, Toronto, 2005; Hansard - Jim Karygiannis, 'The 1918 Anti-Greek Riot in Toronto', House of Commons, Parliament 38(1), 120, Canada, 21 June 2005.

¹³² Jowan Mahmud, *Kurdish Diaspora Online: From Imagined Community to Managing Communities*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2016, 4.

¹³³ See: Smith & Varnava, 'Creating a 'Suspect Community': Monitoring and Controlling the Cypriot Community in Inter-War London', 1149-81; Evan Smith, Andrekos Varnava & Marinella Marmo, 'The Interconnectedness of British and Australian Immigration Controls in the 20th Century: Between Convergence and Divergence', *The International History Review*, 21 February 2021, 1-21; Yianni Cartledge & Andrekos Varnava, 'Making and Monitoring a 'Suspect Community': Australian Attacks on Greeks and the 'Secret Census' in 1916', *Australian Historical Studies*, forthcoming.

and transnational 'whiteness'.¹³⁴ Both ideas are utilised in this thesis in the context of the case studies.

The scale and types of immigration are certainly defined by the policies and culture of the nation of arrival. These, coupled with key push, pull, and enabling factors, allow nations to control immigration as a means of furthering the national agenda. As an experience, immigration is shaped by the prevailing ideologies, racial ideas, gender attitudes, and national myths, leading to both positive and negative outcomes, such as immigrant 'success stories', or the othering of immigrant communities. These outcomes can be examined through a combination of macrohistorical factors with microhistorical 'tools.'

Mobility

Mobility is a core concept of both emigration and immigration. The mobility that Aegean islanders displayed was ultimately based on a series of notable systems and networks that extended from the Aegean and Mediterranean, to wider Europe, Africa, Asia, and into the Pacific. This sea space is shared between localised and isolated communities, as well as nations, and colonial and imperial powers. For this study situated in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the British and Ottoman imperial networks are particularly important. Isabella and Zanou have emphasised this, describing the

¹³⁴ 'Whiteness' developed in the late-1800s and dominated British and Australian thinking until the 1960s (until discussions on 'multiculturalism' began). Southern Europeans had 'conditional whiteness' at different times. The Ikarians particularly had to negotiate shifting ideas of 'whiteness' in the early-twentieth century. See the debate on Britishness, British race patriotism, whiteness, and Anglo-Saxonism, between Marilyn Lake, James Curran, Christopher Waters, Neville Meaney, and others, in *History Australia*, vols. 10 & 12, 2013 & 2015. See specifically: James Curran, 'Australia at empire's end: Approaches and arguments', *History Australia*, 10(3), 2013, 23-35; Marilyn Lake, 'British world or new world? Anglo-Saxonism and Australian engagement with America', *History Australia*, 10(3), 2013, 36-50; Christopher Waters, 'Nationalism, Britishness and Australian history: The Meaney thesis revisited', *History Australia*, 10(3), 2013, 12-22; Neville Meaney, 'The Problem of Nationalism and Transnationalism in Australian History: A Reply to Marilyn Lake and Christopher Waters', *History Australia*, 10(2), 2015, 209-31; Daniel Geary, Camilla Schofield & Jennifer Sutton, 'Introduction: Toward a global history of white nationalism', in Daniel Geary, Camilla Schofield & Jennifer Sutton (eds.), *Global White Nationalism: From Apartheid to Trump*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2020, 1-28. See also: Jonathan Hyslop, 'The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself 'White': White Labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa Before the First World War', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12(4), 2002, 398-421; Hans Kundnani, *Eurowhiteness: Culture, Empire and Race in the European Project*, Hurst, London, 2023; Bill Schwarz, *The White Man's World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011; Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, Routledge, London & New York, 2008; Noel Ignatiev, *Treason to Whiteness is Loyalty to Humanity*, Verso, New York, 2022; Marilyn Lake & Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2008.

Mediterranean Sea space as being ‘multiplied’ and “broken down into a series of sub-Mediterraneans, the Aegean, the central Mediterranean corridor, the Eastern Mediterranean...Even smaller units, such as port cities or islands”, while also situating it within imperial spaces, including Britain, France, Russia, Venice, Austria-Hungary, Spain, and the Ottoman Empire.¹³⁵

As the Aegean islands are being examined as islands of exit, they also are viewed as islands within mobility networks. Additionally, for this case study, Australia and Britain are examined as highly connected islands of arrival, where their contexts come into conflict with the isolated cultures of the Aegean islands. They are likewise viewed as part of wider immigration systems, stemming from imperial and colonial networks established throughout the modern period, many of which were based on trade and transportation of goods. Transnationalism (extensions beyond the boundaries of nation states) and translocalism (connections between localities created and experienced by migrants through their movement) are common threads of this mobility, and of the wider story of migrations.¹³⁶ Essentially, this dissertation views the sea space as the enabling factor to the case studies’ mobility, and ponders ideas such as those posed by Vryonis, who confirmed the relation between Greek-speaking peoples and sea mobility.¹³⁷ This mobility is linked to Musgroves’ idea of heavily mobile migrants becoming the ‘migratory elite’.¹³⁸

Diaspora & Identity

As diasporas are at the heart of the case studies, a deeper look at what ‘diaspora’ entails guides this research. ‘Diaspora’ is intertwined with concepts of ‘identity’, leading to an intersection of national, regional, local, diasporic, religious, and ethnic self-identities.¹³⁹ Sukanya Banerjee traced the concept of diaspora to the 250 BCE Jews of Alexandria,

¹³⁵ Maurizio Isabella & Konstantina Zanou, ‘The Sea, its People and their Ideas in the Long Nineteenth Century’, in Maurizio Isabella & Konstantina Zanou (eds.), *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century*, Bloomsbury Academic, London & New York, 2016, 1-4.

¹³⁶ See: Brenda S.A. Yeoh & Francis Collins (eds.), *Handbook on Transnationalism*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, UK, 2022; Jacqueline Knörr, ‘Transnationalism’, *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, John Wiley & Sons, 2018; Dirk Hoerder, ‘Translocalism’, *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, Blackwell Publishing, 2013.

¹³⁷ See: Speros Vryonis Jr, *The Greeks and the Sea*, Aristide D. Caratzas, New York, 1993.

¹³⁸ F. Musgrove, *The Migratory Elite*, Heinemann, London, 1963, 45.

¹³⁹ See: Stuart Hall, ‘Cultural Identity and Diaspora’, in Jonathan Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1990, 222-37.

however, the term did not get large attention until the early-twentieth century, where it was applied to Jewish, Armenian, and Greek communities.¹⁴⁰ Following this, 'diaspora' became an applicable term to any migrant community, "as disparate as "ethnics, exiles, expatriates, refugees, asylum seekers, labor migrants, queer communities, domestic service workers, executives of transnational corporations, and transnational sex workers.""¹⁴¹ This has sparked a surge of academic interest.¹⁴² Richards posed a challenging but useful criticism to diaspora historians:

the word 'Diaspora' has also become heavily theorised, complicated with cultural and ethnic meanings relating to identity and solidarity with the homelands and among migrant groups around the globe. This type of migration history has soaked up a greater part of the attention and resources of the present generation of historians – as part of 'Identity History' and 'Contribution History'. It nourished national history, is full of celebration and fuels patriotic fervour and also yields a spate of theses about, for instance, the Scottish, the Irish, the Danish presence in Australia and elsewhere in the world. It feeds the ethnic hunger for identity and recognition, but it also supplies, almost as a side effect, much detailed work about the mechanisms and genealogies of migration.¹⁴³

This offers an insight into the importance of diversifying larger studies and making meaningful connections with diasporas in focus. It is certainly important to synthesise identity history with migration and world mechanisms, which ultimately provides a more comprehensive and interconnected analysis.¹⁴⁴ There are several recent examples of how this interconnected approach can be employed successfully.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Sukanya Banerjee, 'Introduction', in Sukanya Banerjee, Aims McGuinness & Steven C. McKay (eds.), *New Routes for Diaspora Studies*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana, 2012, 1-2.

¹⁴¹ Banerjee, 'Introduction', 2; Khachig Tölölyan, 'The Contemporary Discourse of Diaspora Studies', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 27(3), 2007, 648. See also: James Clifford, 'Diasporas', *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(3), August 1994, 302-38.

¹⁴² Banerjee, 'Introduction', 1.

¹⁴³ Richards, 'Emigrants and Historians', 136.

¹⁴⁴ See also: Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen & Patrick Manning, 'Migration History: Multidisciplinary Approaches', in Lucassen, Lucassen & Manning (eds.), *Migration History in World History: Multidisciplinary Approaches*, BRILL, Leiden & Boston, 2010, 6.

¹⁴⁵ One is seen in a chapter by Bridget Brooklyn, who analysed the individual narrative of Dr Mary Booth and her role in support of British immigration to Australia, within the context of the overarching global phenomena of empire, feminism, and nationalism. See: Bridget Brooklyn, 'Mary Booth and British Boy Immigration: From Progressivism to Imperial Nationalism', in Payton & Varnava (eds.), *Australia, Migration and Empire*, 229-52. Additionally, there is a volume on the Sikh diaspora, edited by Michael Hawley, with the purpose of "provid[ing] a sense of highly contextualized and remarkably diversified range of diasporic engagement between Sikhs and Others, and between Sikhs themselves, by broadening

Understanding the role of the nation in both the individual's migration story and the grand global migration themes are paramount. Benedict Anderson defined the nation as an entity that is 'imagined': "it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."¹⁴⁶ Members of these 'imagined communities' share a perception of a common culture, language, and historical myth – or 'mythistory' as Gourgouris used for the case of Greece.¹⁴⁷ Diasporas, like the larger nations they reside in, are also imagined, holding to a common lore of place of origin, migration experience, culture, language, and perception by the wider community. Pnina Werbner and Joel Kuortti have both successfully employed the use of 'imagined diasporas' in their studies of Manchester Muslims and South Asian Women in North America, respectively.¹⁴⁸ Werbner concluded that "Each 'community' is a cultural world which is constructed through performative imaginings by networks of social actors continuously mobilised and renewed by these performances."¹⁴⁹ Kuortti further characterised imagined diasporas as both transnational and embedded entities.¹⁵⁰ These are integral analyses, especially for this dissertation's case studies who exemplify both prominent transnational and intranational behaviours.

Chain migration serves as an important community building tool for the imagined diasporas, as well as a major pull factor. 'Chain migration', the flow of migrants from related families or particular localities to the same destination, was coined by Australian demographer Charles Price in his 1963 study of Southern European migrants to Australia.¹⁵¹ Price characterised chain migration as "a system admirably suited to migrants who receive no public assistance but must find their way with their own

the parameters": Michael Hawley (ed.), *Sikh Diaspora: Theory, Agency, and Experience*, BRILL, Leiden, The Netherlands, 2013, 1-2.

¹⁴⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edn., Verso, London & New York, 2006, 6.

¹⁴⁷ Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1996, 15. See also: Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013; Nicholas Doumanis, *A History of Greece*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2010.

¹⁴⁸ Pnina Werbner, *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims*, James Curry, Oxford, & School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 2002; Joel Kuortti, *Writing Imagined Diasporas: South Asian Women Reshaping North American Identity*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2007.

¹⁴⁹ Werbner, *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims*, 61.

¹⁵⁰ Kuortti, *Writing Imagined Diasporas*, 4.

¹⁵¹ Charles Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1963, 108-10. See: Andonis Piperoglou, 'The Memorialisation of Hector Vasyli: Civilisational Prestige, Imperial Association and Greek Migrant Performance', in Payton & Varnava (eds.), *Australia, Migration and Empire*, 257.

resources.”¹⁵² Bin Yu highlighted the importance of chain migration, stating that “social networks (especially family units), have played significant roles in the international migration process.”¹⁵³ This analysis was true as chains of familial and compatriot migrations were core features of minority diasporas in both Australia and Britain, as Richards, Panayi, and Winder acknowledged.¹⁵⁴ As such, chain migration is also a key element in this dissertation.

More broadly, identity and self-identification are important aspects of diasporas. When discussing ‘Greeks’ during this study’s focus period, a range of identities and nationalities were at play, and there is no ‘clear’ definition outside of holding Greek citizenship (which many did not). Many ‘Greeks’ were Greek-speaking Ottoman citizens. Others, such as the Ionian Islanders and Cypriots, were British citizens, the Dodecanese Islanders were Italian from 1912, and some islands, such as Crete, Samos, and to a lesser extent Ikaria and Chios, self-governed at times. The main two distinguishing features that categorised many of these Ottoman, Italian, and British citizens as ‘Greek’ was their shared language and Orthodox faith, which were both coupled with an ‘imagined’ nationalistic self-identity. Many, however, also balanced their own regional and islander identities with their broader nationalities and ‘Greek’ ethnic identities. This balance was extremely profound among the Chiot, Ikarians, and other islanders.

Identity within diasporas is also an extension of the imagined community. This ‘imagining’ builds a new identity, a diasporic identity, such as ‘Greek Briton’, ‘Anglo-Greek’, ‘London Greek’, or ‘Greek Australian.’¹⁵⁵ Identity can also be moveable for many diasporas depending on context. In the case of Greek islanders, they transition between Ottoman, Greek, Aegean islander, regional (i.e., Chiot or Ikarian), new national (British or

¹⁵² Price, ‘Southern Europeans in Australia’, 7.

¹⁵³ Bin Yu, *Chain Migration Explained: The Power of the Immigration Multiplier*, LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, New York, 2008, 4-5.

¹⁵⁴ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 100; Richards, *Destination Australia*, 30; Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, 65-7; Winder, *Bloody Foreigners*, 143.

¹⁵⁵ For diaspora identities see: Werbner, *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims*, 7-21. Examples for the Greek cases: Iannis Hassiotis, ‘Past and present in the history of modern Greek diaspora’, in Alfonso Kokot & Tölölyan (eds.), *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New Directions in Theory and Research*, Routledge, London & New York, 2004, 93-9; Rodanthi Tzanelli, ‘Unclaimed Colonies: Anglo-Greek Identities Through the Prism of the Dilessi/Marathon Murders (1870)’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 15(2), June 2002, 169-91; Andrea Garivaldis, ‘The evolution of Greek Identity through the Study of Selected Short Stories of Greek Australian Writers: 1901-2001’, in *Greek Research in Australia*, June 2009, 280-90; Chrysanthi Baltatzi, ‘Third Generation Ethnic-cultural Identities within a Diaspora and Multi-ethnic Context: A Greek-Australian Adolescent Case Study’, PhD thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, 2015; Doreen Rosenthal, Judith Whittle & Richard Bell, ‘The Dynamic Nature of Ethnic Identity Among Greek-Australian Adolescents’, *Journal of Social Psychology*, 129(2), 249-58.

Australian), cosmopolitan, and diaspora identities. These mobile and pluralised identities help migrants navigate the ever-changing globalised world. A feature of this research is the analysis of the persistence of certain identities, particularly regional and diaspora identities, which can be seen in use over a century after the initial immigration phases.¹⁵⁶ The specific 'Chiot' and 'Ikarian' identities are unique to the case studies, as they intersect with both broader Greek and Ottoman identities, however, they remain as constants through time, and are present in the diaspora. Essentially, 'Chiot' and 'Ikarian' are seen as distinct sub-ethnicities within 'Greek' identity, which includes unique and localised variations on Greek-speaking Orthodox cultural practices. Within the diaspora, these identities evolve to become the hybrid 'British Chiot', 'London Chiot', 'Ikarian Australian', and 'Ikarian South Australian' identities. These terms have been utilised in this study.

Due to these local islander identities, localism was a present feature of both case studies. This extended not only to identity preference, but preference for their home regions, later seen in funding, sponsorship, and community support for arriving compatriots and for their home islands, and the creation of region/island specific fraternities. There is a growing field of research on migrant localism, and it is an acknowledged feature in both of this dissertation's cases.¹⁵⁷

Memory and nostalgic identity are core aspects of diasporic identity. Diasporic identity is not only held together by memory and nostalgia for culture, language, religion, and history, but of the migration experience itself, as well as the hardships and reasons

¹⁵⁶ Calvocoressi, 'The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora'; Wann, 'Chiot Shipowners in London'; FC0141/3348B, secret, Terezopoulos to Administrative Secretary, 6 February 1956; Cartledge, '110 years of Ikarians in South Australia'; Tsounis (ed.), 'Articles Published by the "Greek Community Tribune"'; Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*.

¹⁵⁷ See: Nicholas Doumanis, *Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean: Remembering Fascism's Empire*, Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, Hampshire & London, St Martin's Press, New York, 1997, 14; Nicholas Doumanis & Kathy Kallos, 'Sydney's Post-war Greeks in Popular Memory, the Greek Australian Archive Project', *Studies in Oral History: The Journal of Oral History Australia*, 44, 2022, 182-8; Sema Erder, 'Where Do You Hail From: Localism and Networks in Istanbul', in Caglar Keyder (ed.), *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, Rowman & Littlefield, London, Boulder, New York & Oxford, 1999, 161-72; Vangelis Calotychos, 'Kazantzakis the Greek?: Travel and Leisure, Hunger and Pathos, Localism and Cosmopolitanism in Nikos Kazantzakis's Journeying', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 28(1), 2010, 189-217; Alex Weingrod, 'Immigrants, Localism, and Political Power: An America-Israel Comparison', *International Journal of Politics*, 1(1), 1971, 90-103; Mark Evans, 'Bridging the Trust Divide: Understanding the Role of 'localism' and the 'local' in Cultural Policy', in V. Durrer, A. Gilmore, L. Jancovich & D. Stevenson (eds.), *Cultural Policy if Local: New Directions in Cultural Policy Research*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2023, 27-49; Silvia Galandini, Gareth Mulvey & Laurence Lessard-Phillips, 'Stuck Between Mainstreaming and Localism: Views on the Practice of Migrant Integration in a Devolved Policy Framework', *Journal of International Migration & Integration*, 20(3), 2019, 685-702.

that propelled the migration.¹⁵⁸ Diasporas in a sense are a snapshot of the disenfranchised of their generation. This is certainly the case for the Chiotis (with memory of the Chios Massacre) and Ikarians (with memory of the poverty and regional turmoil). In recent times, memory of migration has been expressed by diaspora members via the arts (such as the play by Carapetis), memoirs and reminiscences (which are utilised in this dissertation), and by Greek filmmakers.¹⁵⁹

Community Building & Integration

Community building and integration can be seen as linked yet opposed ideas. Both concepts are prominent features of diasporas and are not mutually exclusive, existing plurally.¹⁶⁰ A deeper understanding of the theoretical framework that connects and distinguishes between these concepts is paramount, as they form the basis of this study's investigation into diasporas and their identities post-settlement.

As a concept, 'community building', or the idea that a community can be constructed, flows on from the imagining that precedes it. Building communities is also the logical next step for diasporas, and a form of cultural transplantation which differs depending on the context it enters. However, community building is not constricted to diasporas from static geographic places, and can encompass those who share religion, class, gender, sexuality, politics, ideology, and experience, among a multitude of other facets.¹⁶¹ On defining a community, political scientist Amitav Acharya suggested that:

¹⁵⁸ See: Joy Damousi, 'Legacies of War and Migration: Memories of War Trauma, Dislocation and Second Generation Greek-Australians', in Niklaus Steiner, Robert Mason & Anna Hayes (eds.), *Migration and Insecurity: Citizenship and Social Inclusion in a Transnational Era*, Routledge, London & New York, 2013, 31-47; Doumanis, *Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean*; Jay Winter, 'The Generation of Memory': Reflections on the "Memory Boom" in Contemporary Historical Studies', *Archives & Social Studies*, 1, 2007, 363-97; Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2006;

¹⁵⁹ For example, see: Phillip E. Phillis, *Greek Cinema and Migration, 1991-2016*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2020.

¹⁶⁰ For the concept of community in use, see: Kathy Burrell, 'Urban Narratives: Italian and Greek-Cypriot representations of community in post-war Leicester', *Urban History*, 32(3), 2005, 481-99.

¹⁶¹ See: Alexander Horstmann & Jin-Heon Jung (eds.), *Building Noah's Ark for Migrants, Refugees and Religious Communities*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2015; Dora Ion, *Kant and International Relations Theory: Cosmopolitan Community-Building*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2012; Oleg Kharkhordin & Risto Alapuro (eds.), *Political Theory and Community Building in Post-Soviet Russia*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2011; Lois Ann Lorentzen, Joaquin Jay Gonzalez, Kevin M. Chun & Hien Duc Do (eds.), *Religion at the Corner of Bliss and Nirvana: Politics, Identity, and Faith in New Migrant Communities*, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 2009; Jim Ife, *Community Development in an Uncertain World: Vision, Analysis and Practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013.

A community has two key features. First, it implies a social, rather than purely instrumental, relationship...Second, a community is not just a group of culturally similar people. While people in communities have cultural and physical attributes in common, they are also people who “display mutual responsiveness, confidence, and esteem, and who self-consciously self-identify”.¹⁶²

Nicholas Van Hear noted that community building is a notable aspect of migration narratives, as diasporas form natural transnational and translocal communities, with shared experiences and backgrounds.¹⁶³ Due to this, diaspora groups have the potential to translate into long-term and well-established communities, as can be seen in the aforementioned Muslims of Manchester or South Asians of North America, as well as the of Cypriots of Britain and Australia, who are somewhat comparable in time, period, and location to this study’s cases.¹⁶⁴

In a sense, following Anderson’s thoughts, just as the diaspora can be considered ‘imagined’, the communities they form are also ‘imagined’, basing their connections on their shared diasporic heritage.¹⁶⁵ Werbner furthered this idea, describing the community as “imagined and, equally critically, [it] is enacted and actualised through cultural performance, or incorporated through organisational mobilisation.”¹⁶⁶ In contrast, Anthony D. Smith contested Anderson’s ‘imagining’, seeing communities as not strictly constructed, but often naturally emerging, with national identities walking the borderline between an “evolved ethno-cultural community and a class-constructed social category.”¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, this research leans closer to Anderson, Werbner, and others’ perception of communities as being inherently constructed, or ‘imagined’, as they are ‘built’ on a diaspora’s pre-conceived self-notions and ‘mythistory’, which are often drawn from their communal memory.¹⁶⁸ These communities ultimately become ‘laboratories’

¹⁶² Amitav Acharya, ‘What is a community?’, in *Towards Realizing an ASEAN Community: A Brief Report on the ASEAN Community Roundtable*, ISEAS Publications, Singapore, 2004, 27-8. See also: Donald J. Puchala, ‘The Integration Theorists and the Study of International Relations’, in Kegley & Wittkopf (eds.), *The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives*, Random House, New York, 1984, 186-7.

¹⁶³ Nicholas Van Hear, *New Diasporas: The mass exodus, dispersal and regrouping of migrant communities*, UCL Press, London, 1998, 6-7.

¹⁶⁴ See: Werbner, *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims*; Kuortti, *Writing Imagined Diasporas*; Varnava & Smith, ‘Dealing with Destitute Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1914-1931’, 277-312.

¹⁶⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

¹⁶⁶ Werbner, *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims*, 61.

¹⁶⁷ Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*, Routledge, London & New York, 1998, 10.

¹⁶⁸ Gourgouris, *Dream Nation*, 15. See: Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Werbner, *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims*; Kuortti, *Writing Imagined Diasporas*; Mahmud, *Kurdish Diaspora Online*;

like their islands of origin, allowing for various contexts, systems, and forces to be examined in manageable-sized case studies.¹⁶⁹

Two distinct kinds of community building are analysed in this study – an initial phase, and a long-term view. Sociologist Dan Chekki hinted at the diverse nature of communities and community building, stating “that communities, like any other multi-faceted phenomena, are subject to analysis from different points of view.”¹⁷⁰ In addition, Van Hear acknowledged that migrant community building can encompass different phases, such as initial and long-term, or similarly “recent migrants or people with migratory backgrounds.”¹⁷¹ This dissertation’s initial phase envelops the community building exemplified within the first two or three decades of settlement. For the Chiots of London, this spans from 1815-30s; and for the Ikarians, from the 1910s-30s. These then transition into the long-term community building that extends vastly beyond these early years and incorporates second and third waves of immigration, and second and third generation descendants.

Integration is the process of both individuals and diasporic communities becoming one within a new society or destination. Schneider and Crul defined ‘integration’ as “the implicit ideal of (a minimum degree of) cultural homogeneity...a prerequisite for social cohesion. In the European political debate, ‘successful integration’ is often discursively juxtaposed with the scenario of ‘parallel societies’”.¹⁷² This becomes more pronounced as communities develop and is a long-term process that extends as far as the present day. Integration, like the emigration and immigration it stems from, is also heavily influenced by policy and procedures. This is directly tied to such policies as the White Australia Policy and Britain’s Aliens Act.¹⁷³ The idea of ‘assimilation’, where

Ulrich Beck, ‘Cosmopolitanism as Imagined Communities of Global Risk’, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(10), October 2011, 1346-61; Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, ‘Transgressing the Nation-State: The Partial Citizenship and “Imagine (Global) Community” of Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers’, *Signs*, 26(4), Summer 2011, 1129-54; Karen O’Reilly, *The British on the Costa Del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities*, Routledge, London & New York, 2000; Aoileann Ní Éigeartaigh, Kevin Howard & David Getty (eds.), *Rethinking Diasporas: Hidden Narratives and Imagined Borders*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 2007.

¹⁶⁹ Pungetti, ‘Islands, culture, landscape and seascape’, 53; Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 20.

¹⁷⁰ Dan A. Chekki (ed.), *Dimensions of Communities: A Research Handbook*, Garland Publishing, New York & London, 1989, 4.

¹⁷¹ Van Hear, *New Diasporas*, 7.

¹⁷² Jens Schneider & Maurice Crul, ‘New insights into assimilation and integration: Introduction to the special issue’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(7), July 2010, 1144.

¹⁷³ Richards, *Destination Australia*, 106; Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain*, 42-3; Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, 23-6; Daphne Arapakis, ‘Ethnic Compartmentalisation: Greek Australian

“immigrants and/or their offspring can become *similar*” to the mainstream culture, is a direct tool of policy used in managing homogeneity and immigration.¹⁷⁴ This forefronts questions of migrant contribution and Garrard’s idea of the ‘good migrant’ that assimilates and contributes to society, as opposed to anti-migrant sentiments and stereotypes (such as ‘lazy’, ‘job stealing’, and ‘foreign labour’).¹⁷⁵ Ben Braber further argued that the shift in nineteenth-century Anglosphere categorisations from ‘foreigner’ to ‘alien’, caused migrants to have a quicker ‘need’ for assimilation.¹⁷⁶ Integration, and the connected ‘assimilation’ idea, also conflict with the self-identity of migrants, becoming an interesting ‘blurred line’ for examination.

Andonis Piperoglou identified two prominent perceptions of Greek migrant integration into Western society. Firstly, he noted that Greeks navigated the racial and colonial ideologies of their new frontiers:

Greek people were seen as white because of their civilizational heritage and generative claim to European origins. Yet, because of eugenic racial thinking that racially categorized people from the Mediterranean region to be a lower subset of the archetypal white-European race, Greeks were simultaneously positioned as racially *distinct from other whites*. They were *outside-yet-firmly-within* the structure of settler colonialization.¹⁷⁷

Secondly, “Greek migration becomes a facet of settler-colonialism and not merely a story of adaptation and contribution in a new land.”¹⁷⁸ Jupp confirmed this, seeing Southern Europeans as replacements for the mass-deported ‘Kanaka’ Pacific Islander labourers of late-nineteenth-century Australia.¹⁷⁹ This places both case studies within the conflicted space between being marginalised migrants, and being products and propellers of colonialism. Max Kaiser further examined the impacts of settler-colonialism on Jewish

(Dis)Associations with White Australia and Indigenous Sovereignty’, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 44(6), 2023, 799-817.

¹⁷⁴ Schneider & Crul, ‘New insights into assimilation and integration’, 1144. See also: Russell McGregor, *Indifferent Inclusion: Aboriginal People and the Australian Nation*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 2011, 98-118.

¹⁷⁵ Garrard, *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910*, 99-102. See: Richards, *Destination Australia*, 109.

¹⁷⁶ See: Ben Braber, *Changes in Attitudes to Immigrants in Britain, 1841-1921: From Foreigner to Alien*, Anthem Press, London, 2020.

¹⁷⁷ Piperoglou, ‘Rethinking Greek Migration as Settler-Colonialism’, 80-4. See also: Anagnostou, *Contours of White Ethnicity*, 1-2.

¹⁷⁸ Piperoglou, ‘Rethinking Greek Migration as Settler-Colonialism’, 80-4. See also: Arapakis, ‘Ethnic Compartmentalisation’, 799-817.

¹⁷⁹ Jupp, *Immigration*, 78-9.

settlement and integration in Australia, stating “Jewish people sit within Australia’s racial order as settlers that are ‘not quite white’ or ‘marginal whites’” – an assessment that also applies to Greeks.¹⁸⁰ As London was an imperial metropole and SA a settler-colonial outpost, this dissertation’s Greek migrant experiences can be viewed as part of settler-colonial history.¹⁸¹ This point of contention, of whether or not early Greek migrants were an outside addition to their places of settlement, or a vehicle of the pre-existing system, is an intersecting link between diasporic community building and wider integration.

Additionally, there is a distinction in this thesis when referring to Chiot and Ikarian communities and the Greek community at large, which are all treated as separate entities. Despite the Chiots and Ikarians often participating within the broader Greek community, they are still distinct from it and unique within it. This lends to compelling conflicts of identity, community, and integration within the case studies.

In all, this study relies heavily on an approach that combines all possible and accessible research elements, from the individual and local histories to the systematic global narratives. By incorporating a range of theories, a thorough understanding of diasporic migrant communities, their identities, settlement, community building, and integration, is intended to be gained. Furthermore, this study treats diasporas and the communities they build as ‘imagined communities’ and ‘laboratories’, where various situations, contexts, and identities can be applied, cross-examined, theorised, and discussed, and outcomes can be concluded.¹⁸²

Methodology

This dissertation employs an analysis and interrogation of a diverse range of primary sources. The key primary sources fall within two categories: official, and unofficial sources. At times unofficial sources can be embellished or omit crucial information, which is why a balance between unofficial and official sources drives this study. In doing so, different perspectives are also explored, offering further insight and understandings of key figures, events, policies, and movements.

¹⁸⁰ Max Kaiser, *Jewish Antifascism and the False Promise of Settler Colonialism*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, 2022, 19.

¹⁸¹ See: Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*, Cassell, London & New York, 1998.

¹⁸² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6; Pungetti, ‘Islands, culture, landscape and seascape’, 53.

Official sources that have been consulted include: government and policy records, accessed via the National Archives UK (TNA), the British Library, the King's College London archives, the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), the National Archives of Australia (NAA), and Australian government gazettes, among others; British diplomatic records found notably in compilations such as by Philip Argenti; Hansard parliamentary discussions; census records (where over 1,800 UK census entries were consulted); and archival records, such as shipping and naturalisation records, found in TNA, the NAA, and the State Records of South Australia. These sources shed light on the inner workings of the forces in control of migration, such as government agencies, as well as the attitudes of government officials towards migrants and the migration experience.

Unofficial sources include private archives, such as those held by Chiot descendants (including Christopher Long), and the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia; Australian and British newspapers; as well as any relevant artwork, poetry, and prose. Unofficial sources fill the gaps that official sources leave, such as individual experiences, stories, migration experience specifics, records of community formation and activity, and the attitudes and perceptions of the wider populace toward migrants. Memoirs are also an integral unofficial source, as although they are written after the fact, they are often based on first-hand experiences and family oral histories – especially those written by diaspora members. These distinctive sources can bridge a gap between official sources, unofficial sources, and secondary literature.

Additionally, a small-scale oral history project with ethics approval has been conducted. I interviewed two children/grandchildren of the first case study migrants (Chiot of London); and four children/grandchildren of the second case study (Ikarians of SA). The interviews explored questions of community, integration, and identity, as well as memory of their ancestor(s). These interviews, although only a small component of this dissertation, have helped unravel many of the missing links in the current archival record. However, oral history and memory study theory warns us about the inconsistencies of memory, the embellishments of nostalgia, and the frequency of omissions, thus oral history is intended to be used alongside and compliment archival evidence.

Finally, this study adapts a comparative approach. Firstly, as the case studies are explored, meaningful comparisons are made with similar cases drawn from secondary

literature. Lastly, in concluding the thesis, both case studies are compared side-by-side in conjunction with the core themes. This comparative approach ultimately rationalises and gives meaning to the cases examined, interprets the research presented, and summarises the key findings.

Chapter Layout

This thesis is presented in two parts, each with three chapters. *Part I: Chiots in London*, is made up of three themed chapters covering the emigration, settlement, community building, and integration of the London Chiots. This section follows the Chiots and their migration to London, exploring their diaspora from 1815-1910.

Chapter 1 looks at the emigration of the Chiots out of Chios, tracing their journey from the Aegean to London. This covers the period of 1815-22, focussing on the beginnings of the London Chiot community, and the role economics and chain migration played in bringing Chiots to London. A historical look at Chios and the nature of the Chiots, especially of the merchant class, is utilised and is key to establishing the narrative. This chapter also explores other early emigrations of Chiots preceding and during this period, such as to other Aegean islands, Ottoman territories, and European and Mediterranean ports. This chapter is finalised with an analysis of how Chiots emigrated, including the methods and procedures they followed, as well as the policy in Britain that enabled their immigration.

Chapter 2 discusses the settlement and initial community of the Chiots in London between 1822-30s. This covers an integral and unprecedented period in Chios' history, notably the context of the Chios Massacre (1822), the Greek War of Independence (1821-32), and the subsequent Kingdom of Greece and Ottoman Empire tensions, where Chios was often a centre point. This chapter looks at the beginnings of the Greek Brotherhood of London and the early initiatives of the community. Microhistorical elements, such as migration stories of individuals, are a valuable resource in contextualising this period. As are arrival, shipping, and genealogical records, and other related sources, including memoirs and community archives. This chapter delves deeply into how the initial community grew in London, setting the scene for the long-term community building that the Chiot diaspora exemplified.

Chapter 3 follows the London Chiots further, exploring their long-term community building and integration into London and wider British society, up until the 1910s. This chapter investigates various elements of the British Chiots, including community practices, endogamy, politics, class (as part of the 'cultivated elite'), and business, and includes a brief look at their role in empire, especially in other British cities, such as Liverpool and Manchester, and in India. Naturalisation and business records, community and personal archives, memoirs and reminiscences written by Chiots and their descendants, and oral histories conducted as part of this study, are all utilised. The nature of the Chiot diaspora and their identity formation is a capstone to this section.

Part II: Ikarians in South Australia mirrors the first section, having three chapters following the main themes of emigration, settlement, community building, and integration. It begins with Chapter 4, which delves into Ikarian emigration, looking at the methods and modes of movement out of Ikaria, as well as the forces at play on the island. To do this, a historical sketch of Ikaria is presented. This includes a dramatic period in Ikarian history, notably the Ikarian Revolution (1912) and their transition from an Ottoman possession (pre-1912) to autonomous state, and unification with the Kingdom of Greece (late-1912). Ikaria's prior history during the Ottoman period and their relative autonomy as a 'Privileged Island', as well as the wider 'Eastern Question' that the Aegean experienced, also contextualise the island's migratory mechanisms. The chapter then surveys early Ikarian emigrations, notably to other Aegean islands, Ottoman centres, and the US, before their arrival in Australia. The policies, methods, and ways in which Ikarians came to Australia are then established.

Chapter 5 explores the settlement and initial community building of the Ikarians in South Australia, particularly in Port Pirie and Adelaide, between 1910-30s, and includes WWI. Like the Chiots, chain migration and individual microhistories help piece together the narrative of this early settlement period. Thus, shipping, arrival, employment, and sponsorship records, as well as memoirs and reminiscences, guide this chapter. A deep look at the early years of the Ikarian migrants, as well as the challenges they faced, their mobility (via the 'Port Pirie system'), and their place in a new society, are paramount. Finally, the ways Ikarians interacted with policy, discrimination, acceptance, and the wider communities are divulged and interrogated.

This overlaps with Chapter 6, which focuses on the long-term community building, identity, and integration into wider South Australian society. This chapter has the parameter of 1945, although brief discussion of the Ikarian diaspora up until the present day is included (including political activism and the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood). This long-term focus aims to explore the Ikarrians after those initial years and unravel the facets of the pluralistic communities and identities that they built. Ikarian Australians and their interactions with WWII is a particular focus of this chapter. A continued look at arrival and sponsorship records, memoirs, naturalisation and conscription records, and community archives is paramount to this chapter, as is the use of oral history interviews carried out during this project.

Both sections are compared in the conclusion, which places the case studies side-by-side, tying their shared and contrasting experiences together with the key themes of emigration, settlement, community building, integration, and identity. This unravels how these migrations represented the world they inhabited, from the major global trends down to the individual migratory stories. In doing so, the ways in which both communities emigrated, settled, built communities, and integrated in their respective under-researched periods helps fill an evident scholarly gap in Aegean islander emigration to the Anglosphere during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Part I

Chiots in London

Chapter 1: Chiot Emigration before 1822

The earliest recorded Chiot in London was during the early modern period: Angeletta Vlachos of Chios, who married London merchant William Castelyn in the 1540s.¹ Angeletta and William were married during the earliest years of the chartered Levant Company, where England had a virtual trade monopoly in Ottoman domains.² Angeletta was the heir and eldest daughter of her father Michel Vlachos, however, details of her life in England are not clear.³ Her sister also married an English merchant, Robert Bye, and they resided in Chios.⁴ Little is known of the Vlachos family of Chios, however, in recent times, a link has been made between them and the more famous Rodocanachi family.⁵ The Bye and Castelyn families, along with the Martyn family, were interrelated merchant circles with business in Chios. Marrying into the Vlachos family was a strategic economic move for all the families involved, as having family members at both sides of their shipping routes was important in securing trade. Robert Bye's son, Richard Bye, born in Chios and nephew of Angeletta, emigrated to London in 1601.⁶

This chapter sets the foundation of this dissertation's first case study: the Chiots of London. Panayi in his study of London as a migrant city, discussed the Chiot diaspora that fled the massacre. He noted that in the nineteenth century, a Greek mercantile diaspora network emerged in the Ottoman regions, and that its movements had their genesis in the 1822 Chios Massacre.⁷ This thesis aims to extend Panayi's research and establish that the movement from Chios to London began before 1822. To do this, this chapter explores Chiot emigration until 1822. It divides these earlier migrations into

¹ Johnathon Harris & Heleni Porfyriou, 'The Greek diaspora: Italian port cities and London, c. 1400-1700', in Donatella Calabi & Stephen Turk Christensen (eds.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, 79.

² See: Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, Frank Cass & Co., London, 1964.

³ Will of Willyam Castlyn, Mercer, London, 7 February 1548, TNA: PROB 11/32/39; Nina Green, 'THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES PROB 11/32/39', *Oxford Shakespeare*, 2019; Nina Green, 'THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES PROB 11/34/212', *Oxford Shakespeare*, 2009.

⁴ Will of Sir Roger Martyn, Alderman of London, London, 28 January 1574, TNA: PROB 11/56/48; Nina Green, 'THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES PROB 11/56/48', *Oxford Shakespeare*, 2007.

⁵ See Rodocanachi (Vlachou) family: Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Schilizzi Family*, self-published, London, 1990, 10.

⁶ Arthur Edwin Bye, *History of the Bye Family and Some Allied Families: Initial Letters, Coats of Arms, and Many of the Illustrations by the Author*, Correll Printing Co., Easton, Pennsylvania, 1956, 194-5.

⁷ Panikos Panayi, *Migrant City: A New History of London*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 2020, 125-6.

three periods: pre-1800, hinging on small, irregular migrations of Chioti for diverse reasons; 1800-15, where migrations were notably driven by the Levant Company; and 1815-22, a shift propelled by the Napoleonic Wars and growing Chiot mercantilism.

The class distinctions of emigrants leaving Chios are also emphasised. Although it is easy to assume that emigrants were most often the poorest in society, Richards noted that it was not necessarily the poor, but rather those that wanted “economic advantage – for better living standards, a better future for the next generation...This is the universal driver of emigration”.⁸ The Chioti were a prime example of this. An exploration of their emigration from Chios and contextualising it in the nineteenth-century world is paramount when establishing their story.

To achieve this, a sketch of Chios’ history is firstly needed. This commences with an examination of the island’s Genoese occupation and how it contributed to Chiot identity. This is followed by exploring Chios’ place in the Ottoman Empire and the wider Aegean, including their connections with the Phanariots, the idea of ‘two Chioses’, and the cosmopolitan nature of the island. The early Chiot emigrations in their home region, particularly to Italian port-cities (such as Genoa, Livorno, and Trieste), Syros, Istanbul, Izmir, the Danubian Principalities, and the Black Sea region, are also explored with a brief look at the longer view of those migrations throughout the nineteenth century. This discussion leads to the initial arrival of Chioti in the Anglosphere, up until 1815, and then following 1815 until 1822. Understanding this firmly established pre-1815 diaspora network is integral in determining the path and success of the diaspora post-1815 and, more vividly, post-massacre (1822), which is discussed in the following chapter.

A Historical Sketch of Chios

Chios is a large island in the northern Aegean Sea, between 3 and 5 kms from Anatolia (Map 1.1).⁹ The historical population of Chios has fluctuated, however, in the early-nineteenth century Chios had well-over 100,000 inhabitants, making it one of the

⁸ Eric Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750-1900*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2018, 5.

⁹ Philip P. Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios: Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports*, The Bodley Head, London, 1932, ix. Note: Chios was also referred to as ‘Chio’, ‘Scio’, ‘Khios’, ‘Hios’ and ‘Sakız’ during the nineteenth century.

Aegean's busier centres.¹⁰ Islands, like Chios, are distinguished from their adjacent mainland, as they are isolated landscapes that transform when touched by the outside world.¹¹ This caused unique, separate and localised island identities to form. This is true of most Mediterranean islands, which have existed at an ever-changing crossroads of human movement and study.¹² Richards highlighted the accessibility of researching islands, as they "show their main features in relatively manageable form."¹³ Following these ideas, Chios can be seen as a paramount 'laboratory' for study. Richards also identified the diverse types of migrations that emigrants exhibit, including coerced migration, free migration, and chain migration, as discussed in this dissertation's introduction.¹⁴ Chiot emigrants demonstrated all three of these, so it is important to differentiate when analysing their mobility through history.

Genoese Chios

Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Chios came under the control of the *Maonesi*, headed by the Giustiniani family.¹⁵ Chios was first occupied by the Genoese in 1346 after a 'scramble' to occupy the Byzantine Aegean between Genoa and Venice. Genoa had dispatched a galley fleet under command of businessman Simone Vignoso, who offered a treaty that saw Chios' Byzantine nobility remain, as well as Genoese protection from Venice.¹⁶ The Genoese soon reorganised their administration as the *Maonesi*, or *Maona* in singular form, an early private company, supported by Genoese investors. Emperor John V Paleologos officially ceded Chios to the *Maonesi* in 1363 in return for an

¹⁰ William St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*, 2nd edn., Cambridge Open Book Publishers, Cambridge, 2008, 78.

¹¹ Gloria Pungetti, 'Islands, culture, landscape and seascape', *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, 1(2), December 2012, 51-4.

¹² I.N. Vogiatzakis, G. Pungetti & A.M. Mannion (eds.), *Mediterranean island landscapes: natural and cultural approaches*, Springer, Dordrecht, Netherlands, 2008, 4; Antonis Hadjikyriakou, 'The Respatialization of Cypriot Insularity during the Age of Revolutions', in *The French Revolution as a Moment of Respatialization*, De Gruyter, 2019, 149-66; Antonis Hadjikyriakou, 'The Ottomanisation of Cyprus: Towards a Spatial Imagination beyond the Centre-Province Binary', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 25(1), 2016, 83-98.

¹³ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 20.

¹⁴ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 3-6.

¹⁵ See: Hieronimo Giustiniani, *History of Chios*, Philip P. Argenti (ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1943; Dimitrios Rodocanachi, *Ιουστινιάναι-Χίος*, Typois Penieri Printezi, Syros, 1900; Georgios I. Zolotas, *Ιστορία της Χίου*, A(I), P.D. Sakellariou, Athens, 1923, 247-52. Note: 'Giustiniani' is also spelled 'Justiniani'.

¹⁶ Giustiniani, *History of Chios*, xvii-xx.

annual tribute of 500 gold hyperpyron.¹⁷ The nearby islands of Ikaria, Fournoi, Psara, and Samos were also absorbed into the company for some time, however, Chios remained the epicentre.¹⁸

The *Maonesi* created a feudalistic-type system of wealth creation on Chios, taxing local farmers and drawing revenue from the alum and mastic industries, which was then shared among the shareholders in Genoa.¹⁹ The system was similar to a colonial aristocracy, where a Genoese minority, most of whom did not reside on the island, held administration.²⁰ Calvocoressi likened the enterprise of the *Maonesi* to the English and Dutch East India companies.²¹ Argenti also made an imperialist connection, noting how it created and propagated an 'elitism' through education, as "the Chian members [were] returning for their education to Italy in a manner reminiscent of the British in India."²²

The success of the company and the favourable lifestyle in Chios eventually propelled an immigration of Genoese families to the island. 100 members of the Giustiniani family alone settled on the island, and many married into the already prominent noble Chiot families, whose names have persisted through the centuries, such as Argenti, Mavrogordato, and Maximo.²³ During the period, as much as 20% of the island's population was of Italian descent.²⁴ The seventeenth-century British traveller Bernard Randolph saw the *Maonesi's* remnants in Ottoman Chios: "The Inhabitants are

¹⁷ Giustiniani, *History of Chios*, xx.

¹⁸ F.W. Hasluck, 'Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish Conquest', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 17, 1910-11, 151-81.

¹⁹ Laura Balletto, 'Chio dei Maonesi sulla fine del Trecento (dagli Atti del notaio Donato di Chiavari)', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 20(1), 1990, 133-47; George Finlay, *A History of Greece*, 5, H.F. Tozer (ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1877, 71-2.

²⁰ Philip P. Argenti, 'Introduction to Hieronimo Giustiniani's *History of Chios*', in Giustiniani, *History of Chios*, xvi.

²¹ Peter Calvocoressi, 'From Byzantium to Eton: A Memoir of Eight Centuries', *Encounter*, 57(6), 1 December 1981, 22.

²² Argenti, 'Introduction to Hieronimo Giustiniani's *History of Chios*', xx.

²³ Vlasto noted that the Giustinianis saw themselves as descendants of Roman Emperor Justinian, and Argenti noted that the noble Chiot families (such as the Rallis, Rodocanachis, and Vlastos) claimed descent from Byzantine nobility. This may have influenced the joining of these two 'noble Roman' families on Chios. See: Dr Alexander M. Vlasto, *XIAKA or "The History of the Island of Chios from the Earliest Times down to its Destruction by the Turks in 1822"*, original 1840, A.P. Ralli (trans.), privately printed by J. Davy & Sons, London, 1913, 28-9; Philip P. Argenti, *Libro D'Oro de la Noblesse de Chio*, 1, Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 101-5 & 129; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865: The Founder of the Greek Community in London*, self-published, London, 1986, 7-10. See also: 'Laurentios (Nikoalos) Mavrogordato', Christopher Long, 11 February 2008 (last modified); 'Emmanuel Petros MAXIMO', Christopher Long, 20 June 2007 (last modified); 'Giovanni (Ambrosios) Argenti', Christopher Long, 12 December 2004 (last modified).

²⁴ Philip P. Argenti & H.J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios: Volume I*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1949, 8-9.

most *Greeks*, of which many are of the Church of *Rome*. Here are several good Churches which remaine (sic) since the time the *Genoueses* had possession of the Island.”²⁵ The island’s notable Catholic minority descended from this era.²⁶

The legacy of the *Maonesi* persisted as part of Chiot folklore and was evident in the identity of the nineteenth-century emigrants, despite its pre-modern origins.²⁷ Calvocoressi made the connection with his own family: “my surname combines the Italian Calvo with the Greek Coressi.”²⁸ Others used traditionally Italian first names, such as Augusto, Francesco, and Lorenzo; and surnames, such as Casanova, D’Andria, and Grimaldi.²⁹ Many of the wealthier Chiot emigrants would later opt to use Italian spellings of their traditionally Greek names, such as: *Petrocochino* instead of *Petrokokkinos*; *Rodocanachi* instead of *Rhodokanakis*; and *Schilizzi* instead of *Skilitzis*.³⁰

Ottoman Chios

In 1566, Chios was conquered by Kapudan Piali Pasha, and became an Ottoman possession (Image 1.1).³¹ At the time of Ottoman conquest, all twelve Genoese *governatori* (‘governors’) had the Giustiniani surname.³² To incorporate Chios into the Ottoman realm, Sultan Suleiman I ordered the death or exile of the island’s Genoese ruling class, and their replacement with local and Ottoman representatives.³³ Instead of death, however, Piali

²⁵ Bernard Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago (or Arches): Sea of Constantinople, and Gulph of Smyrna; With the Islands of Candia, and Rhodes*, John Venn, Theater, Oxford, 1687, 46-7.

²⁶ Charles A. Frazee, ‘The Greek Catholic Islanders and the Revolution of 1821’, *Eastern European Quarterly*, 13(3), Fall 1979, 315-26; Charles Frazee, ‘Catholics’, in Richard Clogg (ed.), *Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a Plural Society*, Hurst & Company, London, 2002, 27-8.

²⁷ See: Argenti & Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios: Volume I*; Philip P. Argenti & H.J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios: Volume II*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1949.

²⁸ ‘Calvo’ means ‘bald’ in Italian; and ‘Coressi’ (Κορέσης) could derive from the Greek words for ‘daughter’, ‘haircut’ or ‘satiety’. See: Roger Adelson, ‘Interview with Peter Calvocoressi’, *The Historian*, 55(2), Winter 1993, 236.

²⁹ Argenti and Zolotas list the given names and surnames found in Chios that originate in Genoa. See: Argenti, *Libro D’Oro*, 141-3; Georgios I. Zolotas, *Ιστορία της Χίου*, A(II), P. D. Sakellariou, Athens, 1923, 208-10.

³⁰ Mihail Dimitri Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce, d’Albanie et de Constantinople*, self-published, Paris, 1983, 378, 398 & 406; Catsiyannis, *The Schilizzi Family*, 3-4.

³¹ Helen Long, *Greek Fire: The Massacres of Chios*, Abson Books, Abson, Wick, Bristol, 1992, 169.

³² Philip P. Argenti (ed.), *Chios Vincta, or, the Occupation of Chios by the Turks (1566) & their Administration of the Island (1566-1912): Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports and Official Dispatches*, Sir Stephen Gaselee (preface), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1941, c; ‘Anonymous letter describing the Occupation of Chios by the Turks in 1566 from a Mahonese, to a member of the Genoese Government’, Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genoa, 48 in Argenti (ed.), *Chios Vincta*, 119.

³³ Argenti (ed.), *Chios Vincta*, cviii-cxii. See also: George Finlay, *The History of Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination*, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh & London, 1856, 85-91.

Pasha allowed the *Maonesi* to flee to Kaffa (modern-day Feodosia, Crimea), in exchange for significant tribute, signalling the official end of Genoese Chios.³⁴



Image 1.1: Fresco of Kapudan Piali Pasha in the Throne Room of the Palace at Valletta, Malta.³⁵

Under the Ottomans, Chios became a trade centre and was mostly self-governed. The legacy of the Genoese company in Chios enabled a culture of ‘entrepreneurship’ among the wealthy, linking them into the new Ottoman trade network centred on Istanbul, Izmir, and the Black Sea.³⁶ This heavy economic integration into Ottoman society also opened the pathway to Chiot autonomy.

Throughout the Ottoman period, Chios was home to diverse industries, which provided employment and prosperity for many even outside of the mercantile class. The largest industry on Chios was the production of mastic gum, a sweet, edible, and versatile

³⁴ Argenti, *Chios Vincta*, cxi.

³⁵ ‘Piali Pasha’, *La Presa di S. Elmo a di 23 Ging° 1565*, fresco, Throne Room of the Palace at Valletta, Malta, in Argenti (ed.), *Chios Vincta*, front matter.

³⁶ Maria Christina Chatziioannou & Gelina Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids: Sea routes and maritime business, 16th -20th centuries*, Kerkyra Publications, Athens, May 2006, 18-20; Olga Katsiardi-Hering, ‘City-ports in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean from the mid-sixteenth to the nineteenth century: urban and social aspects’, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 26(2), 1 December 2011, 162.

tree sap unique to the island, used to flavour breads, and make liquor, sweets, and chewing gum. The island's administration was divided into villages and districts, with the twenty-one 'mastic villages' being administered separately and directly by notable Ottomans, who saw the product as a commodity. Chiot who lived in these villages worked primarily in producing mastic and were noted to have "enjoyed unrestricted religious liberty, and their churches had belfries."³⁷ These privileges were certainly the result of the status of mastic in the Empire. American statesman and traveller Henry Dearborn noted in 1819 that "Mastic must be considered as one of the most important productions of the island", but the island also produced wheat, barley, wine, oil, oranges, lemons, and bergamot-citrons, as well as turpentine, glue, cotton, and silk.³⁸ Helen Long added figs, almonds, wax, and leather to that list, as well as trade in rice, alum, and soap.³⁹ These items were shipped throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions by the entrepreneurial merchant class.

Despite production being in the hands of local farmers and artisans, the merchant class benefited the most from these industries. This was realised when Chios, due to its economic success, was granted a level of autonomy, with the merchant class becoming an administrative aristocracy under the *demogerontes* system of elected (or co-opted) local leaders.⁴⁰ These local leaders administered the island under or on behalf of an Ottoman governor.⁴¹ This autonomy was likely instituted gradually to Chios and may have evolved from appointed local leaders. However, it was fully realised by the eighteenth century. The system also maintained some continuity of the hierarchy created under the *Maonesi*, thus not disrupting local rule. The Chiot *demogerontes* held power outside the island as well and could sway the Sultan, as "through their representative at Constantinople [they] often succeeded in obtaining the dismissal of an unfriendly Turkish Governor of the island."⁴²

³⁷ Vlasto, *XIACA*, 130-1.

³⁸ Henry A.S. Dearborn, *A Memoir on the Commerce and Navigation of the Black Sea, and the Trade and Maritimes Geography of Turkey and Egypt*, II, Well & Lilly, Boston, 1819, 240-6, in Nikolaos K. Papagiannakis K., *Chios 1822-1912: From Massacre to Liberation: Selections from the Literature of the Period*, The Chian Federation, New York, 2012, 8-13.

³⁹ Long, *Greek Fire*, 21.

⁴⁰ Note: *Demogerontes* (δημογέροντες) translates to 'the people's elders'. Long, *Greek Fire*, 22 & 165-6; Philip P. Argenti (ed.), *Diplomatic Archive of Chios, 1577-1841: Volume I*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1954, xxvii-xxviii.

⁴¹ Ronald E. Robinson, 'Non-European foundation of European imperialism: sketch for a theory of collaboration', *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*, V, 1972, 117-42.

⁴² Dumesnil, Vice-Consul for France at Chios, to Antoine Raymond Jean Gualbert Gabriel De Sartine, Comte D'Alby, Minister of Marine at Paris, Chios, 10 January 1780, no. 12 in Argenti (ed.), *Diplomatic Archive of Chios, 1577-1841*, 34-5. [Original: No. 6 B¹, 1014, Correspondance Consulaire de Scio, 1773-1792, Fonds

Their representatives were often members of Chiot merchant families living in Istanbul, as well as deputations of Chiot nobles that were sent from the island. One famous deputation, known as the *Deputati*, were imprisoned, and sent to Istanbul by the local Ottoman governor in 1718, as they opposed his “violat(ion) of a local custom”. Which exact custom was unclear, and the Sultan’s physician, Karaoglani, an Orthodox Ottoman, successfully interceded on behalf of the *Deputati*.⁴³

The *demogerontes* system was not atypical of Chios. Elsewhere in the Aegean region and former Byzantine territories, similar systems were instituted, often under different names, such as *proestoi*, *kodjabashis*, and *archontes*, among others.⁴⁴ Cyprus, for instance, had a similar *demogerontes* system established in 1830.⁴⁵ On conquest, the Ottomans even incorporated much of the remaining Byzantine nobility into the Ottoman government.⁴⁶

The aristocratic Chiot merchant families had close connections with the Phanariots. The Phanariots were a merchant class of Orthodox Ottomans, based in the Fener quarter (*Phanar*) of Istanbul, and originating in the educated Christian traders of the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ The Phanariots descended from two groups: continental traders from regions such as Macedonia and Epirus; and maritime traders from the Aegean, including Chios and Izmir.⁴⁸ Chatziioannou listed the continental Vlachs and the maritime Chiots as two of the most active and distinct Phanariot traders, due to their prolific network building.⁴⁹ Some families, such as the Mavrogordatos and Rallis, lived in both Istanbul and Chios for centuries, with regular intermarriage between members from

Affaires Étrangères, *Archives Nationales*, Paris.] For comparison see: Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1875-1915: The Inconsequential Possession*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 2009, 154-5.

⁴³ Vlasto, *XIAKA*, 93.

⁴⁴ Dean J. Kostantaras, ‘Christian Elites of the Peloponnese and the Ottoman State, 1715-1821’, *European History Quarterly*, 43(4), 2013, 628-56.

⁴⁵ Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus: During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 1996, 14; Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1875-1915*, 33.

⁴⁶ See: Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, SUNY Press, Albany, New York, 2003, 115-30.

⁴⁷ Molly Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453-1768: The Ottoman Empire*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2015, 132-6.

⁴⁸ Ioannis Zelepos, ‘Greek Traders and Phanariotes in Southern and Southeastern Europe from the Early Modern Period to the 19th Century’, in Klaus Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen & Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, 472-3.

⁴⁹ Maria Christina Chatziioannou, ‘Greek Merchant Networks in the Age of Empires (1770-1870)’, in Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis & Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou (eds.), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, Berg, Oxford & New York, 2005, 374.

both locations⁵⁰ The affluent position of the Phanariots spilled over to their relatives and connections outside Istanbul, as can be seen through Chios' *demogerontes* being almost exclusively of the merchant class.⁵¹ This position of power in the Empire caused both the Phanariot and Chiot merchant classes to be seen as a type of 'cultivated elite', living an 'educated European life' that other Ottoman Christians could not afford – much like the British peerage, where they would later intersect.

Due to the deep connections with the Ottoman capital and the Empire's 'cultivated elite', education became a part of the Chiot economy, and the island began importing students. Dakin noted that as early as the seventeenth century, many wealthy Ottomans and Phanariots were sent to the Academy of Chios, which had renowned instructors, including scholars from the famed University of Padua, Venice.⁵² Bouras described the Academy as having "12 teachers, a printing press, a library of 30,000 volumes, and a large number of students, some of them foreigners."⁵³

The notability of the Academy of Chios continued into the Greek Enlightenment (~1760-1821), which saw the island as one of its 'bases', where intellectual figures, like Adamantios Korais and Ioannis Tselepis (Zelepos), spearheaded the neo-Hellenic movement.⁵⁴ Chios quickly became associated with the 'birthplace of Homer', proliferating the Enlightenment's neo-classical image of the island.⁵⁵ Despite this association, neo-Hellenic ideas were usually only observable among the island's

⁵⁰ Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce*, 319-28 & 384-94; Charalambos Bouras, Chios, David Hardy (trans.), *Greek Traditional Architecture* series, Melissa Publishing House, Athens, 1984, 12.

⁵¹ Vlasto, *XIAKA*, 121.

⁵² Douglas Dakin, *The Unification of Greece: 1770-1923*, Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1972, 6. See also: Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453-1768*, 133.

⁵³ Bouras, *Chios*, 12.

⁵⁴ See: Kostas V. Koukouridis, *Ο Κοραΐς και η Χίος*, Nestoras, Athens, 1993; Athanasia Balta, 'Αποστολές Βιβλίων στη Βιβλιοθήκη της Χίου: Στοιχεία από την Αλληλογραφία Αδαμάντιου Κοραΐ και Αλέξανδρου Βασιλείου (1799-1817)/Shipment of Books in the Library of Chios: Details from the Correspondence of Adamantios Korais and Alexandros Vasileiou (1799-1817)', *Μνήμων*, 10, 1985, 318-28; Richard Clogg, 'Korais and the Movement for Greek Independence', *History Today*, 33, 1 October 1983, 10-4; Valentini Tselika, 'Πνευματικοί άνθρωποι: Οι φωτεινές των Ζελεπού, Μαυρογιώργη, Λομβαρδά και Φουτριδίδη', *Επτά Ημέρες – Η Καθημερινή*, 21 June 1998, 18-9; Anna Tabaki, 'Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment: An Introduction', in Werner Schneiders (ed.), *The Enlightenment in Europe, Unity and Diversity*, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, Berlin, 2003, 45-56; Raphael Demos, 'The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821)', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19(4), October 1958, 523-41.

⁵⁵ For example, see: Samuel S. Cox, 'Home of Homer', *A Buckeye Abroad; Or, Wanderings in Europe, and in the Orient*, George P. Putnam, New York, 1852, 209-13, in Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912*, 246-9.

‘cultivated elite’, and Chios remained loyal to the Sultan during the first year of the Greek War of Independence.⁵⁶

Two Chioses

The combination of the *Maonesi* legacy, the *demogerontes* system, the Phanariot connections, and the Greek Enlightenment, caused two distinct societies to develop on Chios. The first were the mobile and studious Chiot merchants, who are clearly distinguishable in the historical record. Argenti’s *Libro D’Oro* lists many of these families, including the Agelasto, Argenti, Calvocoressi, Mavrogordato, Negroponte, Petrocochino, Ralli, Rodocanachi, Scaramanga, Schilizzi, and Vlasto, among others.⁵⁷ These families categorised themselves into three hierarchical ‘levels’ based on supposed Byzantine descent, known as the ‘Quintet’, the ‘Twelve’, and the ‘Twenty’ (although some have questioned this hierarchy’s actual existence);⁵⁸ and they often transferred the Genoese spelling of their names into English, despite many having Greek language origins. This maintained their independent identity to other Chiots who used more ‘Greek’ spellings of their names in their mobility, such as the descendants of Demetrius Mangos, who emigrated to New Zealand in 1863; as well as the Schinas (Skinas) and Eumorfopoulos families of Britain.⁵⁹ Chios’ merchant class also practiced ‘cosmopolitanism’ and traded around the Mediterranean and beyond as part of the British-chartered Levant Company.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Thomas W. Gallant, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1768 to 1913: The Long Nineteenth Century*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2015, 74.

⁵⁷ Argenti, *Libro D’Oro*, vii.

⁵⁸ Ioanna Nikolaou Koukouni, ‘“*Capitania Valisso Castrum Dicti Loci*”: Settlement Patterns and Defence on Northern Chios, 9th-16th Centuries’, PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, December 2011, 145. Note: This idea is challenged by some descendants.

⁵⁹ For Mangos family, see: Peter Conaghan, *The Mangos Family of the Lyell*, Mangos Printing, Timaru, New Zealand, 1978; Lee Scanlon, ‘The Story of the Mangos Family’, *Westport News*, n.d. Note: Demetrius Mangos was born in Ermoupolis, Syros, the son of the Chiot Nicolas Mangos. For Schinas and Eumorfopoulos families, see: Katerina Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars: The Untold Story of a Successful Adaptation*, BRILL, Leiden, The Netherlands, 2017, 244-5; Naturalisation Certificate: Aristides George Eumorfopoulos, London, 1891, TNA: HO 334/19/6927; Christopher Long, ‘The Eumorfopoulos Family’, 2012. Note: The Schinas family may have originated in Istanbul or elsewhere but came to be associated with Chios. See: Virginia Penn, ‘Philhellenism in England (1821-1827)’, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 14(41), January 1936, 363-71; Yannis Kokkonas, ‘«Το της Ίριδος σχέδιον...εις έργον δια τι δεν εβάλθηκεν;»: Συμβολή στην ιστορία μιας εκδοτικής απόπειρας/“The Iris’ project...why it was not put into practice”: Contribution to the history of a publishing venture’, *Τεκμήριον*, 6, Ionian University, Corfu 2006, 185-212.

⁶⁰ Evridiki Sifneos, ‘“Cosmopolitanism” as a feature of the Greek Commercial Diaspora’, *History and Anthropology*, 16(1), 2005, 101-2; Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars*, 244-5; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, ‘Greek mercantile activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1780-1820’, *Balkan Studies*, 28(1), 1987, 79-84; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, ‘Commerce in the Eastern

In many ways, they were similar to the Ionian islanders, particularly the Ithacans who also had their own *Libro D'Oro*.⁶¹

The second society were the 'silent', less-affluent Chiots, often of the peasant and labouring classes, who had more in common with the later Ikarians of the early-twentieth century. These Chiots did not exemplify the type of prominence that the merchant class did until the twentieth century, where some became renowned shipowners, including the Chandris, Livanos, Pateras, Pittas, Stravelakis, and Xylas families, among others. Much of this population were also decimated in the 1822 Chios Massacre, as they did not have the means of escape like the wealthier merchant families.⁶² However, there is a remnant of records for these Chiots, who often found themselves employed abroad by their wealthier compatriots (Appendix 1.1).⁶³ Laura Balletto, who explored the *Maonesi* in Chios, described this duality as a split between two distinct geographically-based entities – the towns, with their dominant 'feudal Byzantine' class of landowners, clergy, and artisans, and the 'peasant' class of the countryside.⁶⁴ This split persisted into Ottoman times.

The Eighteenth & Early-Nineteenth Centuries

Under the influence of the British Levant Company, Chios' mercantilism expanded during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Levant Company was a chartered company originating in the sixteenth century, propelled in part by the English spice trade with the Florentines and Genoese in the Mediterranean.⁶⁵ The Aegean islands, especially Chios and Crete, were part of this system from its beginnings, with English vessels making their way to these islands by 1534. An English consul was established at Chios as early as 1513,

Mediterranean from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries: The City-Port of Izmir and its Hinterland', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 10(2), December 1998, 148-9.

⁶¹ Kyriaco Nikias, 'The Ithacan *Libro D'Oro* of 1803 and class structures in Ionian society after the end of Venetian rule', transcript of lecture given to the Ithacan Historical Society, 11 October 2021; Kyriaco Nikias, 'Class and society in Ithaca under Tocco and early Venetian rule (1357-ca. 1600)', *Byzantine & Modern Greek Studies*, First View, 2022, 1-17.

⁶² Long, *Greek Fire*, 114.

⁶³ For example, see list of families employed by Chiot trading houses in Calcutta between 1852-1902. See also: Thomas W. Gallant, *Modern Greece: From the War of Independence to the Present*, 2nd edn., Bloomsbury, London, 2016, 22; Frangakis-Syrett, 'Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries', 148.

⁶⁴ Laura Balletto, 'Tra Genova e Chio nel tempo di Cristoforo Colombo', in Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paule Pagès & Dominique Valérian (eds.), *Chemins D'Outre-Mer: Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, Éditions de la Sorbonne, Paris, 2016, 51-61.

⁶⁵ Lucia Patrizio Gunning, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum*, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, 2009, 13. See also: Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*.

when a member of the Giustiniani family was appointed to the role.⁶⁶ However, Gunning noted the true genesis of the company, and first official commercial relations between England and the Ottoman Empire, was when an English merchant living in Aleppo, Anthony Jenkinson, was granted a commercial agreement by Sultan Suleiman I in 1553.⁶⁷ After the Ottoman occupation of Rhodes in 1522 and Cyprus in 1571, English trade with the Venetian 'Power' diminished, interrupting the pre-existing and profitable trade between England and the Levant.⁶⁸ In an attempt to solve this issue, in 1581, Elizabeth I officially chartered Jenkinson's agreement as the 'Turkey Company', which was shortly followed by the 'Venice Company' of 1583. These two companies merged in 1592 to form the Levant Company, which remained into the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ The company ultimately gave England, and later Britain, a near monopoly on the Levant's trade.⁷⁰

To control trade, the company created 'factories', which were in reality "strategic trading outposts" manned by company officers, in major Mediterranean centres.⁷¹ Chiot merchants began trading prominently under the company in the late-eighteenth century, where they were based out of the Livorno factory. During the 1700s and early-1800s, trading under the Levant Company was more stable and secure than sole trading in the turbulent Ottoman Empire, which participated in frequent wars.⁷² Chios itself was under jurisdiction of the Company's Izmir factory, which created a busy inter-connected route between Izmir, Chios, Livorno, and beyond.⁷³ Frangakis-Syrett listed the Petrocochino,

⁶⁶ Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company*, George Routledge & Sons, London, 1908, 1-6; David Wilson, 'List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories, from the sixteenth century to about 1860', *Levantine Heritage*, July 2011; Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, 2.

⁶⁷ Gunning, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum*, 13-4.

⁶⁸ Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, 2-9.

⁶⁹ Gunning, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum*, 14-6; Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company*, 16-39.

⁷⁰ Despina Vlami & Ikaros Mandouvalos, 'Entrepreneurial forms and processes inside a multiethnic pre-capitalist environment: Greek and British enterprises in the Levant (1740s-1820s)', *Business History*, 55(1), 1 January 2013, 99.

⁷¹ Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East*, I.B. Tauris, London & New York, 2015, 2 & 34.

⁷² See: Kahraman Şakul, 'Military Transportation as Part of Mediterranean Maritime Trade: Ottoman Freight Payments During the War of the Second Coalition (1798-1802)', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 19(2), 2010, 389-406; Güven Dinç, 'The Effects of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1768-1774 in the Mediterranean: The Case of Cyprus in the Light of Ottoman Documents', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 27(1), 2018, 63-76.

⁷³ Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, 36. See: Katerina Galani, 'The Napoleonic Wars and the disruption of Mediterranean shipping and trade: British, Greek and American merchants in Livorno', *La Revue Historique*, 7, 2010, 179-98.

Prassacachi, and Scaramanga families as prominent traders in this eighteenth-century network.⁷⁴ To trade, the Chiots, who did not have a significant fleet of their own yet, partnered with the shipowners of Hydra, Psara, and Spetses to export, import, and carry mercantile goods. However, they mostly practiced a relatively concentrated trade, which did not flourish until the Napoleonic Wars (1803-15), when their neutrality allowed them to obtain two unique shipping licenses that were passable to both British and French ships.⁷⁵ This served as the first enabling factor for Chiot success during the century.⁷⁶

The Ionian islanders created a similar trade network. During this period, the Ionian Islands had transitioned through four phases: from long-term Venetian rule (1363-1797); to autonomy as the Septinsular Republic (1800-07) (in essence the first independent modern Greek state); to French occupation (1797-99 and 1807-14); and finally a British possession (1815-64).⁷⁷ By the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, elite families from the Ionian Islands had established a network along the Danube, in Izmir, and in Russia that was reminiscent of the Chiots and Phanariots, where key islanders found themselves prospering, and even in service of the Russian Empire.⁷⁸ Among this number was the future Greek president (governor) Ioannis Kapodistrias of Corfu, who served as Russian Foreign Minister. This Ionian network produced many well-known merchants and shipping tycoons, such as the Vagliano brothers, who traded between Britain, France, and the Black Sea, and, eventually, as far as the Americas, Africa, and Asia.⁷⁹ A catalogue of Ionian shipping businesses were even established in the

⁷⁴ Frangakis-Syrett, 'Greek mercantile activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1780-1820', 75.

⁷⁵ Frangakis-Syrett, 'Greek mercantile activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1780-1820', 84. See also: Galani, 'The Napoleonic Wars and the disruption of Mediterranean shipping and trade', 179-98.

⁷⁶ For more on Greek traders and the Levant Company see: Vlami & Mandouvalos, 'Entrepreneurial forms and processed inside a multiethnic pre-capitalist environment', 98-118.

⁷⁷ See: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy: State, Class and Colonialism in the Ionian Islands, 1815-1864*, Berghahn, New York & Oxford, 2017; Anthony Hirst & Patrick Sammon (eds.), *The Ionian Islands: Aspects of their History and Culture*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2014; Michalis Sotiropoulos, 'The Transnational Foundations of the Greek Revolution of 1821', in Yianni Cartledge & Andrekos Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence 200 Years on: Myths, Realities, Legacies and Reflections*, Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, Cham, Switzerland, 2022, 23-44.

⁷⁸ Konstantina Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850: Stammering the Nation*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018, 83-93; Gerassimos D. Pagratis, 'From the Septinsular Republic to the 'White Sea': Ionian Shipping in the Port of Smyrna (1800-1807)', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 19(2), 2010, 335-50.

⁷⁹ Gelina Harlaftis, 'From Diaspora Traders to Shipping Tycoons: The Vagliano Bro.', *Business History Review*, 81(2), Summer 2007, 237-68. See also: Konstantina Zanou, 'Imperial Nationalism and Orthodox Enlightenment: A Diasporic Story Between the Ionian Islands, Russia and Greece, ca. 1800-30', in Maurizio Isabella & Konstantina Zanou (eds.), *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century*, Bloomsbury Academic, London & New York, 2016, 117-34.

Danubian Principalities during the nineteenth century.⁸⁰ Similarly, the Ionian Vondiziano family of Kefalonia established themselves as British consuls in Cyprus between the years 1799-1841, and remained part of Cyprus' elite thereafter.⁸¹ Harlaftis viewed the Ionians as the successors to the Chiots from the 1870s onwards.⁸²

Following the licenses obtained during the Napoleonic Wars, Chiot merchants began residing in multiple ports around Europe. In addition to Livorno and Izmir, members of the Argenti, Petrocochino, Ralli, Sechiari, and related families, resided in Alexandria, Genoa, Istanbul, Izmir, London, Marseille, Odessa, and Trieste, where they imported items from Persia, Anatolia, the Danubian Principalities, and Russia, and exported to Britain, France, the US, and beyond.⁸³ Members of the Galatti (Galati), Lutrari, Mavrocordatos (Mavrogordato), Negreponte (Negroponte), Scaramanga, and Schinas families of Chios were registered traders with the Levant Company between 1799-1813.⁸⁴ These Levantine Chiot merchants practiced cosmopolitanism and were the forerunners of the Chiot diaspora in the English- and French-speaking worlds.⁸⁵

Early Chiot Emigration

Chios was already an 'island of exit' before the 1822 massacre – to which historiography generally dates emigration – with a significant diaspora spread around the Aegean, Mediterranean, and Black Sea regions.⁸⁶ These early communities built a diaspora

⁸⁰ See: Panayiotis S. Kapetanakis, 'The Ionian Danube, 1815-1864: The Effects of the Ionian Maritime Presence in the Danube on the Structure of Ionian Shipping Businesses', in Gelina Harlaftis & Radu Păun (eds.), *Greeks in Romania in the Nineteenth Century*, Alpha Bank, Historical Archives, Athens, 2013, 227-60.

⁸¹ See: David Wilson, 'List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories, from the sixteenth century to about 1860', *Levantine Heritage*, July 2011, 34-5; Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, 'Lifestyle and Social Behaviour of the Elite of Cyprus, c. 1775-1821', *Folk Life*, 48(2), 2010, 87-111; Marc Aymes, 'The port-city in the fields: investigating an improper urbanity in mid-nineteenth-century Cyprus', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 24(2), 2009, 133-49; Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus*, 83.

⁸² Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping: The making of an international tramp fleet, 1830 to the present day*, Routledge, London & New York, 1996, 39.

⁸³ Frangakis-Syrett, 'Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries', 148. See also: Numa Denis Fustel De Coulanges, *Mémoire sur l'île de Chio*, Paris, 1856, 515 & 642.

⁸⁴ Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars*, 244-5.

⁸⁵ See: Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou & Stavros Ioannides, 'Market-Embedded Clans in Theory and History: Greek Diaspora Trading Companies in the Nineteenth Century', *Business and Economic History On-Line*, 2, 2004, 1-26; Athanasios (Sakis) Gekas, 'Class and Cosmopolitanism: The Historiographical Fortunes of Merchants in Eastern Mediterranean Ports', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 24(2), 2009, 95-114.

⁸⁶ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 20; Chatziioannou & Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids*, 18-20.

network that profoundly connected Chios to the outside world, while also maintaining a significant Chiot identity. These already established communities, including the one in London from 1815, would also help ease emigration for wealthy Chiot refugees escaping the massacre and provide employment to Chiots seeking work away from home. Due to this, the early movements of the Chiots are distinguishable in the archival record, especially the merchant class. The ways in which they chain migrated and maintained identity was also comparable to this dissertation's second case study – the Ikarians. As already mentioned, working-class Chiots were occasionally evident in the record, especially those employed by their wealthier compatriots.

The Mediterranean Network

Greek-speakers and other Eastern Mediterranean peoples had been emigrating within the Mediterranean region for centuries. Isabella and Zanou highlighted the interconnectedness of this diaspora network between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, noting that the Jews, Greeks, and Armenians in particular spread themselves throughout the Mediterranean.⁸⁷

Triggered by the *Maonesi* influence, Italian port-cities, such as Genoa, Livorno, and Trieste, were important centres of the early Chiot diaspora. As mentioned, many Genoese families settled on the island during the company's rule, creating links and familial connections between Chios and Genoa.⁸⁸ By the 1700s, various diaspora communities were firmly established in the Italian peninsula. In the late-eighteenth century, for instance, members of the prominent Ralli family were living in Trieste, yet still marrying with other Chiots, such as the Argenti, Negroponte, Sevastopoulos, and Sgouta families.⁸⁹ Descendants of these families were still recorded in Trieste as recently as the mid-twentieth century.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Maurizio Isabella & Konstantina Zanou, 'The Sea, its People and their Ideas in the Long Nineteenth Century', in Isabella & Zanou (eds.), *Mediterranean Diasporas*, 3-4.

⁸⁸ Vlasto, *XIAKA*, 28-9.

⁸⁹ Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce*, 389. See also: Joze Pirjevec, 'The Greek colony in Trieste in the 18th-19th Centuries', in John M. Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times: Volume II: From 1453 to Modern Times*, Gieben, Amsterdam, 1991, 29-34.

⁹⁰ Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce*, 389.

The Rodocanachi family of Livorno displayed similar phenomena, with members moving to Florence by the nineteenth century.⁹¹ Niccolo Fattori even noted a Chiot community established in Ancona in the sixteenth century, although by the 1700s little record of them is found.⁹² In both Genoa and Livorno, during the eighteenth century, the significant Chiot minority, along with a Smyrniot Greek community, had established themselves as merchants, further expanding the network that existed under the Ottomans.⁹³ Frangakis-Syrett noted the prominence of these merchant houses, with multiple Greek ships trading out of Genoa under the Levant Company in 1785.⁹⁴ The Italian port-cities acted as a springboard for their later movements, and became important havens for the islanders that fled the massacre.

Within the Ottoman Empire, the Phanariot system provided another intertwined network that spread Chiots around the Mediterranean.⁹⁵ By the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire had reached an era of economic and societal modernisation, and the Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean began embracing industrial capitalism, on which the Phanariots and other merchants capitalised.⁹⁶ Istanbul, Izmir, Alexandria, Bucharest, and the Aegean became important centres of both Chiot trade and community settlement. In Istanbul, Chiots lived in the Fener quarter, where they orchestrated trade deals and planned migratory movements. Chatziioannou and Harlaftis noted that the combination of Genoese-influenced entrepreneurship with their settlement in major Ottoman centres enabled the Chiots to reproduce their local successes in a multinational way. This also helped to cultivate a unique class based Chiot ethnic identity centred on an “archetype of business organization”, which existed well into the twentieth century, as seen through the

⁹¹ Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce*, 399.

⁹² See: Niccolo Fattori, ‘The Chiots in Ancona – Locality and Social Circles in Early Modern Migrant Communities’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, forthcoming, accessed 24.07.2020; Niccolo Fattori, *Migration and Community in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Greeks of Ancona, 1510-1595*, Springer, New York, 2019.

⁹³ Zelepos, ‘Greek Traders and Phanariotes in Southern and Southeastern Europe from the Early Modern Period to the 19th Century’, 472.

⁹⁴ Frangakis-Syrett, ‘Greek mercantile activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1780-1820’, 83.

⁹⁵ Christine Philliou, ‘Families of Empires and Nations: Phanariot *Hanedans* from the Ottoman Empire to the World Around It (1669-1856)’, in Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher & Francesca Trivellato (eds.), *Transregional and transnational families in Europe and beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2011, 177-99.

⁹⁶ Costas Lapavitsas & Pinar Cakiroglu, *Capitalism in the Ottoman Balkans: Industrialization and Modernity in Macedonia*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2019, 16-7.

interconnected shipowners and exists today through Chiot fraternities and organisations.⁹⁷

Due to the variety of systems that the Chiots navigated, the islanders ultimately held an important economic status within the Mediterranean. Many scholars have acknowledged this and Harlaftis has dubbed the nineteenth century as the ‘Chiot phase’ of Greek shipping and mercantilism, which peaked between the 1830s-60s.⁹⁸ The Chiots ultimately acted as a ‘clan’, featuring traders with a “common cultural background...high intensity trust relations, and...common norms and business practices”. Minoglou and Ioannides defined clans as distinct and “in contrast with Western Trading Companies, which were family-based entities.”⁹⁹ The Chiot clans encompassed a wider demographic of traders, were less-hierarchical and more decentralised than traditional companies. Their entrepreneurial actions and vast portfolios set the tone for other merchants seeking prosperity and opportunity in the Aegean, Ottoman, Black Sea, and Mediterranean regions.

During the early-nineteenth century, many Ottoman centres became booming cosmopolitan trade hubs, boasting merchants from a range of diasporas, including Ottoman Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, and Western European businesspeople.¹⁰⁰ From 1792 Istanbul’s officials began surveying migrants and their businesses, in an attempt to reduce the number in the city.¹⁰¹ Orders were then given to prevent the entrance of migrant families and those with “no real business in Istanbul”, keeping the city centred on merchant migrants.¹⁰² By the 1820s, the Ottomans had introduced identity cards, further controlling migrant flow in and out of Istanbul.¹⁰³ For Chiots, who often emigrated as family units, this made Istanbul a less attractive

⁹⁷ Chatziioannou & Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids*, 18-9. For current major Chiot fraternities and organisations, see the ‘Chian Federation’, ‘Chian Association of S.A.’ and the ‘Chios Association UK’ for example: Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912*, 3-4.

⁹⁸ Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, 38-70.

⁹⁹ Minoglou & Ioannides, ‘Market-Embedded Clans in Theory and History’, 10-2. See also: Michael Herzfeld, ‘Seeing Like a Village: Contesting Hegemonic Modernity in Greece’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 38, 2020, 43-58.

¹⁰⁰ Christoph Herzog & Richard Wittmann (eds.), *Istanbul – Kushta – Constantinople: Narratives of Identity in the Ottoman Capital, 1830-1930*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2019, 1-6; Aytuğ Arslan & Hasan Ali Polat, ‘Travel from Europe to Istanbul in the 19th century and the Quarantine of Çanakkale’, *Journal of Transport and Health*, 4, 2017, 10-7.

¹⁰¹ Sinan Dinçer, ‘From Community Registers to Domestic Passports: The Migration Regime in Ottoman Istanbul’, in Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter (eds.), *Migration Policies and Materialities of Identification in European Cities: Papers and Gates, 1500-1930s*, Routledge, New York & London, 2019, 123.

¹⁰² Dinçer, ‘From Community Registers to Domestic Passports’, 123-4.

¹⁰³ Dinçer, ‘From Community Registers to Domestic Passports’, 125-6.

destination. There was what Galani called “a nucleus of Chiots (Schilizzi, Rodocanachi, Ma[v]rogordato, Ralli, Scanavi, Petrocochino)”, who stayed in Istanbul, and prospered as both bankers and on the city’s stock exchange.¹⁰⁴ They likely were concentrated around the Fener quarter and the Galata neighbourhood (a former Genoese colony and modern-day Karaköy), where there was a namesake church, St John of the Chiots. The church had been sponsored over the centuries by many well-known Chiot families, including Argenti, Galati, Mavrogordato, Petrocochino, Ralli, Rodocanachi, Scanavi, Schilizzi, Sechiari, Tamvaco, Vlasto, and Zizinia, among others.¹⁰⁵ During the century, however, the closer port-city of Izmir became increasingly popular for Chiot families, as can be seen through multiple generations of Chiots being born there. A branch of the Chiot Negroponte family settled in Izmir in the late-eighteenth century, and members of the family were there as late as WWI.¹⁰⁶ Izmir itself grew into a cosmopolitan city and in 1800, 20% of the population were Orthodox Ottomans, mostly from the Aegean islands.¹⁰⁷

Many Chiots also emigrated to the Ottoman peripheral regions of Wallachia and Moldavia, centred on Bucharest. Other Phanariots had also settled in the region, such as the Ypsilantis family, who would be of later notoriety.¹⁰⁸ There the Chiots met and intermarried with other aristocratic families, held offices such as *hospodar* (‘governor’), *boyar* (‘leader’ or ‘chief’) and *voivode* (‘leader’ or ‘duke’), and took new titles for

¹⁰⁴ Katerina Galani, ‘The Galata Bankers and the international banking of the Greek business group in the nineteenth century’, in Edhem Eldem, Sophia Laiou & Vangelis Kechriotis (eds.), *The Economic and Social Development of the Port-Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast and Hinterland, late 18th – beginning of the 20th century*, Thales Programme, Corfu, 2017, 66-7.

¹⁰⁵ Full list includes: Scanavi, Ralli, Rodocanachi, Psychari, Schilizzi, Scouloudi, Chrysoveloni, Vlasto, Mavrogordato, Tamvaco, Benaki, Calvocoressi, Casanova, Coronio, Choremi, Costelli, Argenti, Vouro, Galati, Zervoudachi, Zerlenti, Zizinia, Zola, Vernudachi, Sechiari, Petrocochino, Machaira, Kousoulenti, Koumela, Haldouvaki, Vafeiadaki, Sevastopoulo, and Negreponete. Note: The Galati family may have derived its name from Galata. Georgios P. Georgiadis, *The Holy Church of St John of the Chiots in Galata*, K. Zividou, Istanbul, 1898, 374-92.

¹⁰⁶ Ambrosios Negroponte was born to Chiot parents in Izmir in 1803. Another branch (who were Roman Catholic) had settled just outside Izmir in the town of Söke, and were there well into the twentieth century, with Lucia Irene Negroponte being born in Izmir in 1913 and christened at St John’s Cathedral, Izmir, in February 1914. Lucia’s passed away at 2-years old, but her family appears to have remained in Izmir for some time after. See: ‘Ambrosios (Perris) Negroponte: 1803-1857’, F1030, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 30 October 2007 (last modified); ‘Lucia Irene (Paul) Negroponte: 1913-1916’, I4468, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 21 November 2014 (last modified).

¹⁰⁷ Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013, 30. See also: Frangakis-Syrett, ‘Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries’, 125-54.

¹⁰⁸ Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce*, 472. See also: Theodore Rodocanachi, *Jean Negroponte*, L. Cerf, Rue Sainte-Anne, Paris, 1898.

themselves, such as the Mavrocordatos who used the title 'prince'.¹⁰⁹ Florescu noted that the change in Phanariot titles occurred during the eighteenth century, when 'Prince' Constantine Mavrocordatos reformed the aristocracy of the Danubian provinces to mimic the French *noblesse de Robe* in 1739. From this period, opportunistic Phanariots could claim titles and land in the region with ease.¹¹⁰ This period coincided with a shift in trade routes that saw commercial centres move from Central to Eastern Europe.¹¹¹ This saw many Aegean islander merchants emigrate northward to the Principalities, which boasted new opportunities.¹¹² By the nineteenth century, the Danube was a stronghold for Chiots and other Phanariots, with the famed merchant Ralli family having members trading out of Bucharest.¹¹³ The Danubian trade connected the Chiots to the notable continental network, which had otherwise been dominated by Vlach and other Phanariot merchants, thus further expanding the diversity of Chiot diaspora settlement.¹¹⁴

Egypt, which had just transitioned between Napoleonic rule and Ottoman viceroyship under Mohammad Ali Pasha, was also an attractive frontier. The notable Benachi, Choremi, and Salvago families, who originated in Chios, established themselves there, where they lived a bourgeois lifestyle, similar to the life they had on Chios. They established a 'Greek Hospital' in 1817 and numerous schools between the 1850s and early-1900s.¹¹⁵

The Mediterranean network that the islanders traversed also profoundly incorporated the Black Sea ports of the Russian Empire, especially Odessa and Taganrog,

¹⁰⁹ Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce*, 327; Christopher Montague Woodhouse, *Modern Greece: A Short History*, 4th edn., Faber & Faber, London & Boston, 1986, 116, 128 & 134-5; Vlad Georgescu, 'The Romanian Boyars in the 18th Century: Their Political Ideology', *East European Quarterly*, 7(1), Spring 1973, 32-4; Christine Philliou, 'Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51(1), 2009, 156-7. See also: Radu Florescu, 'The Fanariot Regime in the Danubian Principalities', *Balkan Studies*, 9(2), 1 January 1968, 301-18.

¹¹⁰ Florescu, 'The Fanariot Regime in the Danubian Principalities', 303-5.

¹¹¹ See: Katerina Papakonstantinou, 'Trading by Land and Sea: Changing Trade Routes and the Shift of Commercial Centres from Central to Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in Harlaftis & Păun (eds.), *Greeks in Romania in the Nineteenth Century*, 205-25.

¹¹² See: Evrydiki Sifneos, 'From the Aegean Sea to the Upper Danube: Seeking Opportunities in the Grain Trade', in Harlaftis & Păun (eds.), *Greeks in Romania in the Nineteenth Century*, 283-306.

¹¹³ Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce*, 386.

¹¹⁴ Chatziioannou, 'Greek Merchant Networks in the Age of Empires (1770-1870)', 374.

¹¹⁵ Peter Mansfield, *The British in Egypt*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1971, 1-3; Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks and the Making of Modern Egypt*, The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo & New York, 2019, 18-9 & 28; Alexia Orfanou, 'The Upper Bourgeoisie Education of the Greek Diaspora in Egypt in the Late 19th Century Through Penelope Delta's (1874-1941) Literature', *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 4(1: S1), March 2015, 16-7.

which housed many Chiot merchants and their families.¹¹⁶ Herlihy noted that the Avierino family of Chios established a trading firm in Taganrog in 1803, followed by members of the Negroponte and Petrocochino families.¹¹⁷ The Petrocochinos also traded out of Rostov-on-Don. Odessa, however, received the largest Chiot settlement, including members of the Mavrogordato, Petrocochino, Scaramanga, Ralli, and Rodocanachi families as early as 1798, where they exported grains and other commodities to their counterparts in the Mediterranean and beyond.¹¹⁸ The private records of these Black Sea Chiot families and firms are mostly extinct, however, their path can be recreated through existing genealogies and other sources.¹¹⁹

The Aegean island of Syros also helped define Chiot migration patterns, as it arguably had the largest Chiot diaspora.¹²⁰ Syros (or Syra), situated in the Cyclades, was a growing hub of movement during the nineteenth century (Image 1.2). The nexus of this community was the new port of Ermoupoli, where many prominent Chiot, as well as Psariot, families were resident.¹²¹ Delis noted that Chiots were the largest group of origin in Ermoupoli, and in 1853 made up 27% of the island's population, with most working in trade, commerce, shipbuilding, manufacturing, and maritime transport.¹²² The Syriot

¹¹⁶ See: Alexandra Papadopoulou, 'Foreign merchant businesses and the integration of Black and Azov Seas of the Russian Empire into the First global economy', *Business History*, 2019, 1-27; Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775-1861*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford, 2001, 14-26 & 84-90.

¹¹⁷ Patricia Herlihy, 'Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century', in Ihor Sevcenko & Frank E. Sysyn (eds.), *Harvard Ukrainian Studies Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, III/IV, part 1, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979-1980, 406.

¹¹⁸ Herlihy, 'Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century', 406-7; Adelson, 'Interview with Peter Calvocoressi', 236; Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, Brill, Leiden, the Netherlands, 2017, 138-40.

¹¹⁹ Herlihy used Argenti's *Libro D'Oro*, as well as local newspapers, government reports and city directories, to trace the Ralli family from Chios to Odessa, and further on. See: Herlihy, 'Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century', 406.

¹²⁰ There has been a renewed interest in the Chiots of Syros in Greek media of late. See: Margarita Pournara, 'Τα κτίρια της Σύρου, οι Χιώτες έμποροι και η βράβευση για την διάσωσή τους', *Αστράπη*, 21 September 2015; Anastasios I. Tripolitis, 'Το προσφυγικό πρόβλημα, παρελθόν, παρόν και μέλλον', *Αλήθεια*, 13 January 2017; George Xanthakis, 'Η Ερμούπολη Σύρου και ο άρρηκτος δεσμός της με τους Χιώτες πρόσφυγες', *Πολίτης*, 25 June 2019; Panagiotis Kouloumbis, 'Οικογένεια Σκαραμαγκά: Από τη Χίο στη δωρεά της "πανέμορφης περιοχής" στο κράτος', *Χαϊδάρι Σήμερα*, 28 April 2020.

¹²¹ See: Apostolos Delis, 'A Mediterranean insular port-city in transition: economic transformations, spatial antagonism and the metamorphosis of landscape in nineteenth-century Hermoupolis on the island of Syros', *Urban History*, 42(2), 2015, 225-45.

¹²² Apostolos Delis, 'Modern Greece's first industry? The shipbuilding center of sailing merchant marine of Syros, 1830-70', *European Review of Economic History*, 19(3), 2015, 258.

poet and lawyer Timoleon Ambelas, in his 1874 *History of the Island of Syros*, listed over 300 Chiot families that had emigrated to Syros during the early-nineteenth century.¹²³

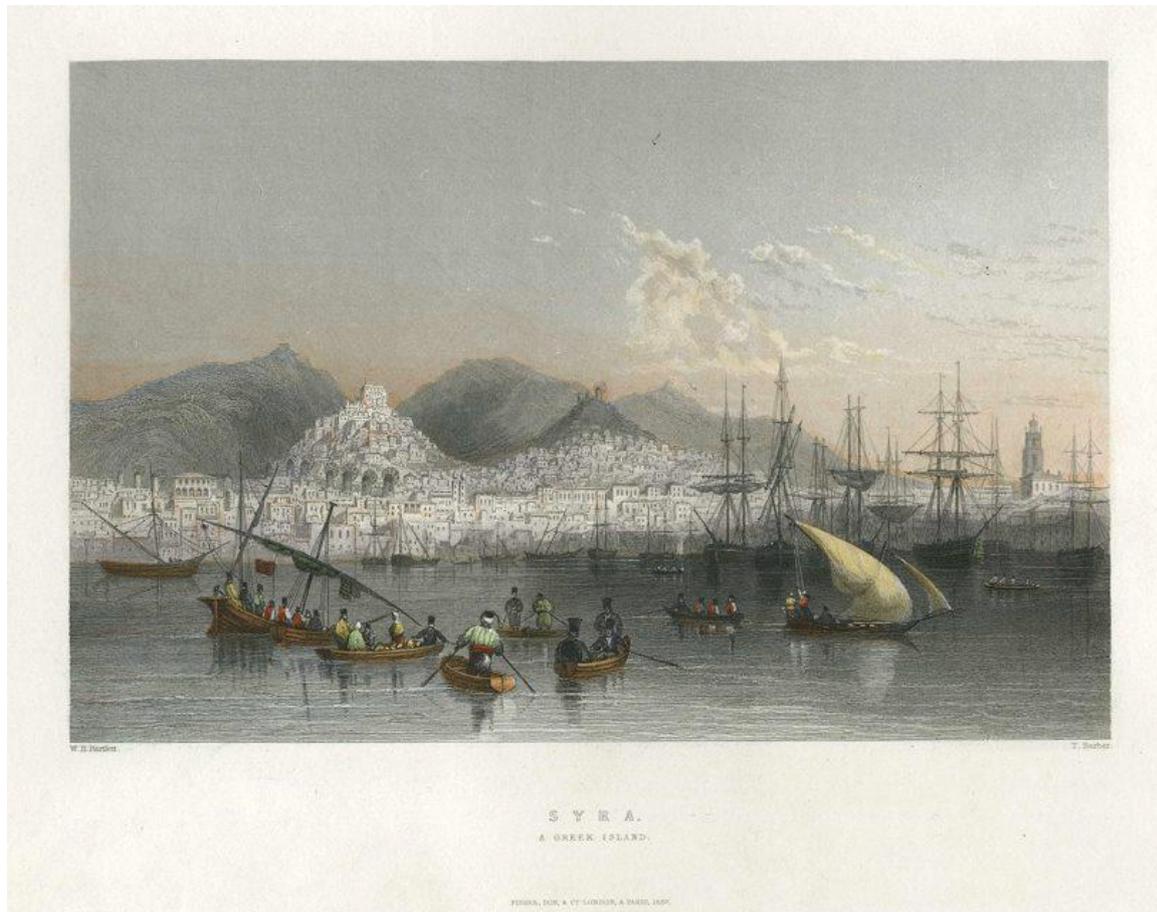


Image 1.2: Picture of the busy port of Syros in 1837 by T. Barber, courtesy of *Ancestry Images* and *Steve Bartrick Antique Prints & Maps*.¹²⁴

In many ways, the Chiots were comparable to other European and Mediterranean merchant diasporas, particularly the Jews, who established themselves in various European and Ottoman ports during the same period.¹²⁵ Many historians and Chiot descendants have made this comparison to both Jewish and Armenian traders.¹²⁶ In fact,

¹²³ Timoleon Ambelas, *History of the Island of Syros: From the most ancient times until nowadays*, Ermoupolis, Syros, 1874, republished by Christos A. Kalimeris, 1998, 501-6, accessed via *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, S44.

¹²⁴ T. Barber, 'Syra (A Greek Island)', steel engraved print of a picture by W.H. Bartlett, published in *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor &c. Illustrated*, 1837.

¹²⁵ See: C.S. Monaco, 'Port Jews or a people of the diaspora? A critique of the port Jew concept', *Jewish Social Studies*, 15(2), Winter 2009; Dina Stein, 'Diaspora and nostalgia: travelling Jewish tales in the Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 34(1), 2019, 49-69; Sweta Singh, 'From Mediterranean to Indian Ocean: Expansion of Jewish Mercantile Diasporas', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 75, 2014, 275-81; Maxim Viktorovich Pulkin, 'Provincial Jewish Communities in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries: Judaism as the Forty of Identity', *Studia Humanitatis*, 1, 2018.

¹²⁶ Calvoceossi, 'From Byzantium to Eton', 25-6; Long, *Greek Fire*, 126-7; Harlaftis, 'From Diaspora Traders to Shipping Tycoons', 239-40.

many Jewish families were also based out of Chios, as well as other Aegean islands, as noted in Galanté's surname index.¹²⁷ In 1836, the *Windsor & Eton Express* also drew similarities between the two diasporas, noting the Rothschild family's similarity to the Greek merchant houses, as well as their shared history of persecution.¹²⁸ The two were further compared to the Swiss bankers of Geneva in the same article. Mendelsohn described the nineteenth century as a transition period for the Jewish diaspora, who were originally "rooted in family and mercantile relationships...[which then] had been surpassed by a broader Anglophone entity that connected Jewish communities across the US and the British Empire."¹²⁹ This emerging Anglosphere-based system was also the next step for the Chiots.

The Anglosphere: The Seventeenth & Eighteenth Centuries

The English-speaking world was not a late venture for the Chiots, as it was for other Christian Ottomans. There had been a 'Greek' presence in England from at least the fifteenth century, as Jonathan Harris has shown.¹³⁰

After Angeletta Vlachos and her nephew, Richard Bye, the earliest Chiot emigrant who integrated into London society was physician Constantine Rhodocanaces (1635-87), a progenitor of the later Rodocanachi family of Chios. Rhodocanaces was born in Chios to Dimitrios and Theodora Rodocanachi, and he lived in London for at least 25 years, between 1660 and the mid-1680s. He had a successful medical and academic career in London, becoming a chemist and personal physician to King Charles II, attending Oxford University, and publishing multiple works, written in English, Latin, and Greek, the most notable being his medical pamphlet *Alexicacus*, and his Greek-Latin dictionary, jointly produced with Cornelis Schrevel and Joseph Hill.¹³¹ His wife, Arietta Coressi, and his son,

¹²⁷ 'Index of Surnames', in Abraham Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs de Rhodes, Chio, Cos, etc.*, Société anonyme de Papeterie et d'Imprimerie, Istanbul, 1935.

¹²⁸ 'Compendium of General News', *Windsor & Eton Express*, Windsor, Berkshire, 13 August 1836, 3.

¹²⁹ Adam Mendelsohn, 'Tongue ties: the emergence of the Anglophone Jewish diaspora in the mid-nineteenth century', *American Jewish History*, 93(2), June 2007, 209.

¹³⁰ See: Jonathan Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West, 1400-1520*, Porphyrogenitus, Camberley, Surrey, 1995; Jonathan Harris, 'Greek Visitors', *Oxford Bibliographies*, 29 September 2015; Jonathan Harris, 'The Role of Greek Émigrés in East-West Cultural Communication Before and After the Fall of Constantinople', in Antoni Riera Melis, Josep Guitart i Duran & Salvador Giner (eds.), *Ciutats mediterrànies: civilització i desenvolupament/ Villes méditerranéennes: Villes méditerranéennes: Civilisation et Développement*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, 2015, 231-3.

¹³¹ John P. Barron, 'Archbishop Joseph Georgirenes and the Prehistory of the Greek College', in Peter M. Doll (ed.), *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy 300 Years after the 'Greek College' in Oxford*, Peter Lang, Oxford,

Constantine, also moved to London. Their daughter, Maria, was born in London, but passed away there at ten-years old.¹³² Along with fellow Aegean emigrant Joseph Georgirenes, Archbishop of Samos, as well as three local London Greeks, Daniel Vulgaris, Lewis Orbinaty, and Demetry of Constantinople, and the Anglican Bishop Dr Henry Compton, Rhodocanaces played a role in helping establish Britain's first Orthodox church, the 'Church of the Koimesis', in Soho.¹³³ The church was built in 1677 and situated on the corner of Charing Cross Road, adjacent to what became known as 'Greek Street' (Images 1.3-1.4).¹³⁴ The establishment of the church followed the 1670 introduction of 150 Peloponnesian Greek refugees into England.¹³⁵ The Soho church was short-lived, and by the early 1680s it was seized and given to the French Huguenot community and renamed 'St Mary's'.¹³⁶

2006, 80, footnote 4; John Penrose Barron, *From Samos to Soho: The Unorthodox Life of Joseph Georgirenes, a Greek Archbishop*, Peter Lang, Oxford & Bern, 2017, 154-5 & 172; John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship, Vol. III: The Eighteenth Century in Germany, and the Nineteenth Century in Europe and the United States of America*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1908, 356; Panos Karagiorgos, *Anglo-Hellenic Cultural Relations*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010, 7; Jonathan Harris, 'London's Greek Community', in George Kakavas (ed.), *Treasured Offerings: The Legacy of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of St Sophia, London*, Byzantine & Christian Museum, Athens, 2002, 4; Constantine Rhodocanaces, *Alexicacus: Spirit of Salt of the World*, R.D., London, 1664; Cornelis Schrevel, Joseph Hill & Constantine Rhodocanaces, *Lexicon manuale Græco-Latinum, & Latino-Græcum: Primo concinnatum, Térque editum*, Joan. Hayes, Cambridge, 1685; William Oldys, Samuel Johnson, Michel Maittaire & Thomas Osborne, *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ: In Locos communes distributus cum Indice Auctorum*, II, Thomas Osborne, London, 1743, 792. See also: Constantine Rhodocanaces, *A Discourse in the Praise of Antimonie, and the Vertues thereof*, self-published, London, 1664; Constantine Rhodocanaces, *Carmina Græca Rythmica Gratulatoria De Reditu Serenissimi, Sacratissimi & Θεοφυλάκτου Principis Caroli II, Magne Britannix, Gallix & Hibernix Regis*, A. & L. Lichfield, Oxford, 1660; Vlasto, *XIACA*, 94-5.

¹³² 'Constantine (Dimitrios) Rodocanachi', Christopher Long, 18 April 2006 (last modified).

¹³³ Note: *Koimesis* translated to 'Dormition of the Mother of God'. See: Barron, *From Samos to Soho*, 153-82; Barron, 'Archbishop Joseph Georgirenes and the Prehistory of the Greek College', 80, footnote 4; Harris, 'London's Greek Community', 4-5.

¹³⁴ F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), 'The Greek Church (Later St. Mary's, Crown Street) and St. Martin's Almhouses', in *Survey of London: Volumes 33 and 34, St Anne Soho*, London County Council, London, 1966, 278-87.

¹³⁵ The refugees were either fleeing persecution under the Ottoman Köprülü grand viziers during the puritanical Kadizadeli movement (1670s-80s), or the invasions of the Peloponnese by Francesco Morosini and other Venetian admirals, during the Cretan War (1645-71), Morean War (1684-99), and Venetian population exchange. See: Karagiorgos, *Anglo-Hellenic Cultural Relations*, 7; Sheppard (ed.), 'The Greek Church (Later St. Mary's, Crown Street) and St. Martin's Almhouses', 278-9; Molly Greene, 'Violence and Religion in the Ottoman Empire', in Robert Antony, Stuart Carroll & Caroline Dodds Pennock (eds.), 'Part I: Empire, Race and Ethnicity', *The Cambridge World History of Violence: Volume III, 1500-1800 CE*, Philip Dwyer & Joy Damousi (general eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2020, 77-95; Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453-1768*, 133-6; Bruno Mugnai, *Cretan War, 1645-1671: The Venetian-Ottoman Struggle in the Mediterranean*, Helion & Company, Warwick, 2018, 169-86; Alexis Malliaris, 'Population Exchange and Integration of Immigrant Communities in the Venetian Morea, 1687-1715', *Hesperia Supplements*, 40, 2007, 97-109.

¹³⁶ Jonathan Harris, 'Silent Minority: The Greek Community of Eighteenth-Century London', in Dimitris Tziouvas (ed.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture*, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, 2009, 33; Harris, 'London's Greek Community', 4-5.

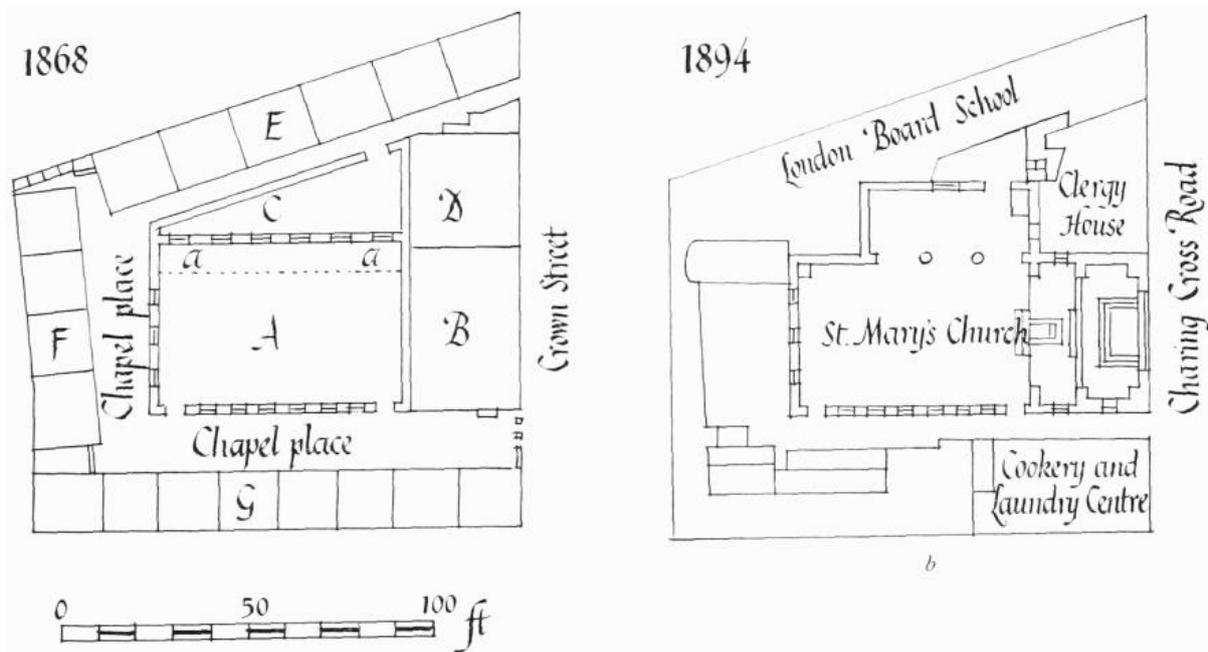


Image 1.3: Site of the Greek Church, Soho, based on ordinance survey maps from 1868-94.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Sheppard (ed.), 'The Greek Church (Later St. Mary's, Crown Street) and St. Martin's Almhouses', 1966, figure 71.

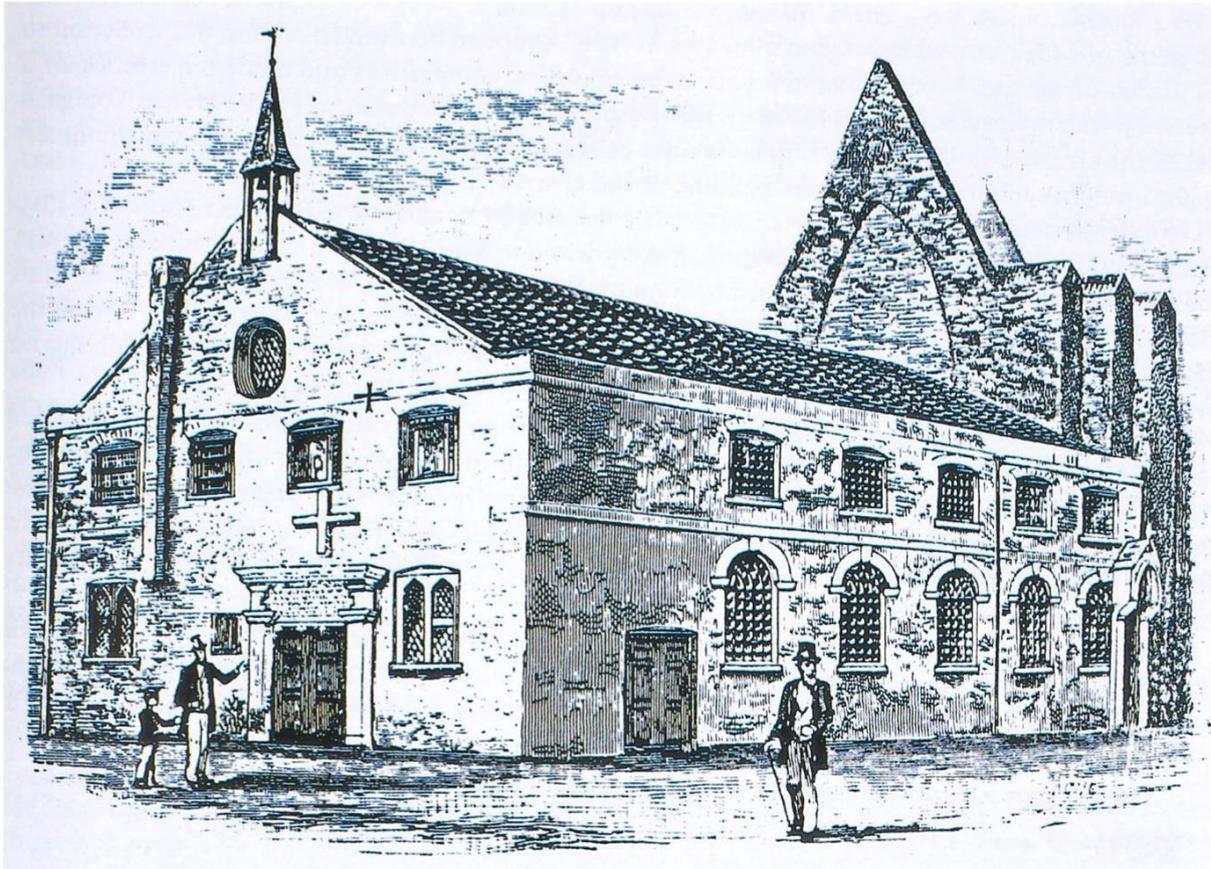


Image 1.4: Drawing of the first Greek Church, Soho, 1677.¹³⁸

Greek coffeehouses (*kafenía*) also became popular meeting places during the seventeenth century, where ideas were discussed, and business was conducted. They were frequented not only by Greeks, but also by Philhellenes, academics (including members of the Royal Society), businessmen, elites, and politicians (especially Whigs). The *kafenía* included London's first at Cornhill, opened by Pasqua Rosée (1652), as well as the famed Grecian at Devereux Court (1665) operated by George Constantine (Image 1.5), and the Greeks Coffee House, Cambridge (1710).¹³⁹ The Soho church, along with the prominence of Greek coffeehouses, attested to the existence of a small yet cohesive early Greek community in London.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Note: Artist details not given. Bishop Theodoritos of Nazianzos, 'History of the Greek Cathedral of Saint Sophia in London', in Kakavas (ed.), *Treasured Offerings*, 21-6.

¹³⁹ Pasqua Rosée, a Greek-speaker born in Ragusa and raised in Izmir, came to London via employment from the Levant Company. Jonathan Harris, 'The Grecian Coffee House and Political Debate in London 1688-1714', *The London Journal*, 25(1), 2000, 1-13; Heather Lynn McQueen, 'London Coffee Houses: The First Hundred Years', thesis, University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, 19 April 2004; Theodore E. Dowling & Edwin W. Fletcher, *Hellenism in England*, John (Joannes) Gennadius (inro.), Faith Press, London, 1915, 75-6.

¹⁴⁰ See also: Jonathan Harris, 'Greeks in Pre-Twentieth Century London', *Culture24*, 27 July 2006.



Image 1.5: 'Grecian Coffee House, Devereux Court', by Thomas Hosmer Shepherd, watercolour, 1830, courtesy of the London Picture Archive.

This community even branched out to Oxford, where a 'Greek College' was established for Orthodox students, operating from 1699-1705.¹⁴¹ The college showed evidence of a small Smyrniot diaspora existing in 1702, where at least seven Smyrniot students signed a poem that was to be recited by Simon Homer for the visiting Queen Anne.¹⁴² Simon Homer may have been a forerunner of the later Homer family that migrated to Britain in the nineteenth century, with notable members including politician Lady Domini Crosfield, her sister Dorothea Elliadi, and their mother Marika Elliadi (née Homer).¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ See: Peter Doll, 'The Greek College', *Michaelmas*, 14(1), 2001; Doll (ed.), *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy 300 Years after the 'Greek College' in Oxford*; E.D. Tappe, 'The Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705', *Oxoniensia*, XIX, 1954, 92-111.

¹⁴² Dowling & Fletcher, *Hellenism in England*, 49-50.

¹⁴³ The later Homers may be unrelated to family of Domini, Dorothea, and Marika, however, they share both the same name, place of origin and destination of settlement. Andrekos Varnava, 'The failure of the

This Greek community certainly existed well into the eighteenth century, where it was noted that a London-based Chiot donated a bell to the Nea Moni monastery in Chios. This could illustrate a continued wealthy or educated class of Chiots living and settling in London, as purchasing church bells was an expensive endeavour. However, Harris noted that most Greeks in London were transient visitors, and usually ecclesiastics.¹⁴⁴ It is presumed, however, that any donations were likely sourced from the era's small but mobile London Greek community – many of whom were unrecorded, transient seamen or travelling merchants. The 'wealthy' Chiot mentioned was likely one of the two. Other Chiots had arrived during the century. Emmanuel Timonis, a doctor from Chios, came to Britain in 1713 to give a medical lecture;¹⁴⁵ and Iacovos Chryssovelonis (Chrissoveloni) arrived in Britain around 1762.¹⁴⁶

During the first half of the eighteenth century, London Greeks worshipped at the Russian Chapel. This was a room in the Russian Embassy on Welbeck St, Marylebone, London, serviced by Cypriot Archimandrite Gennadios and his nephew Bartholomew Kassanos, however, it had ceased by the 1750s (Image 1.6).¹⁴⁷ Both Gennadios and Kassanos passed away in London, and were buried in the Churchyard of St Pancras.¹⁴⁸ Harris noted that the early Greek community of London was not comparable in size and significance to contemporary communities, such as in Amsterdam, Marseille, and Odessa, but was part of a wider network centred on these more prominent European port-cities.¹⁴⁹ London received much of its Greek merchant traffic from this network, which kept a significant Greek presence alive in the city. The previously discussed physician Constantine Rhodocanaces followed this mode of movement, and passed away in Amsterdam in 1687, amongst the city's large Greek emigrant community.¹⁵⁰ His son, also named Constantine, stayed on in England and died in Cambridge in 1689.¹⁵¹

enosis policy in Cyprus after the Great War: between liberal philhellenism and imperialism', in Romain Fathi, Margaret Hutchison, Andrekos Varnava & Michael J.K. Walsh (eds.), *Exiting War: The British Empire and the 1918-20 Moment*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2022, 143; Dowling & Fletcher, *Hellenism in England*, 50; Catsiyannis, *The Schilizzi Family*, 53-5.

¹⁴⁴ Harris, 'Silent Minority', 32.

¹⁴⁵ Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, self-published, London, 1993, 27.

¹⁴⁶ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 27.

¹⁴⁷ Harris, 'London's Greek Community', 5; Dowling & Fletcher, *Hellenism in England*, 50-1.

¹⁴⁸ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 26.

¹⁴⁹ Harris, 'Silent Minority', 38-9.

¹⁵⁰ It is noted that a Chiot diaspora existed there, see: Minoglou & Ioannides, 'Market-Embedded Clans in Theory and History', 15, footnote 34.

¹⁵¹ 'Constantine (Dimitrios) Rodocanachi', Christopher Long, 18 April 2006 (last modified).

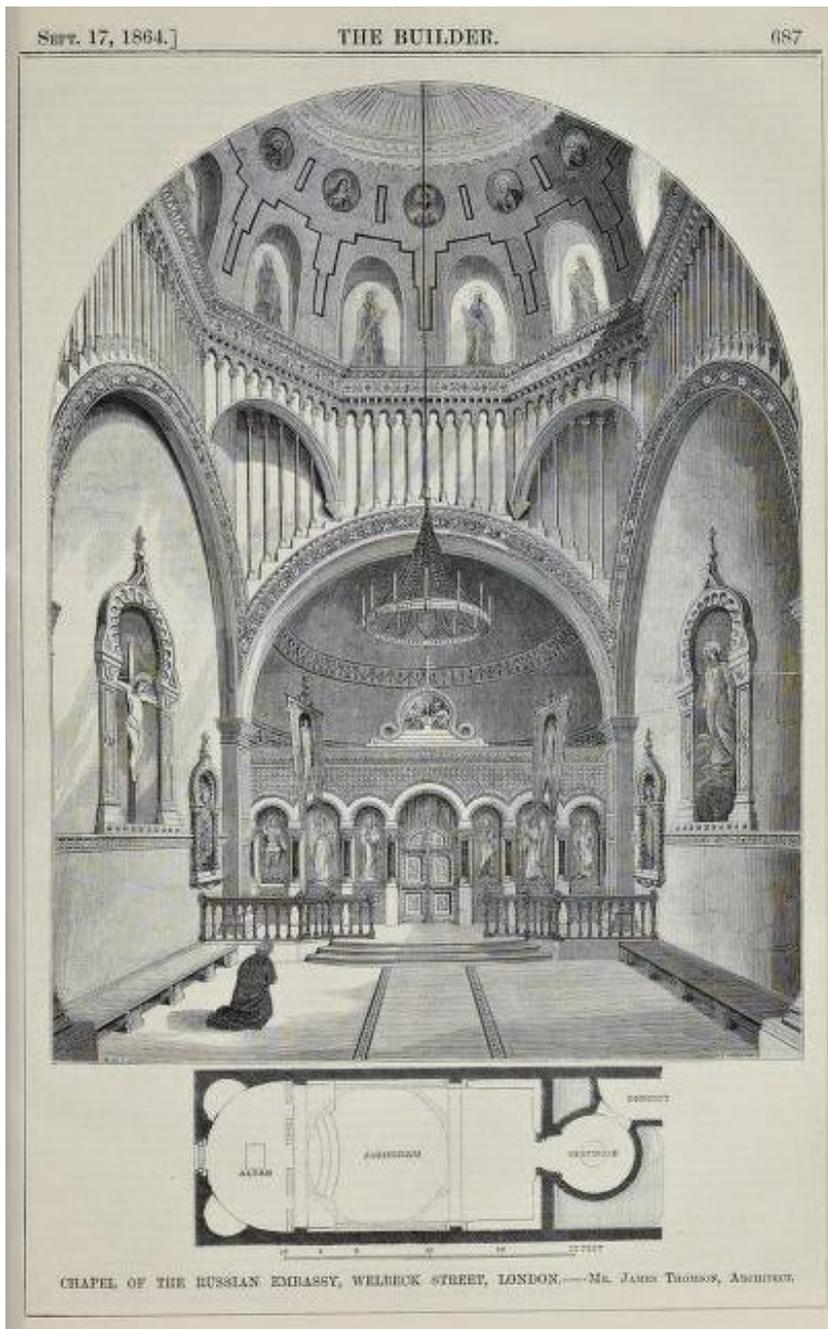


Image 1.6: Russian Chapel, Russian Embassy, Welbeck St, featured in the *Builder*, 1864.¹⁵²

The Anglosphere: 1800-15

The Greek presence in London existed in differing forms from the seventeenth to the early-nineteenth centuries. It did, however, predate the large immigration propelled by the Chios Massacre. The early-nineteenth century community did not have its direct

¹⁵² 'Chapel of the Russian Embassy, Welbeck Steet, London', *Builder*, London, 17 September 1864, 687. See also: 'New Chapel of the Russian Embassy in Welbeck-Street', *Illustrated London News*, London, 29 April 1865, 5.

origins in the earlier London Greek communities, but rather in the Levant Company trade network of the eastern Mediterranean and from 1815 onwards, the Napoleonic Wars. Wann noted that in the twentieth century, Chiot emigrants to London were faced with the remnant of a previous Chiot community that they did not directly descend.¹⁵³ Likewise, on arriving in London, the early-nineteenth century Chiot emigrants would have met the remnants of the previous community centred on Soho.¹⁵⁴

The earliest recorded nineteenth-century Greek arrivals to Britain appeared to be there on official business. Theodoros Kritikos (Critico) of Istanbul was approved as Consul General of the Ottoman Empire in 1806 by King George III, and resided in Poultry, London.¹⁵⁵ His daughter Maria was christened at the Russian Chapel, Welbeck St, in 1807, with the godparents being Greek captain Nikolai Apostol of Psara and the English Anna Watson. Apostol (Nikolis Apostolis) became a naval commander and *Filiki Eteria* member during the Greek War of Independence. Other Greeks were recorded at the Russian Chapel between 1819-22, including the Ioannou, Ghianniriti (Ghianniritis), Toderou (Theodorou), and Kapell (Kapelos) families who baptised each other's children.¹⁵⁶ This shows evidence of a small but cohesive community.¹⁵⁷

Following Kritikos, a mariner named G. Aide of Istanbul arrived at Falmouth, Cornwall in September 1810.¹⁵⁸ It is unclear whether Aide was an Orthodox Ottoman, whether he settled in Britain, or if he interacted with the existing London Greek or Ottoman communities. However, together with Kritikos and Apostolis, they represented the earliest nineteenth-century contacts between the Aegean system and Britain. Yet, a significant Chiot presence was absent in Britain before 1815.

¹⁵³ Mai Wann, 'Chiot Shipowners in London: An Immigrant Elite', Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, Coventry, research paper no. 6, 1987, 2.

¹⁵⁴ Harris, 'Silent Minority', 31-3.

¹⁵⁵ 'From the London Gazette', *Hampshire Chronicle*, Winchester, 8 December 1806, 4.

¹⁵⁶ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 28-32.

¹⁵⁷ A Greek Orthodox wedding ceremony was also recorded in the *Norfolk Chronicle* at the Russian Chapel in 1808 between George Herbert, 11th Earl of Pembroke and Catherine, Countess Vorontsov. However, this was likely an error in recording, with the ceremony in fact being Russian Orthodox, due to Catherine's Russian origin. See: 'Married', *Norfolk Chronicle*, Norwich, Norfolk, 6 February 1808, 2.

¹⁵⁸ List of aliens arriving at English ports, London, August 1810-May 1811, TNA: FO 83/21.

Chiots in Britain 1815-22

Following from the previously discussed 'Greek' emigrant cases, a small community of Chiots established themselves in London swiftly between 1815-22. This community was distinct from the earlier nineteenth-century migrants and ultimately preceded and laid an economic base for the prolific post-1822 community. This community is significant as it followed the sporadic pre-1815 migrations, and paved the way for the post-massacre migrants, acting as their main pull factor to London.

The Congress of Vienna & the Post-Napoleonic System

Firstly, it is important to understand why these Chiots had settled in London before the massacre, and why 1815 was a pivotal year for their movement. During the Napoleonic Wars, while the Ottomans were neutral, many Chiots were profiting by providing a neutral, merchant fleet in the Mediterranean, which had licenses to trade with both Britain, via the Levant Company, and France.¹⁵⁹ During the 1810s, many Chiots were registered with the Levant Company, such as the Galatti, Lutrari, Mavrocordatos, Petrocochino, and Ralli families, as well as individual traders including Plato Draco Negreponte, Nicolo Scaramangas, and Demetrios Schinas, who were all recorded in 1813. Other Christian Eastern Mediterranean merchants were recorded in these records, such as Andrea Dendrinis, Lambros Panas, Constantinos Sacilopoulos, and the eponymous 'Macris', all of Kefalonia; Pavlos Angelopoulos of Constantinople; Marasalis of Plovdiv, Thrace; Spiridone Saccas of Epirus; Constantinos and Petros Zohrbas of Macedonia; and Nicola di Giorgio, Diamandi, Alexandro, and others, of unrecorded origins.¹⁶⁰

The end of the Napoleonic Wars and the subsequent Congress of Vienna, however, saw a shift in policy from the established order.¹⁶¹ Heavily influenced by Austrian Foreign Minister Klemens von Metternich, the core aims of the Congress were to maintain territory, security, and the balance of power among the Great Powers of Europe, as well as to restore deposed monarchies. This also created a forced and short-lived alliance (the 'Quadruple Alliance') between Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Austria. This enforced peace

¹⁵⁹ Frangakis-Syrett, 'Greek mercantile activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1780-1820', 84.

¹⁶⁰ Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars*, 244-5.

¹⁶¹ See, for an important collection of British primary sources relating to the Congress: Charles K. Webster, *British Diplomacy, 1813-1815: Select Documents Dealing with the Reconstruction of Europe*, G. Bell & Sons, London, 1921.

has been named the 'Congress System', and the Quadruple Alliance eventually evolved into the 'Holy Alliance' between the three continental powers. Chapman noted that "the balance of power was a new order of major states in which no single one of them was able to dominate."¹⁶² Part of this system also saw traditional trade monopolies dwindle and the liberal idea of 'free trade' embraced in Europe.¹⁶³ The Congress' 'Final Act' also outlined a 'universal' abolition of the Slave Trade from 8 February 1815, although it was not enacted straight away in every European nation.¹⁶⁴ These shifts in trade policy and the new trade gap that opened in place of the Slave Trade, provided an economic void that Chiot merchants aimed to fill with the movement of their own goods.

This shift ultimately forced many Chiots, who hoped to maintain their trade dominance, which had previously existed under a British and French duopoly, to seek residence in many of the ports that they had previously traded between. By occupying residencies in these ports, Chiot merchant families could guarantee shipping privileges as well as local connections, while also filtering trade back to Chios. This mass settlement of Chiot traders, echoes Richards' ideas of migrants seeking 'more' as "the universal driver of emigration".¹⁶⁵

London, being the capital of the ever-growing British Empire, was undoubtedly no different a goal for Chiot merchants, who sought to maintain and grow their economic foothold in Britain. Simultaneously, other Greek-speaking diasporas were forming in Europe due to the new post-Napoleonic transnational networks, as acknowledged by Kurunmäki, Heyberger, Dialla, Zanou, and Isabella, who have highlighted the growth of political exiles and academic migrants – many of whom would later play a role in Greek Independence.¹⁶⁶ This new era of mass movement, be it mercantile, political, or academic, set a trajectory that would grow over the century.

¹⁶² Tim Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna: Origins, Processes and Results*, Routledge, London & New York, 1998, 16.

¹⁶³ Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna*, 31.

¹⁶⁴ 'Final Act of the Congress of Vienna/General Treaty', Vienna, 1815, Article CXVIII, 17.

¹⁶⁵ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 5.

¹⁶⁶ Jussi Kurunmäki, Bernard Heyberger, Ada Dialla, Konstantina Zanou & Maurizio Isabella, 'Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century', *Global Intellectual History*, 3(3), 2018, 331-49.

Chiot Settlement in London before the Massacre (1815-22)

The first post-1815 Chiots that were not merchants to settle in London were likely unnamed and unrecorded. However, there was certainly a Chiot presence in these early years which had continued from the late-eighteenth century. It is traditionally held, however, that the earliest Chiot migrants to London were the Ralli brothers John (Zannis) and Eustratio, who settled in the city by 1818, following the system of movement after the Napoleonic Wars. The brothers were sons of Stephanos Ralli and were both born in Chios. They established their first trading firm, 'Ralli & Petrocochino', at Old Broad Street or Finsbury Circus that same year.¹⁶⁷ This is corroborated by insurance papers signed by 'Messrs Ralli & Co. of Union Court Broad Street Merchants', which have been dated to March 1819 (Appendix 1.2).¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, the insurance policy was for stock options and the collateral was a steam engine.

However, there is evidence of an earlier settlement of the brothers. Adamantios Korais, in an 1816 letter to his friends in support of Greek Independence, noted the generosity of "the Ralli of London" who donated a 'Lexicon' to Chios' Library.¹⁶⁹ This earlier settlement is further supported as the Rallis and their business partners, the Petrocochinos, had both been registered with the Levant Company by 1813 and were trading out of numerous Mediterranean and European ports.¹⁷⁰ There is also a tradition held by the Ionides family of London that John Ralli first came to London as an assistant to the Constantinopolitan merchant Constantine Ionides in 1815.¹⁷¹ There is evidence of other Chiots during this time, such as John Sevastopulo (Sevastopoulos) and a member of the Schilizzi family, who both had registered cargo leaving Britain in 1809 and 1810 respectively.¹⁷² Sevastopulo exported sulphur, while Schilizzi exported writing paper. J.

¹⁶⁷ Naturalisation Papers: Ralli, Eustratio, from Greece, London, 1847, TNA: HO 1/25/637; Jack Vlasto, *Ralli Brothers Limited*, J. P McNulty & Co., London, 1951, 9; Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*, 20-1; Leoni M. Calvocoressi, *Ο Οίκος των Αδελφών Πάλλη [The House of the Ralli Brothers]*, Typographeion P. Iatridi, Chios, 1953, 1; John Gennadius (Ioannes Gennadius), *Stephen A. Ralli: A Biographical Memoir*, privately printed, London, 1902, 21-4. Note: Stavridis places John (Zannis) Ralli as arriving in 1817. See: Stavros T. Stavridis, 'Five Ralli Brothers: From Chios to Building a Global Business Empire in India', *The National Herald*, 5 March 2017. Note: Some sources also differ on the location of 'Ralli and Petrocochino'. Old Broad Street and Finsbury Circus, however, are located within 500m distance from each other.

¹⁶⁸ INSURED: MESSRS RALLI AND CO UNION COURT BROAD STREET MERCHANTS, London, 17 March 1819, LMA: CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/479/953478, ROYAL AND SUN ALLIANCE INSURANCE GROUP Collection.

¹⁶⁹ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 44.

¹⁷⁰ Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars*, 244-5.

¹⁷¹ Alexander C. Ionides, *Ion: A Grandfather's Tale*, The Cuala Press, Dublin, 1927, 1.

¹⁷² Register of impositions paid on outward cargoes, London, 1799-1813, 1809-10, TNA: SP 105/173.

(likely John) Mavrogordato was also noted for exporting sulphur in 1810, along with other foreign merchants, David Theo, Michele de Serpos, Steffano Steffano, T. Antonio, F. Giovanni, Giorgio Hagi Cristo, and Mose Ainsulak, among others.¹⁷³ In all, it can be estimated that some Ralli family members and other Chiot merchants first settled in London between 1809-16 – a period between the final years of the Napoleonic Wars, and the emergence of the post-Napoleonic system.

By 1820, three Chiot firms existed in London: the aforementioned 'Ralli & Petrocochino'; a second Ralli family firm, 'Ralli Eustratio & Co.' at Billiter Square; and 'Mavrocordato & Co.' at Finsbury Place, belonging to John Lucas Mavrogordato.¹⁷⁴ All three firms were in walking vicinity of each other, surrounding Finsbury Circus. The three firms also acted collaboratively rather than competitively, with the Chiot mercantile system being often described as a 'network' of co-dependent firms.¹⁷⁵

The brothers Eustratio and John Ralli found success in London. Eustratio arrived in London as early as 1817, aged 17.¹⁷⁶ He married John Mavrogordato's daughter, Marigo, in 1825 at the Russian Chapel, London.¹⁷⁷ Eustratio and Marigo had ten children, all born in either London or Manchester. The family remained in England and he was naturalised in 1847.¹⁷⁸ Eustratio died on 1 September 1884 at the family home of Scio House, Putney, which the Rallis had built and later became the Scio House Hospital (Image 1.7).¹⁷⁹ Eustratio's descendants had commissioned the house to be a children's hospital after the death of his daughter Julia Scaramanga in 1910.¹⁸⁰ Eustratio was buried in the West Norwood Cemetery, London.¹⁸¹ In his will, Eustratio, who had an estate of more than £611,000, left money to St Mary's Hospital in Paddington, the Royal Hospital for

¹⁷³ Register of impositions paid on outward cargoes, 1810, TNA: SP 105/173.

¹⁷⁴ His name is sometimes recorded as 'Zanni Louca Mavrocordato'. See: Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 44. Note: The firm was also known as 'Mavrogordato J. & Co.'. See: 'Zannis (Lucas) Mavrogordato', Christopher Long, 6 November 2015 (last modified).

¹⁷⁵ Chatziioannou, 'Greek Merchant Networks in the Age of Empires (1770-1870)', 371-82.

¹⁷⁶ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 44.

¹⁷⁷ 'Zannis (Lucas) Mavrogordato', Christopher Long, 6 November 2015 (last modified).

¹⁷⁸ Naturalisation Papers: Ralli, Eustratio, from Greece, London, 1847, TNA: HO 1/25/637.

¹⁷⁹ Simon McNeill-Ritchie & Ron Elam, *Putney & Roehampton Through Time*, Amberley, The Hill, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2015, 243-4; 'Scio House, Putney Heath', *South London Press*, London, 16 July 1892, 4.

¹⁸⁰ 'Scio House Children's Hospital, Shanklin: Opening Ceremony Yesterday', *Isle of White County Press & South of England Reporter*, Newport, Isle of Wight, 24 September 1910, 8.

¹⁸¹ 'Eustratios Stephanos (Stephanos) Ralli, 1800-1884', i2292, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 2 August 2015 (last modified); 'Eustratios Stephanos (Stephanos) Ralli, 1800-1884', i2292, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 5 March 2010 (last modified).

Incurables in Putney, the Academy of Chios, the hospitals of Chios, the Church of St Victor on Chios, the poor of Chios, and to his servants.¹⁸²



Image 1.7: Photograph of Scio House, Putney Heath. In front is Scio Pond, Wimbledon Common, c. 1907.¹⁸³

John Ralli, on the other hand, was originally based in Odessa, before migrating to London.¹⁸⁴ By 1820, he married Italian emigrant Lucia Storni in a Catholic ceremony, and the couple had a son, Stephanos Ralli, born in London in August 1821.¹⁸⁵ John and his family 'return migrated' to Odessa by the 1830s, where he continued to work as part of the Chiot mercantile network.¹⁸⁶

After the massacre, the Rallis were joined in London by three more of their brothers, Pandias, Augustus, and Toumazis, and their enterprises expanded exponentially. The Ralli brothers and their families are considered the forerunners of not only the

¹⁸² 'Recently Proved Wills', *Warminster & Westbury Journal, and Wilts County Advertiser*, Warminster, Wiltshire, 13 December 1884, 6.

¹⁸³ McNeill-Ritchie & Elam, *Putney & Roehampton Through Time*, 227-8.

¹⁸⁴ It is unclear when John Ralli first arrived in Odessa, but it was likely around 1815, following the Napoleonic Wars.

¹⁸⁵ Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*, 21.

¹⁸⁶ 'Zannis 'John' (Stephanos) Ralli', Christopher Long, 29 September 2005 (last modified); Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa*, 138.

nineteenth-century Chiot community of London, but also the city's wider Greek community.¹⁸⁷ Vourkatioti compared the five Ralli brothers to “the other giants of the time, the five Jewish Rothschild brothers.”¹⁸⁸ Similarities are undeniable, however, there are also fundamental differences in the community structures of the Rallis and wider London Chiots compared to the Rothschilds and other merchants.

Dimitrios Schinas, born in Istanbul of Chiot descent, was also living in London from 1818 into the early-1820s, working as a librarian for the Philhellene Frederick North, Fifth Earl of Guilford, son of British Prime Minister Frederick North.¹⁸⁹ Guilford had offered scholarships for “promising Greek students” to study in England and elsewhere in Europe, with the aim of building a Greek-speaking staff for his recently founded 1824 Ionian Academy, one of the first universities in Modern Greece.¹⁹⁰ Schinas was one of those funded via the scholarship scheme, as was the later Greek Prime Minister Spyridon Trikoupis.¹⁹¹ Schinas was listed as a medical doctor and full member of the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London in June 1818, being one of the very few non-Anglophone names on the list.¹⁹² Guilford's support of Schinas spoke to the prominence of Philhellenism in the period, which enabled a quicker societal integration for the Chiots, particularly in elite circles.

Although not of Chiot descent himself, the merchant Constantine Ioannou 'Ipliktzis' Ionides emigrated to London from Istanbul in 1815 with his family, preceding the Rallis.¹⁹³ In London, Ionides set up a trading firm, 'Argenti, Thomas & Co.' His partners were his brother-in-law, Nicolaos Thomas; his Chiot son-in-law John G. Argenti; and Chiot

¹⁸⁷ Harris, 'London's Greek Community', 5-6.

¹⁸⁸ Katerina Vourkatioti, 'The House of Ralli Brothers (c. 1818-1961)', in Chatziioannou & Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids*, 100.

¹⁸⁹ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 44; Penn, 'Philhellenism in England (1821-1827)', 369. Schinas also worked at the Laurentian Library in the Ionian Islands and had likely been travelling with Guilford before being appointed to London. See: Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship, Vol. III*, 370; Paschalis M. Kitromilides, 'In Search of Litterae Humaniores: Presences and Absences in the Readership of the Biblioteca Laurenziana', in Robert W. Gaston & Louis A. Waldman (eds.), *San Lorenzo: A Florentine Church*, Villa I Tatti, The Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Florence, 2017, 687.

¹⁹⁰ S.E. Tsitsonis, 'The Earl of Guilford's interest in the political affairs and higher education of Greece according to a part of his unpublished correspondence of the year 1827', *Παρουσία*, 6, 1988, 137-8.

¹⁹¹ Kokkonas, '«Το της Ίριδος σχέδιον...εις έργον δια τι δεν εβάλθηκεν;»', 212; M.C. Curthoys, 'North, Frederick, fifth earl of Guilford (1766-1827)', *ODNB*, 23 September 2004, 21 May 2009 (current version).

¹⁹² 'Members of the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London', London, June 1818, xv.

¹⁹³ There is anecdotal evidence on genealogy websites suggesting Ionides did descend from the Chiot Scanavi family, who emigrated to Istanbul. However, there are no records supporting this. See also: Dowling & Fletcher who make the connection: *Hellenism in England*, 51-2.

acquaintance Theodore Strati Ralli.¹⁹⁴ It is evident that connections between the Ionides family and the Chiots were already established prior to their arrival in London, which likely stemmed from the Chiot presence in the Fener and Galata neighbourhoods of Istanbul. Additionally, Ionides opted to use the Chiot name 'Argenti' for his firm rather than his own name, due to its 'calibre' among merchants. The firm dealt in Manchester cloth and employed many Chiots, incorporating themselves into the trade network that the islanders were traversing.¹⁹⁵

Many of Ionides' children also married Chiots, merging the family with the Chiot diaspora, including the Argenti, Cassavetti, and Sgouta families.¹⁹⁶ They also married into other early London Greek families, such as the Boudouri, Fenerlis, Rosetti, Tzikalotis, and Xeno, who all originated in Istanbul, albeit some with Chiot relations; as well as the Chiot-Moldavian Adamaki (or Tsialik) family, and Lascaridi family of Bursa. Ionides was the subject of a portrait by symbolist painter George Frederic Watts, c. 1840 (Image 1.8). Other members of the Ionides family settled in Britain during the nineteenth century, including the merchant Michael Johnnidis (Ionides) of Constantinople, who was naturalised in 1870 aged 30, and had lived in Manchester since at least 1862; and Alexander Ionides, Greek Consul General in London (1853).¹⁹⁷ The early mobile Chiots and other Aegean Ottomans were the pioneers and forefathers for the next wave of emigration and settlement, which had its origins in the Chios Massacre.

¹⁹⁴ See: Dowling & Fletcher, *Hellenism in England*, 52-3; 'Constantine Ioannes 'Ipliktzis' (Ioannes) Ionides', Christopher Long, 17 May 2008 (last modified); Mark Evans, 'Blake, Calvert – And Palmer? The Album of Alexander Constantine Ionides', *The Burlington Magazine*, 144(1194), September 2002, 539.

¹⁹⁵ Victoria & Albert Museum, 'Constantine Ionides Bequest Study Guide', London, 2016; Dowling & Fletcher, *Hellenism in England*, 51-2.

¹⁹⁶ 'Constantine Ioannes 'Ipliktzis' (Ioannes) Ionides', Christopher Long. See also: C.M. Kauffmann, 'Ionides, Alexander Constantine (1810-1890)', *ODNB*, 23 September 2004; C.M. Kauffmann, 'Ionides, Constantine Alexander (1833-1900)', *ODNB*, 23 September 2004; Linda Parry, 'Coronio [née Ionides], Aglaia (1834-1906)', *ODNB*, 28 September 2006; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *Constantine Ionidis–Ipliktzis 1775-1852 and the Ionidi family*, self-published, London, 1988.

¹⁹⁷ Naturalisation Papers: Johnnidis, Michael, from Greece, London, 17 October 1870, TNA: HO 1/172/B7; Naturalisation Papers: Johnnidis, Michael, from Greece, London, 23 September 1867, TNA: HO 1/143/5575; Luke Ionides, *Memories*, Dog Rose Press, Ludlow, Shropshire, 1996, 72. See also: Ionides, *Ion*, 1927.

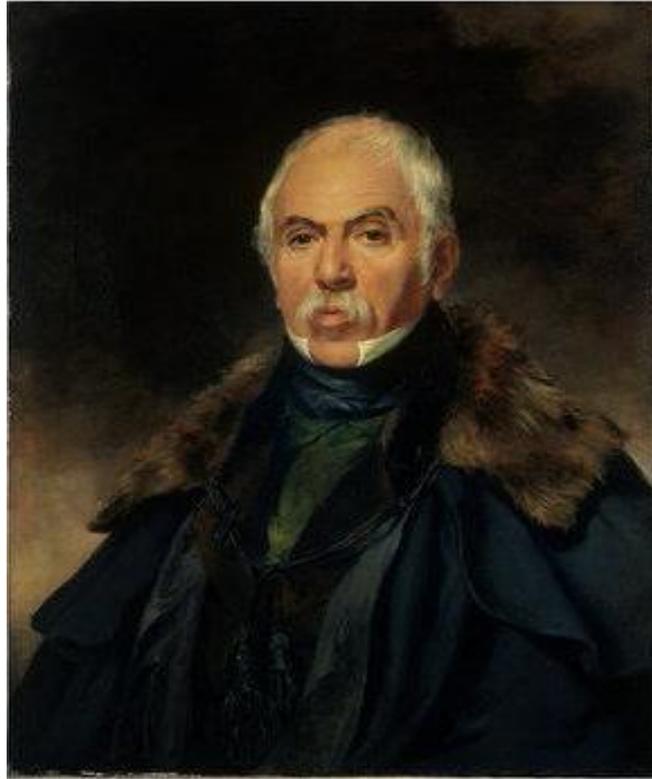


Image 1.8: Oil painting of Constantine Ionides by George Frederic Watts, c. 1840, courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London.¹⁹⁸

Ultimately, emigration to Britain in the early-nineteenth century was based on an ‘open door’ policy. This contrasted from later immigration policy, especially after the Aliens Act (1905).¹⁹⁹ However, it was not always ‘open door’ for many migrants, with complexities at play throughout the 1800s, including temporary restrictions on certain arrivals, such as for French during the Napoleonic Wars and Italian street performers in the 1860s-70s.²⁰⁰ There was also an existing Aliens Act (1793), which was reiterated in 1814, and renewed every two years under discussions as the ‘Alien Bill’. The bill gave

¹⁹⁸ George Frederick Watts, ‘Constantine Ionides’, oil on canvas, Britain, c. 1840.

¹⁹⁹ See: Robert Winder, *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain*, Little, Brown, London, 2004, 192-219; Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain: 1815-1945*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1994, 42-3; Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 2014, 61-3; John A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910*, Oxford University Press, London, New York & Toronto, 1971, 22-47; Evan Smith & Marinella Marmo, *Race, Gender and the Body in British Immigration Control: Subject to Examination*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2014, 22-3; Evan Smith, Andrekos Varnava & Marinella Marmo, ‘The Interconnectedness of British and Australian Immigration Controls in the 20th Century: Between Convergence and Divergence’, *The International History Review*, 43(6), 2021, 1354-74.

²⁰⁰ Winder, *Bloody Foreigners*, 141-2.

officials powers to expel, detain and question migrants, and required that 'aliens' in Britain register.²⁰¹

The Bill itself was criticised as illegal in July 1822, where Mr Williams (most likely Thomas Peers Williams, MP for Great Marlow) discussed "The case...of Greeks seeking refuge in our isle and planning the restoration of their country, is not only decisive of the merits, but it brands the atrocity, of the measure."²⁰² Furthermore, in March 1824, prejudice against refugees formed the basis of the Alien Bill's renewal, where Secretary Peel argued that, "they were ready to permit foreigners to take refuge in this country as an asylum, but not to allow them to desecrate that asylum, by converting it into a scene of intrigue and machination", with this version of the Bill lasting until 1826.²⁰³ The nineteenth-century Chiois walked a unique line of migrant 'desirability', between being refugees, being merchants, and being embraced by Philhellenic conceptions. However, skilled and mercantile migrants, like the Chiois, tended to receive better reception and navigate policy 'easier' when migrating due to the economic prospects they brought with them.

During the nineteenth century, many diasporas began establishing themselves in the busy hubs of London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Manchester, where work was plentiful, especially for merchants and ship workers.²⁰⁴ Working-class Irish and German migrants made up the bulk of the migrant communities in these cities, and they were closely followed by Eastern European Jews in the late-nineteenth century.²⁰⁵ According to John Scholes' foreign merchant guide, by 1810 Manchester had merchant emigrant communities from Germany, France, the Netherlands, Russia, and Italy.²⁰⁶ Over the course of the nineteenth century, they were joined by emigrants from Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Greece, and the Ottoman Empire, including Turkish,

²⁰¹ J.R. Dinwiddy, 'The Use of the Crown's Power of Deportation Under the Aliens Act, 1793-1826', *Historical Research*, 41(104), 1968, 193-211.

²⁰² 'The Alien Bill', *Representative 1822*, London, 7 July 1822, 5. See: Hansard - 'Aliens Regulation Bill, House of Commons, vol. 7, United Kingdom, 14 June 1822.

²⁰³ Hansard - 'Alien Bill', House of Commons, vol. 11, United Kingdom, 2 April 1824. See: Hansard - 'Alien Bill', House of Commons, vol. 10, United Kingdom, 23 March 1824.

²⁰⁴ See: Amy J. Lloyd, 'Emigration, Immigration and Migration in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *British Library Newspapers*, Gale, Detroit, 2007.

²⁰⁵ Lloyd, 'Emigration, Immigration and Migration in Nineteenth-Century Britain'.

²⁰⁶ John Scholes, *Manchester's Foreign Merchants, 1781-1870 (or, The Merchant who shall be A Foreigner in the City of Manchester Consecutively given, from 1784-1870)*, MSFF/382/S/35, 1781-1870, 44-5. Note: The country names used in the guide, such as Germany, Greece, and Italy, were geographic rather than national.

Armenian, and Arab traders.²⁰⁷ In a way, migration to Britain did not have a ‘nexus’ or starting point, but rather was part of an on-and-off flow of European movement from the Middle Ages. This is unlike peripheral Anglosphere nations such as Australia, New Zealand, the US, Canada, and South Africa, who all had defined ‘immigration periods’ due to the nature of their colonisation and ‘recent’ histories. These ‘immigration periods’ are an important distinction with the Ikarian case study.

Emigrant groups, however, did have a nexus for their movements. For mass movements, this ‘nexus’ was often a coerced event, such as French Huguenots who fled persecution in continental Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; poor Irish families who settled in Britain, spurred on by the ‘Potato Famine’ of the 1840s-50s; Jewish evacuees from Russia in the 1880s; Armenians who escaped massacres in the Ottoman Empire in the 1890s; and this chapter’s case study, the Chiots, who fit chronologically between these other cases.²⁰⁸ It should be noted, however, that, as discussed, the Chiots were firstly economic and social migrants, and were only coerced following the massacre of 1822. This itself was akin to Jewish migrants, who had a significant established London diaspora, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, prior to their persecutions in Russia and elsewhere.²⁰⁹ Catherine Jones also examined nineteenth century Irish, East European Jewish, and New Commonwealth immigration, noting that despite being coerced away from their homelands, they were in fact “instances of mass economic immigration to this

²⁰⁷ Scholes, *Manchester’s Foreign Merchants, 1781-1870*, 45.

²⁰⁸ For the Huguenots expulsion from the continent and settlement in England see: Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement, c. 1550-1700*, Peregrine Stevenson & Adriana Stevenson (trans.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, 185-228. For Irish fleeing the ‘Potato Famine’ see: Ciarán Ó Murchadha, *The Great Famine: Ireland’s Agony, 1845-1852*, Continuum, London & New York, 2011, 134-57; Gerard Moran (ed.), *The History of the Irish Famine: The Exodus: Emigration and the Great Famine*, Routledge, London & New York, 2019. For Armenians escaping the massacres under Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1894-6) see: Raymond Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*, I.B. Tauris, London & New York, 2011, 11; Khachig Tololyan, ‘Armenian Diaspora’, in Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember & Ian Skoggard (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World*, Springer, Boston, Massachusetts, 2005, 39. For the Jewish evacuees see: Winder, *Bloody Foreigners*, 174-91.

²⁰⁹ Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 2002, 42-126. See also: Colin Holmes & Anne J. Kershen, *An East End Legacy: Essays in Memory of William J. Fishman*, Routledge, London & New York, 2018; Hannah Ewence, *The Alien Jew in the British Imagination, 1881-1905: Space, Mobility and Territoriality*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019; David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914*, University Press, New Haven, 1994; Daniel Renshaw, *Socialism and the Diasporic ‘Other’: A comparative study of Irish Catholic and Jewish radical and communal politics in East London, 1889-1912*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2018; Daniel Renshaw, ‘Old Prejudices and New Prejudices: State Surveillance and Harassment of Irish and Jewish Communities in London – 1800-1930’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, 40(1-2), 2022, 79-105; Susan L. Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants in London, 1880-1939*, Routledge, New York, 2014.

country. In other words, they all involved large numbers of people; and they all involved a movement of people from less prosperous or less promising circumstances...[with] at least an underlying economic rationale for coming to Britain.”²¹⁰

Despite these mass movements, Britain likely had more emigrants than immigrants in this period, as Lucassen acknowledged, “The nineteenth century witnessed great movements of people from one continent to another. Considerable numbers of Europeans translocated either temporarily or permanently to the New World”.²¹¹ Payton also noted that 50 million people left Europe from 1815-1914, and Richards emphasised that many of these were British leaving for North America in the ‘Atlantic shift’.²¹² These assessments were characterised by Foks who noted that Britain became an ‘emigration state’, where during the century, outward emigration was usually at least double inward arrivals.²¹³ Perhaps this outward flow of British emigrants provided a gap that European immigrants filled in Britain?

Conclusion

Chios’ history of emigration and mercantilism ultimately compounded into a significant diaspora that expanded around the Mediterranean, Black Sea, and eventually, London. Their mode of emigration, rooted in trade and commerce, stemmed from their long history of being both a hub of movement and a centre of economic advances. This was seen especially through their history under the *Maonesi*, their trade with the Levant Company, and their privileged status within the Ottoman Empire (including the *demogerontes* and Phanariot systems). These enabling factors allowed Chiots to flourish in their home region and abroad, cultivating a cosmopolitan lifestyle for many of the prominent families, while also maintaining their staunchly Chiot identity and sense of community.

²¹⁰ Catherine Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain*, Tavistock Publications, London, 1977, 5.

²¹¹ Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana & Chicago, 2005, 27.

²¹² Philip Payton, ‘Maritime history and the emigration trade: the case of mid-nineteenth-century Cornwall’, *History in focus*, Issue 9: The Sea, Autumn 2005; Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 7-9. See also: Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1991, 7-16; Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*, Tauris, London, 1987; Dudley Baines, ‘European emigration, 1815-1930: looking at the emigration decision again’, *Economic History Review*, XLVII (3), 1994, 525-44.

²¹³ Freddy Foks, ‘Emigration State: Race, Citizenship and Settler Imperialism in Modern British History, c. 1850-1972’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 35, 2022, 170-99.

Due to these factors, Chiots had a long history in Britain starting from the sixteenth century – albeit in small, scattered migrations. During and especially following the Napoleonic Wars, however, Chiots began a social and economic emigration to London, that was unique from their earlier movements to Britain. The profound settlement and early-community building exhibited by the Chiot diaspora in London, especially in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars and the Chios Massacre is explored further in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Chiot Settlement & Initial Community Building (1822-30s)

On Good Friday, at sunrise, the Turks landed and prepared for their work of devastation...I took a box of jewelry (sic), and while we were preparing to quit the place, the Turks were already at our door, breaking it with their axes. My mother, half frantic, telling me to follow, leaped from the window, and fled to the English Consulate, on reaching which, she swooned. As for me, I attempted to do the same, but in my precipitation injured myself by striking a stone, and fainted. A rifle-ball whistled near my ear. I arose with a shriek. Before me, stood a Turk, holding the trunkless head of one of our neighbours. The blood dripped on me, and the Moslem said, "Fear not! you are mine".¹

This was the dramatic account Christophorus Castanis gave in his 1851 autobiography, *The Greek Exile*, of his capture by Ottoman forces during the Chios Massacre of 1822.

Castanis was born in Livadia, Chios, on 1 April 1814, one of eight siblings.² His family were educated and cosmopolitan. His three older brothers had attended the Academy of Chios, and his maternal uncles lived in Russia, exporting goods and luxury items to the island, including silverware.³ Castanis was privately educated by Demetriades of Thessaly, a member of the *Filiki Eteria*.⁴ Demetriades instilled his nationalistic and revolutionary ideals in the young Castanis, which resurrected later in his adult career. Castanis' education was interrupted by the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821. Less than a year later, Ottoman forces decimated the island.

During the massacre, Castanis was captured and sold to an Ottoman slaver named Soliman Aga, who renamed him Mustapha, before reselling him. In slavery, Castanis performed house duties, laboured, and attended school with other slaves, where they

¹ Christophorus Plato Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., Philadelphia, 1851, 32-3.

² George J. Leber, *History of the Order of AHEPA 1922-1972*, Order of AHEPA, Washington, D.C., 1972, 49; 'Christophorus Plato Castanis', *AHEPA History*.

³ Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 16-9.

⁴ Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 21.

learnt Turkish and the basics of the Islamic faith.⁵ It is unclear where exactly Castanis was enslaved, although he likely remained in the main town of Chios, as hinted at in his memoir. Other Chiots experienced a similar forced conversion and re-education after the massacre, which included a ceremonial circumcision.⁶ This included a member of the Scaramanga family, who later became Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, the Ottoman Grand Vizier from 1877-78; as well as Mustapha Khaznadar, born Georgios Kalkias (Halkias) Stravelakis, who was transferred to Tunis and became the prime minister there from 1837-73.⁷ A similar case includes the family of Tunisian diplomat Mongi Slim, who descends from a captured Chiot slave named Kafkalas, who was sold to the Bey of Tunis.⁸

One night, after administering opium to his master, Castanis made an escape and reunited with his mother, where they eventually fled on a Cephalonian ship and met with American relief agents at Nafplio.⁹ In Nafplio, Castanis became acquainted with American abolitionist Dr Samuel Gridley Howe, who sponsored his migration to the US.¹⁰ He arrived in New York in 1831, where he stayed with Howe before attending Mount Pleasant Classical Institution, outside of Boston.¹¹ Other Chiot refugees also found themselves in America between the 1820s-30s, including the orphaned Captain George Musalas Colvocoresses (Calvocoressi), Alexander George Paspatis, brothers Konstantinos and Pantias Ralli, and Nicholas Petrocochino.¹²

⁵ Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 44-58.

⁶ See: William St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*, 2nd edn., Cambridge Open Book Publishers, Cambridge, 2008, 81.

⁷ Eldem Edhem, 'Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 6, 2009, 27-40; Antonios Chaldeos, 'The Greek community in Tunis between 1803 and 1881: Aspects of its demographics and its role in the local economic and political context', *The Journal of North African Studies*, 24(6), 2019, 892-4; Antonis Chaldeos, 'George Stravelakis: The Enslaved Greek who Became Ruler of Tunisia', *Greek Reporter*, 2 July 2021. Note: Members of the Xydas, Koumarianos, Sourias, Lagadousis, and Martoulas families settled in Tunis after Islamisation.

⁸ 'Rebel Parliamentarian Politico', *Time*, LXXVIII(13), New York, 29 September 1961, 23. Note: Kafkalas was likely captured by pirates and not by the Ottomans.

⁹ Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 68-70, 92 & 100.

¹⁰ Leber, *History of the Order of AHEPA 1922-1972*, 29-31; 'Christophorus Plato Castanis', *AHEPA History*; James W. Trent Jr, 'Samuel Gridley Howe: American educator', *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 3 January 2020.

¹¹ Leber, *History of the Order of AHEPA 1922-1972*, 49; Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 131-5.

¹² Leber, *History of the Order of AHEPA 1922-1972*, 41, 48 & 50; Harold Colvocoresses, 'Captain George Musalas Colvocoresses, U. S. N.', *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, 25(3), July 1934, 163-70; Helen Zeese Papanikolas, 'The Greeks of Carbon County', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 22(2), April 1954, 143; Charles C. Moskos & Peter C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, Michael Dukakis (intro.), Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2017, 6. See: Gonda Van Steen, 'The United States as a Haven for Greek Revolutionary War Orphans? Myth and Reality', in Yianni Cartledge & Andrekos Varnava (eds.), *New*

At Mount Pleasant, Castanis studied classics, where he established himself as part of 'educated American society', much like his family had in Chios.¹³ Castanis' notable works include his autobiography, a biography of the Caroussis family of Chios during the massacre, and three acclaimed studies on Classical Greek language and culture.¹⁴ He also wrote a love story about a Jewish maiden and an Albanian chief, based in Chios' castle, no doubt inspired by the cosmopolitan nature of the Ottoman world he experienced.¹⁵

Using this platform, Castanis launched a speaking tour in 1839, where he combined his lessons from Demetriades, his experiences as a slave and his knowledge of classical literature to deliver lectures that were anti-Ottoman and pro-Greek Independence.¹⁶ During his lectures, Castanis displayed a replica of Lord Byron's sword, and compared figures like Markos Botsaris to George Washington. By emphasising connections between Greek and American culture, his lectures became popular, and repeats were requested.¹⁷ His revolutionary ideas were printed on an 1850 broadside (Image 2.1). The *Republican Journal* reminisced on Castanis' lectures over sixty years later, calling them "exceedingly interesting".¹⁸ Castanis' later years were obscure,

Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence: Myths, Realities, Legacies and Reflections, Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, Cham, Switzerland, 2022, 155-79.

¹³ George Kaloudis, *Modern Greece and the Diaspora Greeks in the United States*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Boulder, New York & London, 2018, 31; Yiorgos D. Kalogeras, 'Eleni: Hellenizing the subject, westernizing the discourse', *MELUS*, 18(2), 1993, 82-5.

¹⁴ Christophorus Plato Castanis, 'Caroussis: An Authentic Sketch of the Massacre at Scio', *The Knickerbocker (New York Monthly Magazine)*, XVII(1), The Proprietor, New York, January 1841, 69-70, in Nikolaos K. Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912: From Massacre to Liberation: Selections from the Literature of the Period*, The Chian Federation, New York, 2012, 232-5; Steve Frangos, 'Tales of Greek Slavery in 19th Century America', *The National Herald*, special, 15 January 2000, 1, 9-10; Christophorus Plato Castanis, *An Essay on the Ancient and Modern Greek Languages*, Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, Andover, Massachusetts, 1844; Christophorus Plato Castanis, *Oriental Amusing, Instructive, and Moral Literary Dialogues: Comprising the Love and Disappointment of a Turk of Rank in the City of Washington*, John Putnam, Boston, 1850; Christophorus Plato Castanis, *Interpretations of the Attributes of the Principal Fabulous Deities: With an Essay on the History of Mythology*, William Hyde, Portland, Oregon, 1844. Note: Castanis also published a book detailing the Greek Orthodox Church's rites, see: Christophorus Plato Castanis, *The Greek boy and the Sunday-School: comprising ceremonies of the Greek church, mode of baptism, communion, picture-worship, etc.*, William S. Martien, Philadelphia, 1852.

¹⁵ Christophorus Plato Castanis, *A Love Tale: The Jewish Maiden of Scio's Citadel; or, The Eastern Star, and the Albanian Chief*, Philergomathia, 1845.

¹⁶ 'Christophorus Plato Castanis', *AHEPA History*; Leber, *History of the Order of AHEPA 1922-1972*, 49; 'Literary Notices', *The Knickerbocker: New York Monthly Magazine*, XXV, John Allen, New York, February 1845, 167; Kaloudis, *Modern Greece and the Diaspora Greeks in the United States*, 31.

¹⁷ 'Greece and America', *The Daily Union*, Washington, D.C., 21 May 1845, 71; 'Pamphlets of the Day', *The Republic*, Washington, D.C., 27 November 1849, 3; 'Wednesday Morning, Feb. 26, 1840', *Alexandria Gazette*, Alexandria, D.C., 26 February 1840, 3.

¹⁸ William George Crosby, 'Annals of Belfast for Half a Century', *The Republican Journal*, Belfast, Maine, 30 October 1913, 6.

however, his dramatic life, from a privileged upbringing to the horrors of the massacre and slavery, and to once again returning to his position as part of the 'cultivated elite', albeit in a new home, is an archetype that many Chiots emulated, particularly those that settled in London.

GREECE!!

Greece, "the first Garden of Liberty's Tree," struggling to shake off the Yoke of Turkish Tyranny.

"Clime of the unforgotten brave,
Whose land from Plain to Mountain's Cave
Was Freedom's home and glory's grave.—Byron."

MARCO BOZZARIS IN THE TURKISH CAMP.

CHRISTOPHOROS PLATO CASTANIS,

A native Greek, partly educated in the United States, will give an

EXTEMPORE LECTURE

AND AN EXHIBITION ON GREECE AND TURKEY,

On evening, at o'clock.

The Lecturer being one of the few who escaped death for captivity, during the massacre on the Island of Scio,* will speak, not from hearsay, but describe what he has himself witnessed while a captive among the murderers of the peaceful inhabitants of that Oasis of the Grecian Archipelago. This Lecture will comprise also a description of that glorious battle in which MARCO BOZZARIS, the Washington of Greece, fell in the arms of victory. In the course of the exercises Mr. C. will give in recitation and singing, several of those famous WAR SONGS of the Greeks, which urged on the Greek Revolution, as specimens of the Grecian Language, Poetry and Music.

To make his topics more impressive to the Americans, the most disinterested friends of Greece, he will appear in his Martial costume, similar to that worn by Marco Bozzaris and his Sullote band.

Oh, who is more brave than a dark Saloto,
In his snowy costume and his shaggy capote.

To the wolf and the vulture he leaves his wild Bark,
And descends to the plain like a stream from the rock.—Byron.

Several costly Grecian and Turkish curiosities, illustrative of the manners and customs of the Greeks and Turks, will be exhibited, some of which illustrate passages in the Sacred Scriptures. Among them are implements of war, mounted with silver, and luxurious pipes of the Turks. Also, articles pertaining to the costumes of Grecian ladies, which being embroidered with gold thread on both sides, with skill and taste unsurpassed, cannot but interest the Ladies of Columbia, who, during the Grecian contest for freedom, manifested so much sympathy in their behalf, when they fell victims on the altar of Liberty, or while their delicate hands clung to the adamantine chains of Turkish captivity. In exhibiting the Turkish pipes and other beautiful domestic articles, Mr. C. will illustrate some humorous and thrilling scenes connected with an Oriental Coffee House and the Divan.

The identical Sword of Lord Byron will also be exhibited as one of his curiosities. The following note from Col. J. P. Miller, of Montpellier, one of the Agents appointed to distribute to the Greeks the contributions of the people of the United States, describes the manner it fell into his hands.

* Lord Byron gave this sword to a young Cephalonian Greek, by the name of Lucas, who was a captain in his Lordship's legion, at Missolonghi. Lucas was shot dead in a sortie from the Acropolis, at Athens, with his sword knotted around his wrist. He was carried dead into the fortress, and his arms and clothes were sold for the benefit of his sisters, by the English consul at Poros. I bought the sword.—*Montpelier, Aug. 4, 1841.* J. P. MILLER.
Mr. Castanis came to this country after the massacre of his native place, with Dr. Howe, of Boston, and had his English education at Amherst, Mass., and Mrs. C. at Ipswich Female Seminary. They are about returning to Greece.

— Mr. Webster, in his noble speech in behalf of the liberties of Greece, says:—"The destruction of Scio, a scene I shall not attempt to describe; a scene from which human nature shrinks shuddering away; a scene having hardly a parallel in the history of fallen man."

OPINIONS OF WELL-KNOWN DIVINES, CIVILIANS AND SCHOLARS.

From the Albany Argus.
Mr. Castanis's lecture before the Legislature of N. Y., (1842, Extra Session.) The Representatives' Hall, last night, was crowded to listen to the lecture of Mr. Castanis. Never was a presentation in our city such a novel entertainment.

The war-song he favored us with was worth a whole concert of songs; and though he professed to be no singer, his performance in the song of war and of love would be worthy of the Raisers.

The song in which the warrior takes leave of his mistress on going out to conquer, or perish in battle, forcibly reminds one of that touching scene—the farewell of Hector and Andromache.

His description of the council of Marco Bozzaris—of the battle—and of the mourning of Greece over the death of the Hero, was in a strain of eloquence worthy of one of our highest orators.

Without particularizing further, we may safely say, the performance was eminently successful; and if Mr. C. does not repeat his lecture, he is not the "man we look him for—that's all."

From EX Gubernator Everett, of Massachusetts, 1st Minister to England.
Waterbury, near Boston, Aug. 24, 1839.—My personal acquaintance with Mr. Christophoros Plato Castanis of the Island of Scio, with the favorable testimonies of Prof. Felton, President Quincy, Dr. Falley, and Hon. John Pickering, gentlemen whose opinions are entitled to the highest respect, lead me to unite with them in believing him qualified as an instructor and lecturer in the ancient and modern languages and literature of his country; I recommend him, therefore, to the confidence and countenance of the friends of Greece.

From President Day, of Yale College.
Yale College, Oct. 29, 1841.—Having had the opportunity of attending one of Mr. Castanis's lectures to a portion of the students in this College, I found myself well rewarded for the hour's attendance by the information and entertainment furnished by the performance.

From Mrs. Pebley, formerly Mrs. Lincoln's, authoress of a work on Botany, the *First Side Prized*, &c.
Mr. Castanis became known to me personally at Troy, N. York, (1828,) when as one of the Greek Boys of noble families, they were introduced by the philanthropist, Dr. Howe, and commended by their misfortunes and the distress of their country, to our sympathies and kindness.

These Grecian youths have become the adopted sons of our country; they have proved by their good conduct, that they deserve to be honored and cherished amongst us.

Mr. Castanis has lectured with much applause before the pupils, teachers, and officers of the F. F. Institute.

A. H. L. PHELPS.
June 12, 1848. Principal of Patuxent Female Institute, Maryland.

Messrs. Editors.—Mr. Castanis has been known to me from his boyhood. He was a pupil at the Mount Pleasant Classical Institution, Amherst, Mass., soon after the massacre at his native island, Scio. I am delighted to find him so ably advocating the cause of his ill-fated country. Mr. C. is entitled to our admiration as an orator. I am free to say that I was never more charmed than when I heard him address a public assembly, for the first time, some two years back, and forming my opinion from the breathless attention of his whole audience, I presume the delight was general. His theme was his native land, its revolution, misfortunes, hopes and prospects; the interest was sustained throughout, but the sketch that he gave of the last, glorious act of Bozzaris, the Epimetheus of modern Greece, was thrilling in the extreme. I am happy to learn that he is now to address the children and youth of our city. I hope he will have a large audience. Parents themselves, will not be unrepaid for their time if they attend also. He will leave impressions on the minds of the young which will remain there till life ends—impressions of virtue and the noblest patriotism.

J. E. LOVELL,
Principal of the Lancasterian School, and author of the U. S. Speaker.
New Haven, July 15, 1848.

In addition to the above, Mr. Castanis has commendatory references from the following named gentlemen:—Hon. John Pickering, of Boston; Prof. Anthon, of Columbia College; Bishop M'Innis; Rev. Dr. Hawley; Rev. Dr. Schroeder; Rev. Dr. Cox; Bishop F. Pier; Faculty of Hanover College; Gov. Ellsworth; Noah Webster; J. T. Marshall, late from Greece; Prof. Hart, of the High School, Philadelphia; Rev. Prof. George Fenwick, of Georgetown College; Ex-President Darbin; Prof. Whidden; Rev. Dr. Krauth; President Nevins; Prof. Kendrick; Dr. Eston, Hamilton College; Rev. Prof. Bacon; Prof. Hazdock, of Dartmouth College and others.

Tickets 12½ cts. only, to be had at the door. One Lecture only will be given. No postponement.

Four works by Mr. Castanis can be had at the principal Bookstores of this place; one on the Ancient and Modern Greek; one on Mythology; one entitled the Jewish Maiden of Scio's Citadel, the other the Greek-Boy and the Sunday School.

N. H. Patriot Office, Concord.

1848, July 1st

Image 2.1: Castanis' broadside published in 1850.¹⁹

¹⁹ Christophorus Plato Castanis, *Greece! Greece, "The First Garden of Liberty's Tree," Struggling to Shake Off the Yoke of Turkish Tyranny*, broadside, Patriot Office, Concord, New Hampshire, 1850.

This chapter explores the large-scale settlement of Chiots in London and the initial community building they exhibited. To do this, firstly, this chapter discusses Chios during the Greek War of Independence (1821-32) and the Chios Massacre (1822), an event paramount to the narrative of Chiot migration. Secondly, it explores the mass coerced emigration and settlement of Chiots in the ports of the Mediterranean and, ultimately, London, following the massacre. This movement, which lasted between the 1820s-30s, is the largest movement of the Chiots, and although hinged on the massacre, was also tied to the pre-1822 London Chiot community's migratory groundwork. While the 1820s-30s are the main period of focus for this chapter, discussion of the 1840s-50s is also provided as it links the settlement and initial community building to the long-term community building, which is focused on more thoroughly in the following chapter.

This chapter seeks to reframe the period of Chiot settlement, showing how the pre-1822 migrants enabled the coerced post-massacre community. It also seeks to explore the initial community building of the Chiot diaspora in London, by illustrating how their tight knit community, grounded in the Greek Brotherhood, the Orthodox Church, and mercantile family firms, furthered Chiot migration to London throughout the nineteenth century. This ultimately leads to a look at their patterns of settlement, early community building, including community structures and events, and initial successes – most notably through the Baltic Exchange and Ralli Brothers firms. In doing so, this chapter establishes the major modes of settlement and initial methods of community building seen in London and elsewhere in Britain, before delving into their long-term community building and societal integration in the following chapter.

Chios & the Greek War of Independence

Due to its prosperity and relative autonomy, Chios was initially neutral during the Greek War of Independence. In the 1810s, some members of the cosmopolitan Chiot mercantile diaspora drew on the Greek Enlightenment's association with Chios, and in combination with other diaspora Greeks, joined the *Filiki Eteria* (or, 'Friendly Society') – a secret society aimed at obtaining Greek independence. Inspired by Freemasonry, the *Filiki Eteria* was originally conceived and concentrated in Odessa in 1814 by diaspora

merchants Nikolaos Skoufas, Emmanuil Xanthos, and Athanasios Tsakalov.²⁰ The society reorganised itself and moved to Istanbul in 1818, from where its agents branched out into Christian-Ottoman Europe.²¹ The movement followed an idea of an 'imagined' Greece, that synthesised both the classical and Byzantine pasts into a new 'Hellenic' national identity.²²

By 1821, the society was headed by the charismatic Phanariot Alexander Ypsilantis, who had served as a general in the Imperial Russian Army.²³ Instigated by the *Filiki Eteria* and the diaspora Greeks, the Greek War of Independence broke out initially, albeit unsuccessfully, in modern-day Romania, leading to a second, more successful, revolt in March 1821 in the Peloponnese.²⁴ Although Chiot popular opinion leaned toward neutrality due to their privileged position in the Empire, there were certainly neo-Hellenic sentiments on the island, as displayed by Castanis.²⁵ These sentiments likely originated with the mercantile diaspora and Phanariot class, however, they were concentrated within the island's 'cultivated elite'. This included the Rallis of London, who had corresponded with Adamantios Korais regarding Greek independence in a letter in 1816.²⁶ Their relatives, the Rallis of Vienna, were also contacted by Korais in 1823, in an appeal to subscribe to the Greek cause.²⁷

²⁰ Nassia Yakovaki, 'The Philiki Etaireia Revisited: In Search of Contexts, National and International', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 11, 2014, 172; Christopher Montague Woodhouse, *Modern Greece: A Short History*, 4th edn., Faber & Faber, London & Boston, 1986, 130. See also: Iordanis Poulkouras, *The Founding of Greek Free Masonry*, Centro Ibérico de Estudios Masónicos (CIEM), Madrid, 2015.

²¹ Dean J. Kostantaras, 'Christian Elites of the Peloponnese and the Ottoman State, 1715-1821', *European History Quarterly*, 43(4), 2013, 628-56.

²² See: Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1996, 113-21; David Brewer, *The Flame of Freedom: The Greek War of Independence, 1821-1833*, John Murray, London, 2001, 26-35.

²³ St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 9-10; Edmund Wright, Anne Kerr & Jonathan Law (eds.), 'Alexander Ypsilanti (1792-1828)', *A Dictionary of World History*, 3rd edn., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, 269.

²⁴ Brewer, *The Flame of Freedom*, 49-71.

²⁵ Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 21.

²⁶ Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, self-published, London, 1993, 44. See also: Iakovos (Jacob) Rotas (ed.), *Απάνθισμα επιστολών Αδαμαντίου Κοραή* [*Collection of Letters from Adamantios Korais*], Andreous Koromilas, Athens, 1841; Adamantios Korais, *Korais's Letters written from Paris, 1788-92*, Pandeli Ralli (trans.), Hatchards, London, 1898.

²⁷ D. Koster, 'An unpublished letter of Korais', *Ο Εραμιστής/The Gleaner*, 19, 1993, 206-9.

Adamantios Korais, who had lived in Paris during the Greek Revolution, was born in Izmir to a Chiot father, however, Lord Byron claimed he was born on Chios.²⁸ Chiot descendant John Mavrogordato in his survey of *Modern Greece*, gave a brief biography that captured the essence of Korais' importance to both Chiots and the Greek War of Independence, portraying him as a quiet scholar that grew up in a merchant house, with a love for the French Revolution, Greek language, classics, and 'regenerating' a Greek nation.²⁹ Korais' neo-Hellenic and revolutionary legacies, which embodied the Greek Enlightenment, ultimately were adopted by the *Filiki Eteria* and the Greek revolutionaries. Ironically, his ideologies would inspire later revolutionaries to participate in mass violence on his ancestral island.

*The Chios Massacre (1822)*³⁰

The Chios Massacre was the largest scale massacre during the Greek War of Independence, and it caused shock throughout Western Europe, Russia, and the US.³¹ It was also the catalyst for the largest wave of Chiot emigration. The massacre, which initially involved attempts to liberate Chios for the Greek Revolution, took place in March 1822, and followed earlier mass violence on the island.

The first attempt at 'liberating' Chios came from the Hydriot fleet under Iakovos Tombazis in April 1821.³² Tombazis was unsuccessful at spurring the Chiots to revolt against the Ottomans, due to the lack of support from the *demogerontes*, and the revolutionaries looked to formulate new plans. Argenti emphasised that Greek revolutionaries based in the Peloponnese and Hydra had shifted their focus from an

²⁸ Thomas W. Gallant, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1768 to 1913: The Long Nineteenth Century*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2015, 83-4; John Mavrogordato, *Modern Greece: A Chronicle and a Survey, 1800-1931*, Macmillan, London, 1931, 3, footnote 1: Byron in his notes to *Childe Harold* insists that he was not born at Smyrna but at Chios.

²⁹ Mavrogordato, *Modern Greece*, 3.

³⁰ See: Yianni John Charles Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism', *Historical Research*, 93(259), February 2020, 52-72.

³¹ Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in The Ottoman Empire 1815-1914*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2011, 69-70.

³² Dr Alexander M. Vlasto, *XIACA or "The History of the Island of Chios from the Earliest Times down to its Destruction by the Turks in 1822"*, original 1840, A. P. Ralli (trans.), privately printed by J. Davy & Sons, London, 1913, 145.

agitation to an invasion of Chios by 28 December 1821.³³ The Phanariot Dimitrios Ypsilantis, the Chiots Alexander Ralli and Antonios Bournias, and the influential Samian Lykourgos Logothetis were the instigators, however, it is likely that there was input from the *Filiki Eteria*, headed by Dimitrios' brother, Alexander Ypsilantis.³⁴ Other elite Chiots of the diaspora supported the rebellion, as previously mentioned.

In 1822, revolutionaries from the nearby island of Samos, led by Logothetis and Bournias, who had both served under Napoleon in Egypt, executed their plan to occupy Chios and 'liberate' it from 'Ottoman occupation'.³⁵ However, most Chiots, including the *demogerontes*, were opposed to the 'liberation', causing tension between locals and the revolutionaries.³⁶ After landing at Karfas, just south of Chios' capital, the Samian force defeated the small Ottoman resistance, set fire to the Customs House, and destroyed and defaced mosques and Muslim coffeehouses. Once done with the Muslim establishments in the main town, the Samians, joined also by revolutionaries from Psara, attacked both Orthodox and Catholic Chiots indiscriminately.³⁷ They targeted and stole from wealthy Chiots, raped local islanders, burned Venetian warehouses, and robbed from Orthodox churches.³⁸ The violent behaviour of the Samian revolutionaries was similar to many of the insurgents on the mainland, especially in the Peloponnese and Thessaly, where they targeted and slaughtered entire populations of Muslims and Ottoman supporters.³⁹ The most notable of these massacres, that of thousands of Muslim men, women, and children, and their Christian and Jewish supporters, at Tripolitsa in 1821, is widely referenced as one of the motivating factors as to the scale of the Chios Massacre.⁴⁰

³³ Philip P. Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios: Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports*, The Bodley Head, London, 1932, xi.

³⁴ Helen Long, *Greek Fire: The Massacres of Chios*, Abson Books, Abson, Wick, Bristol, 1992, 59; Vlasto, *XIACA*, 153-4; 'Alexander Ypsilanti (1792-1828)', *A Dictionary of World History*, 269.

³⁵ Long, *Greek Fire*, 61 & 67-8.

³⁶ Long, *Greek Fire*, 59; Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xx-xxii.

³⁷ Vlasto, *XIACA*, 158-9.

³⁸ Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xx-xxi; Long, *Greek Fire*, 68-71; Charles A. Frazee, 'The Greek Catholic Islanders and the Revolution of 1821', *Eastern European Quarterly*, 13(3), Fall 1979, 315-26, 321.

³⁹ Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 65. Note: Rodogno also described massacres of Ottoman supporters, Muslim civilians and sometimes even local Jews by Greek revolutionaries taking place in Kalavryta, Kalamata, Laconia, Missolonghi, and Vrachori.

⁴⁰ Christopher Montague Woodhouse, *The Greek War of Independence: Its Historical Setting*, Russell & Russell, New York, 1975, 77-8 & 87-8; Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism', 56.

Later, in 1828, an accused Chiot instigator Stephano Ralli was arrested for his role in the revolutionaries' invasion:

Among the other measures taken against the Christians is the arrest of several Greeks; among others, the rich Ralli, who has been thrown in the prisons of Musar Aga, and this is considered as an act of reprisal for the measures adopted by the three powers, and the conduct of the ambassadors at Vourla.⁴¹

In the process, Ralli had been "accused of being privy to the invasion of Scio", and there was a rumour that he was put to death, which was not true.⁴² The arrest temporarily closed the family's trade firm in Istanbul. Similarly, prior to these events of Chios, in 1821, Stephano Ralli was arrested in Izmir "in consequence of a suspicion of participating in the insurrection", begging the question of the merchant family's role in the Greek Revolution.⁴³

On 11 April 1822, in an attempt to reclaim Chios, the Ottomans offered the Samian insurgents eight hours to surrender and accept a pardon. On this date, many of the wealthier Chiot families began fleeing to consulates and to the west of the island to escape foreseeable doom.⁴⁴ The revolutionaries rejected the Sultan's pardon, and on 12 April, Kapudan Kara-Ali Pasha, the head of the Ottoman fleet, landed 7,000 men onto the island, with the orders "to kill and lay waste the land."⁴⁵ The Governor Vaïd Pasha allegedly exclaimed that "Every Chian deserves death."⁴⁶ Strangford's dispatch on 25 April suggested that, to avoid combat with the Ottomans, the Samians fled to the nearby island of Psara, leaving the islanders vulnerable.⁴⁷ The insurgents later spread rumours on the mainland "that the Chians had behaved with cowardice, and ascribed their own failure to Chian faint-heartedness!"⁴⁸ St Clair suggested that the massacre was part of a larger, religiously-motivated reaction to the uprising, with Muslims from mainland Anatolia

⁴¹ 'French Papers', *Standard*, 240, London, 23 February 1828, 1; 'French Papers', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 23 February 1828; 'Turkey - Constantinople Jan. 11', *Standard*, London, 21 February 1828.

⁴² 'The Posts of Thursday and Friday', *Bristol Mercury*, Bristol, 25 February 1828; 'Foreign Intelligence: Turkey', *Examiner*, 116, London, 24 February 1828.

⁴³ 'Turkey', *Caledonian Mercury*, Edinburgh, 17 September 1821.

⁴⁴ Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xxiii-xxiv.

⁴⁵ Long, *Greek Fire*, 81.

⁴⁶ Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xxv.

⁴⁷ Viscount Strangford to the Marquis of Londonderry, Public Record Office FO 78, 107(55), Turkey, 25 April 1822, in Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*, 12.

⁴⁸ Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xxv.

crossing over in boats to join the recapturing of Chios, which was seen as a 'holy war'.⁴⁹ Simultaneous to the massacre, Orthodox Chiot in Constantinople were being imprisoned and tortured, and sixty Chiot merchants were hanged in the city.⁵⁰ The existing London Greek community was noted as wearing black in mourning following the events.⁵¹

Between May and June 1822, admirals Andreas Miaoulis of Hydra and Konstantinos Kanaris of Psara, as well as Captain Georgios Pipinos, launched a series of successful counterattacks on the Ottoman fleet while it was docked in the Chiot harbour during Ramadan.⁵² Thousands of Ottoman troops were killed in the attacks, and Kapudan Kara-Ali Pasha was fatally wounded aboard his ship, dying a day later in Chios' *kastro* ('castle' or 'main fort') (Image 2.2).⁵³ Of his death, the *Glasgow Herald* wrote: "The inhuman monster who ruined Chios is no more, and his fleet partly destroyed, partly dispersed."⁵⁴ Admiral Miaoulis would later seek refuge in the Greek community of London.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 80-1.

⁵⁰ Vlasto, *XIAXA*, 164.

⁵¹ 'Massacre of the Greek Hostages', *Aberdeen Press & Journal*, Aberdeen, 10 July 1822, 4.

⁵² Long, *Greek Fire*, 97-105.

⁵³ Long, *Greek Fire*, 105.

⁵⁴ 'Greece', *Glasgow Herald*, Glasgow, 9 August 1822, 1.

⁵⁵ *Roscommon & Leitrim Gazette*, Boyle, Roscommon, 22 October 1825, 3.

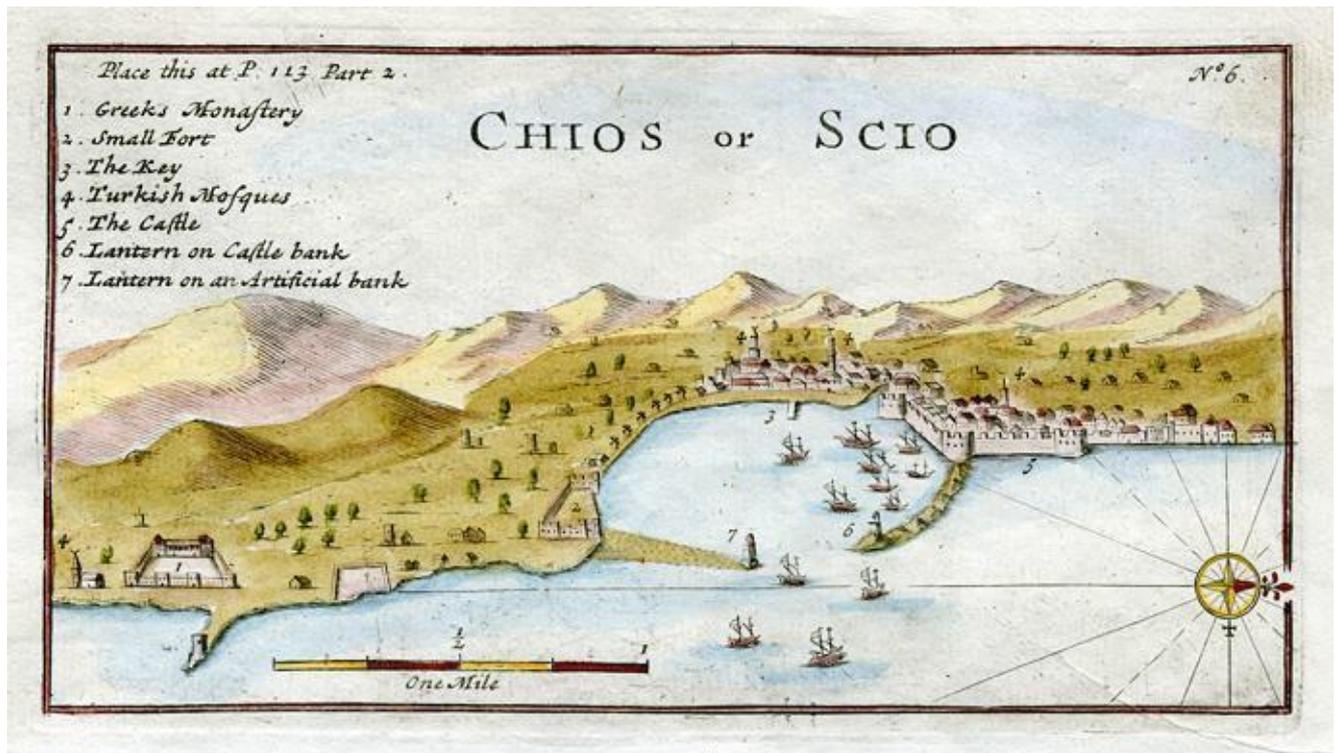


Image 2.2: Copper engraved map of the port of Chios, where the events of 1822 took place, by anonymous, 'Chios or Scio', c. 1700, courtesy of *Ancestry Images* and *Steve Bartrick Antique Prints & Maps*.

The precise number of Chiotis enslaved or massacred during 1822 remains unknown, however, it is generally accepted that around 100,000 islanders were killed or displaced.⁵⁶ This 100,000 included around 41,000 Chiotis, mainly women and children, being exported as slaves, as many as 50,000 being killed, and between 15,000-20,000 fleeing as refugees.⁵⁷ At least 2,000 islanders alone were massacred in the monastery of Nea Moni, and their skulls and bones are on display currently (Image 2.3).⁵⁸ The monastery has been a UNESCO world heritage site since 1990 (Image 2.4).

⁵⁶ Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xxxi; Long, *Greek Fire*, 88; St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 80-1; Anthony Brandt, 'Tears of Chios: the slaughter of civilians on this Aegean island finally prompted Europe to help Greece throw off four centuries of Ottoman rule', *Military History*, 33(1), May 2016, 29; Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 69; Vlasto, *XIACA*, 164-6; Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism', 57-8.

⁵⁷ Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 69; Long, *Greek Fire*, 88.

⁵⁸ Long, *Greek Fire*, 92.



Image 2.3: Skulls and bones from the Chios Massacre, Nea Moni, Chios, courtesy of Kathy Constan, 2018.



Image 2.4: Inscription indicating Nea Moni, Chios as a UNESCO World Heritage site, courtesy of Kathy Constan, 2018.

St Clair noted that Chiot women were sold for around £30 each in Istanbul, almost double the price of female African slaves who had come to the city via the trans-Saharan slave trade.⁵⁹ In 1829, the *Vermont Gazette* posted a description of Istanbul's slave markets from 'Madden's Travels' (sic) – this being the travel diaries of abolitionist and anti-slavery advocate Dr Richard Robert Madden.⁶⁰ Madden noted: "The poor Greek, women were huddled together: I saw seven or eight in one cell, stretched on the floor...some of them were from Scio (Chios), others from Ispara (Psara); they had nothing in common but despair!"⁶¹ Census records show that Chios' population did not rejuvenate

⁵⁹ St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 228-9.

⁶⁰ J.M. Rigg, 'Madden, Richard Robert (1798-1886)', Lynn Milne (revised), *ODNB*, 23 September 2004.

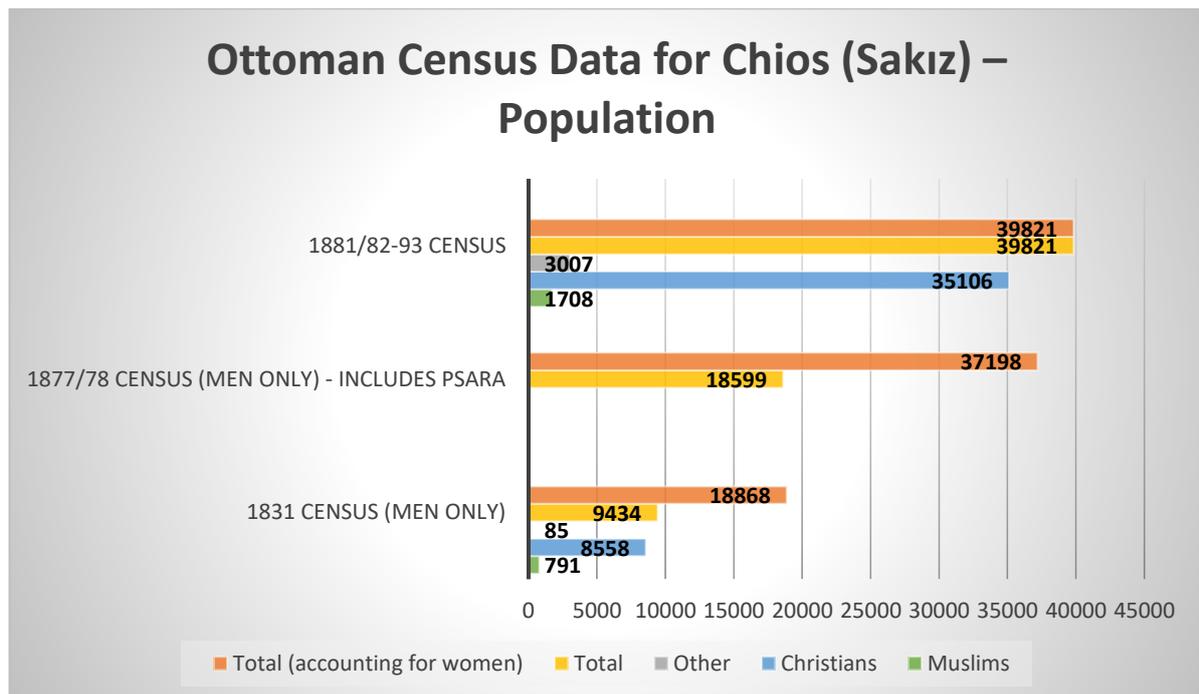
⁶¹ 'The Slave Market at Constantinople', *Vermont Gazette*, XX(39), 8 September 1829, from Richard Robert Madden, *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine*, 1, Henry Colburn, London, 1829, 5-8.

over the century, with under 20,000 residents recorded in 1831, and 40,000 being recorded between 1881-93 (Table 2.1 & Graph 2.1).

Table 2.1: Ottoman Census Data for Chios (Sakız) – Population.⁶²

Ottoman Census Data for Chios (Sakız) – Population	Muslims	Christians	Gypsies	Armenians	Jews	'Foreigners'	Total	Total (accounting for women - doubled)
1831 Census (men only)	791	8558	16		69		9434	18868
1877/78 Census (men only) - includes Psara							18599	37198
1881/82-93 Census	1708	35106		14		2993	39821	39821

Graph 2.1: Ottoman Census Data for Chios (Sakız) – Population.



⁶² Table 2.1 & Graph 2.1 are taken from two sources: Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographics and Social Characteristics*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1985, 108-51; Ottoman Census, 1881/82-1893: Sakız Sancağı, Sancak: Sakız, Vilayet: Cezair-i Bahr-ı Sefid. Note: These statistics do not account for children under 12 years of age.

Those that were left on the island generally worked in mastic villages producing the valued commodity. However, even the mastic villages had suffered much loss, and the destruction of the famed village of Mesta was reported in the *Sun*.⁶³ London's *Times* asked rhetorically: "Who can, without shuddering, read of the total ruin, the universal desolation of our famed and once happy isle (Scio); the destruction of all its inhabitants, nearly one hundred thousand"?⁶⁴ Depictions of the massacre became a subject of poems and visual artwork, with works such as Eugène Delacroix's famed oil on canvas *Scenes from the Massacres at Chios* (1824); Victor Hugo's poem 'L'Enfant' (June 1828); and Thomas Barker of Bath's fresco, *The Massacre of the Sciotes* (1825), being displayed publicly, among others (Image 2.5).⁶⁵

⁶³ St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 80; Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xxx; 'Trieste, August 3', *Sun*, London, 24 August 1822, 2.

⁶⁴ 'Massacre of the Greeks at Constantinople and Scio', *Times*, issue 11596, London, 28 June 1822. See also: 'German Papers', *The Morning Chronicle*, issue 16630, London, 6 August 1822.

⁶⁵ Areti Devetzidis, 'Revolution, Death, Transformation and Art: Delacroix's *Scenes from the Massacres at Chios*', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, special issue, 2013, 209-20; Victor Hugo, 'L'Enfant', XVIII, June 1828, in *Les Orientales: Édition Elzevirienne*, J. Hetzel, Paris, 1869, 102-4; Frederick Shum, *Reminiscences of the late Thomas Barker: A paper read at the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution*, Bath, 11 April 1862, 8. See: Felicia Hemans, 'The Voice of Scio', 1823, in *The Poems of Felicia Hemans*, W. P. Nimmo, London & Edinburgh, 1875, 243; Felicia Hemans, 'Greek Song.—The Voice of Scio', *The New Monthly Magazine*, 7, 1823, 352; Felicia Hemans, 'The Sisters of Scio', *The Belfast News-Letter*, issue 9650, Belfast, 4 December 1829; Felicia Hemans, 'The Sisters of Scio', December 1829, in *The Poems of Felicia Hemans*, W. P. Nimmo, London & Edinburgh, 1875, 455-6; Henry Pickering, 'Scio', in *Athens; and Other Poems*, Cushing & Appleton, Salem, Massachusetts, 1824, 27-32, in Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912*, 66-74; Joe Rock, 'Robert Forrest (1789-1852) and his Exhibition on the Calton Hill', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 7, 2008, 127-38; Hiram Powers, *The Greek Slave*, marble sculpture, Florence, 1847. See also: Christopher Helali, 'Devoted to the Cause of Freedom: Jonathan Peckham Miller, Philhellenism, and the Transatlantic Struggle for Liberation', in Cartledge & Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence*, 243-70.



Image 2.5: The Chios Massacre as depicted by Thomas Barker of Bath's 1825 fresco *The Massacre of the Sciotes*, on the walls inside Doric House, Bath, courtesy of Victoria Art Gallery, Bath & North East Somerset Council.

The First Steps of the Post-Massacre Diaspora

The Chios Massacre spurred the largest wave of emigration from the island. This migration was different from the wealthy merchant emigrants and was a coerced movement of peoples. Following the massacre, the first ports of destination for Chiot refugees were the nearby islands of Psara and Syros.

In 1822, as many as 20,000 Chiots arrived on Psara as refugees, which was double the island's population.⁶⁶ Most used Psara as a transitioning point between Chios and other ports, as the island could not sustain the refugees.⁶⁷ However, some did settle on

⁶⁶ Vlasto, *XIACA*, 164-5.

⁶⁷ Vlasto, *XIACA*, 165.

the island. Scottish Philhellene George Finlay noted Psara's population as 12,000 in 1824, which included Chiot, Smyrniot, and Kydonian refugees who had settled on the island.⁶⁸ Those that remained on Psara would unfortunately be on the receiving end of a second massacre in July 1824, known as the 'Destruction of Psara', which began when the Ottoman fleet arrived, aiming to destroy the notable Psariot fleet, led by Admiral Konstantinos Kanaris.⁶⁹ Psara was an easy target due to its small size and the island was quickly devastated.⁷⁰ The entire civilian population of Psara was either killed or enslaved in the event.⁷¹ The massacre happened simultaneously with the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha in the Aegean, who decimated the island of Kasos just prior.⁷² The event became the subject of the vivid 1824 Dionysios Solomos poem, 'The Destruction of Psara'.⁷³

Syros, the other main Aegean port of arrival for refugees, received a similar influx, as there was already an established and flourishing Chiot community on the island. Some of the well-known refugees included the family of Loukas Zifos, the inspiration for Demetrius Vikelas' famed novel *Loukis Laras*.⁷⁴ Another, Constantine M. Salvago, was born in Syros to a Chiot father who had presumably fled the massacre. Constantine later married Julia Ralli, a Chiot born in Marseille, in the 1870s, and the couple migrated to Alexandria.⁷⁵ Peter Calvocoressi noted that his relative, musicologist M.D. Calvocoressi's family, fled the massacre to Syros, which they used as a springboard to Western Europe.⁷⁶ During the Greek War of Independence, a 'Chian Committee' was founded in Syros, aimed at representing Chiots in the Provisional Greek government. This was spearheaded by

⁶⁸ George Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, II, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh & London, 1861, 49.

⁶⁹ Woodhouse, *Modern Greece*, 48-9.

⁷⁰ Brewer, *The Flame of Freedom*, 235.

⁷¹ Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, II, 49-52; Emmanouil M.L. Economou, Nicholas C. Kyriazis & Annita Prassa, 'The Greek merchant fleet as a national navy during the war of independence 1800-1830', *Munich Personal RePEc Archive (MPRA)*, 76414, 12 February 2016, 10.

⁷² Woodhouse, *Modern Greece*, 142.

⁷³ Dionysios Solomos, 'The Destruction of Psara', Eleni Sikelianos & Karen Van Dyck (trans.), 1824, in Jerome Rothenberg & Jeffrey C. Robinson (eds.), *Poems for the Millennium*, 3, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 2009, 358.

⁷⁴ Ariadni Moutafidou, 'Greek merchant families perceiving the world: the case of Demetrius Vikelas', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 23(2), 1 December 2008, 152.

⁷⁵ Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks and the Making of Modern Egypt*, The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo & New York, 2019, 19 & 43; 'Miké (Constantine) Salvago', Christopher Long, 15 June 2006 (last modified).

⁷⁶ Peter Calvocoressi, 'The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora', in *Greece and Great Britain During World War I: First Symposium Organized in Thessaloniki (December 15-17, 1983) by the Institute for Balkan Studies in Thessaloniki and King's College in London*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1985, 247-8.

Chiot refugees Stephen Zygomala, Ambrose Scaramanga, and Emmanuel Scaramanga, among others, and was a testimony to Chiot integration into Syros.⁷⁷ A street in Syros' new burgeoning port Ermoupoli was even named after the Chiot Loukas Ralli in 1870.⁷⁸ The same Loukas Ralli may have been responsible for renaming the island's port as 'Ermoupoli', or 'the City of Hermes', in 1825.⁷⁹ In the 1870 Greek census of Ermoupoli, Syros, at least 70 homes had direct origins in Chios, and many more were presumed to have been of Chiot extraction.⁸⁰ Other Greek islands also hosted Chiot communities likely descending from the massacre, such as Mykonos with 21 Chiot-born households according to the 1861 census.⁸¹ Elsewhere in the Chiot diaspora, Syriot and Chiot families intermarried.⁸² Often in the record there is a blurred line between Chiot families and Syriot families, who frequently blended and became, in essence, the same diaspora. This similarity is shared by the Ikarians and their neighbouring island of Fournoi, as discussed later in this thesis.

Psara and Syros both quickly became stepping-stones for Chiots seeking to move to other ports in the Mediterranean. These ports increasingly became important hubs for the refugees, especially those with existing Chiot and other Greek-speaking diasporas. Notably amongst these were Marseille and Malta. A large community of Chiot refugees settled in Marseille after the massacre. There, they encountered an existing Chiot community. The Prassacachi family, for instance, had settled in Marseille at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One member, merchant Nicolas Prassacachi, sought French naturalisation in 1816, and his children were born there in the 1820s.⁸³ Prassacachi eventually return migrated to the Aegean, where he settled in Syros and was elected

⁷⁷ Long, *Greek Fire*, 116-7.

⁷⁸ Christina Agriantoni, & Angeliki Fenerli (eds.), *Ερμούπολη – Σύρος: Ιστορικό Οδοιπορικό [Ermoupoli – Syros: Historical Travelogue]*, Ioakeim Karakoulidis (architectural comments), Manos Eleftheriou & Christos Loukos (collaborators), Δημοτική Επιχείρηση Ανάπτυξης της Ερμούπολης (ΔΕΑΕ), ΟΛΚΟΣ, Athens, 1999, 93.

⁷⁹ Long, *Greek Fire*, 117.

⁸⁰ Census of Hermoupolis, Greece, 1870.

⁸¹ Census of Mykonos, Greece, 1861.

⁸² See: 'Antoine Marie (Etienne) Pignol: 1862-', I4580, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 21 November 2014 (last modified); 'Aristides (Anastasios) Cornelios: 1832-1907', I657, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 9 May 2019 (last modified); 'Aristides (Anastasios) Cornelios', Christopher Long, 5 February 2012 (last modified); 'Constantine (Stephanos) Galati', Christopher Long, 7 November 2004 (last modified).

⁸³ 'Nicolas (Emmanuel) Prassacachi: 1789-1869', I1805, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 10 December 2014 (last modified).

mayor. Many of Marseille's Chiot families eventually emigrated from France to Britain towards the end of the century, where they connected with the British-Chiot community.⁸⁴

Similarly, Malta also received Chiot refugees, including members of the Ralli, Petrocochino, and Calvocoressi families.⁸⁵ Some Chios Massacre refugees settled on Malta amongst the existing diaspora there, but most used it as another stepping-stone for further movement. For instance, Marouko Galati Ralli and her two sons, Constantine and Pandias Ralli had escaped to Malta after her husband, Theodoris, was hanged in Constantinople in May 1822.⁸⁶ The family ultimately emigrated to both the US and Austria.⁸⁷

The largest movement of Chiots after the massacre was eastward to Anatolia. This movement was of both slave and free Chiots. Customs authorities had reported that at least 41,000 Chiots arrived at Ottoman ports, such as Izmir, Istanbul, Thessaloniki, and Trabzon, following the massacre.⁸⁸ Newspapers reported that 45,000 had been "carried away into slavery" and that:

the children of the tenderest age, and the most beautiful from among the young women, were sent on board the ships with great pomp and solemnity, under a salute of guns: they circumcised the male children, in token of conversion to the Mahometan faith; and then sent off the children of both sexes by land for Constantinople, by the way of Smyrna, under an escort of Turkish soldiery.⁸⁹

Some of those that were taken into Anatolia returned to Chios and recovered their property through various methods of reclamation.⁹⁰ There were also Ottoman amnesties

⁸⁴ See: 'Leonidas 'Leoni' (Pandély) Argenti', Christopher Long, 15 September 2007 (last modified); 'Pandely Argenti', Christopher Long, 21 January 2006 (last modified).

⁸⁵ See: Yianni Cartledge, 'Chiot Refugees in the British Empire after the Chios Massacre (1822)', in Andrekos Varnava, Yianni Cartledge & Evan Smith (eds.), *Forced Migration: Exiles and Refugees in the UK and the British Empire, 1810s-1940s*, Brill, forthcoming.

⁸⁶ 'Theodoris Eustratius (Strati) Ralli', *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 28 October 2007 (last modified).

⁸⁷ 'Alexander Ralli', Christopher Long, 8 October 2014 (last modified); 'Constantin (Theodoris) Ralli', *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 26 March 2011 (last modified).

⁸⁸ Long, *Greek Fire*, 88.

⁸⁹ 'Massacre at Scio', *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, London, 8 July 1822, 5; 'German Papers', *Morning Chronicle*, issue 16630, London, 6 August 1822.

⁹⁰ Οι νοταριακοί κώδικες της Χίου μαρτυρούν [The notarial codices of Chios' martyrs], ΓΑΚ Chios, 2022, Α-ΣΤ.

throughout the nineteenth century, as discussed by Özkan Pantazis.⁹¹ This profound movement, although beyond the scope of this thesis, was no doubt vastly different from the merchant class and other Chiot refugees and is worth further study.⁹²

Chiot Settlement & Initial Community Building in London 1822-30s

Following the massacre, in London, the initial settlement and community building of the Chiots was centred on the existing merchant community in Finsbury Circus. This community was active at promoting, settling, and incorporating Chiot emigrants into their society and into wider British society, as well as building community structures and expanding their economic reach through successful major businesses. This section deals with the period of settlement and community building between 1822-30s, which encompassed the first generation of British Chiots following the massacre. It also briefly introduces the second generation beyond the 1830s. This period ultimately saw the London Chiots grow from a handful of merchant families before the massacre, to an engrained community that, eventually, began planting its own offshoot communities.

London Chiots, Philhellenes & the Greek Loan

In July 1822, a pamphlet published by Philhellenes called for British people living in Mediterranean ports to house and distribute money and aid among the arriving Chiot refugees, asking:

that a respectable English house be selected in each of the above ports [Livorno, Trieste, Ancona, and Malta], to receive whatever quota of the contribution may fall to their share; that...one or two respectable Sciot residents may be joined to them to select those who are in the greatest distress, so as to divide the donations as equally and fairly as possible, according to the degree of want in the relieved...that

⁹¹ See: Dilek Özkan Pantazis, 'Migration, Exodus, and Resettlement during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1830)', in Cartledge & Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence*, 129-53.

⁹² The previously discussed Christophorus Castanis, Mustapha Khaznadar, and Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, were all members of this diaspora.

English houses may be chosen in Constantinople and Smyrna...for the same purpose.⁹³

This Philhellenic pamphlet also contained six letters; four from Chiot escapees in the diaspora, and two written from within “the Castle of Scio” during the massacre.⁹⁴ Each letter told of the hardships suffered due to the massacre. Most surnames were deliberately left out of this pamphlet, however, some were mentioned, such as members of the Rodocanachi and Zizinia families who fled Chios on an Austrian warship; Theodora Halles, who was captured and ransomed; Jean D’Andre, who was killed; and two members of the Petrocochino family who had committed suicide.⁹⁵

The 1822 pamphlet was supposedly forwarded from “a letter addressed by four Greek merchants, resident in London, to a gentleman in Edinburgh.”⁹⁶ It is almost certain that these four Greek merchants were Chiots of Finsbury Circus, especially as J. Mavrogordato, D. Schinas, and N. Ralli, sat on the London Greek Committee, and a J. Mavrogordato, N. Ralli, P. Ralli, and M. Rodocanachi were members of a Quaker committee for promoting education in Greece.⁹⁷ These committee members were likely the aforementioned John Mavrogordato and Dimitrios Schinas, as well as Nicholo Ralli, Pandias Ralli (brother of John and Eustratio), and Michel or Emmanuel (Manuel) Rodocanachi.

The prominent London Chiots of the 1820s, along with the London Greek Committee, helped procure two loans for the young Greek state, initially through the Ricardo banking firm.⁹⁸ David Ricardo himself was a member of the Greek Committee.⁹⁹ The Committee negotiated the loans via the Greek Deputies, Andreas Luriottis (Louriotis), Andreas Zaimis, Jean Orlando (Ioannis Orlandos), and Georgios Spaniolacki

⁹³ *Address in the behalf of the Greeks, especially those who have survived the late massacres in Scio.*, W. Whyte and Co., Edinburgh, 30 July 1822, 19.

⁹⁴ *Address in the behalf of the Greeks*, 5-16.

⁹⁵ *Address in the behalf of the Greeks*, 1822, 9-10.

⁹⁶ *Address in the behalf of the Greeks*, 1822, 16.

⁹⁷ Christopher Montague Woodhouse, *The Philhellenes*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1969, 182-4; Religious Society of Friends, *Education in Greece: Fund for Promoting Education in Greece*, Belfast, 6 January 1826, 1; ‘Address of the Greek Committee’, *Stamford Mercury*, Stamford, Lincolnshire, 13 June 1823, 1.

⁹⁸ On the Greek loans, see: Maria Christina Chatziioannou, ‘War, Crisis and Sovereign Loans: The Greek War of Independence and British Economic Expansion in the 1820s’, *La Revue Historique*, 10, 2013, 33-56.

⁹⁹ ‘Address of the Greek Committee’, *Stamford Mercury*, Stamford, Lincolnshire, 13 June 1823, 1.

(Spaniolakis). These loans were important as they invested the London community in the Greek cause and provided a link between the Chiot diaspora and Britain's efforts during the Greek War of Independence. It also painted the Chiot merchants as supporters of the Greek cause, highlighting their broader Greek identity.

In 1826, the loans were approved, and a committee of bondholders was formed, including the Ralli brothers and John Mavrogordato, along with many well-known British Philhellenes, such as Colonel Leicester Stanhope, J.C. Hobhouse, and John Bowring.¹⁰⁰ The loans were valued at around £2,800,000, which included a commission of £64,000 for the Ricardo firm, as well as bonds held by the Ricardos, Pandias Ralli, Mr Ralli, and Orlando, valued at £7,910, £11,550, £4,400, and £5,900 respectively. Mavrogordato did lose his stake of £2,700 during the process due to a bankruptcy, which was factored in as a loss, and much of the money was forwarded to different organisations due to many services and expenses. Other Chiots and their connections were involved, such as Mr Contostavlos who won a gun contract, which he did not fulfil, as well as Admiral Miaoulis and his crew who were paid £915 for their services. Part of the loan was also for Lord Byron, at £4,683, and Colonel Gordon at £15,108. In the end, around £1,150,800 (less than half the loan amount) went towards the Greek cause, and only £12,950 remained "disposable in their [the Greek Deputies'] hands, in favour of Government".¹⁰¹ The Greek loans were ultimately criticised by wider Philhellenic circles, and accusations of fraud were made.¹⁰² The Greek Deputy Spaniolakis attempted to clear his name of any mishandlings and move the blame onto Luriottis and Ricardo by claiming they had not given details of their accounts and had not passed on any credit to the government.¹⁰³ Luriottis was also criticised by the public and by the Ricardo firm for making personal gains from the loan, and in 1826 the Ricardos sent a public letter, stating that they were accumulating

¹⁰⁰ 'Committee of Greek Bondholders', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 1 November 1826, 1; 'Committee of Greek Bondholders', *Morning Post*, London, 26 October 1826; 'Committee of Greek Bondholders', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 26 October 1826.

¹⁰¹ 'Greek Bond Holders', *Morning Post*, London, 5 September 1826; 'Meeting of Greek Bondholders', *Morning Post*, London, 24 October 1826; 'Greek Loans', *Glasgow Herald*, 2489, Glasgow, 30 October 1826, 1.

¹⁰² Robert E. Zegger, 'Greek independence and the London Committee', *History Today*, 20(9), 1 April 1970, 240; Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism', 68-9.

¹⁰³ 'Greek Loans', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 30 October 1826; 'Greek Loans', *Morning Post*, London, 30 October 1826.

evidence against him.¹⁰⁴ Deputies Luriottis and Orlando were ultimately investigated by the Greek Government for the mismanagement of the money, and it was also noted that “2,000 bonds appear afterwards to have found their way to Mr. Ralli...How the remaining 6,000 bonds, which are in the hands of Mr. Ralli, were arranged, is still a mystery”.¹⁰⁵

In August 1822, a letter from an unnamed member of the diaspora addressed to the editor of *The Morning Chronicle* aimed to correct misconceptions in Britain surrounding the massacre and the diaspora. The first was that ‘rich Sciots’ did not take part in the revolt, unlike otherwise believed – this is despite the Chiot Stephano Ralli being arrested by Ottoman authorities at least twice for insurrection conspiracies throughout the decade.¹⁰⁶ Secondly, the letter emphasised that the Chiots had “washed their hands of the transaction” between themselves and the Samians; and finally, that Lord Strangford did his utmost for the Chiots.¹⁰⁷ By addressing these misconceptions, the writer aimed to enhance the image of Chiot merchants to the British public.

Many of the families that received aid from the British, used these connections as an inroad into Britain, where they reconnected with the existing London diaspora. During the 1830s, the Chiots, who were heavily influenced by the wider Phanariot networks, were also supporters of the English Party in Greece. Particular supporters of the English Party that were of interest and influence to the Chiots were: the Hydriots, especially Admiral Andreas Miaoulis, who had counterattacked the Ottoman Fleet after the massacre; members of the neighbouring Psariot aristocracy and merchant class; the powerful Mavrokordatos family, relatives of the Chiot Mavrogordato family; and the Ionian Academy scholarship receiver and later Greek Prime Minister Spyridon Trikoupis.¹⁰⁸ Both Trikoupis and his Phanariot brother-in-law and successor Prime Minister Alexandros Mavrokordatos had close relationships with the Chiots of London –

¹⁰⁴ ‘The Greek Loans’, *Morning Post*, London, 11 November 1826. See also: ‘Greek Loans: To the Editor of the Times’, *Morning Chronicle*, London, 4 November 1826.

¹⁰⁵ ‘The Greek Loans’, *Morning Post*, London, 11 November 1826. See also: G.F. Bartle, ‘Bowring and the Greek Loans of 1824 and 1825’, *Balkan Studies*, 3, 1962, 61-74.

¹⁰⁶ ‘The Posts of Thursday and Friday’, *Bristol Mercury*, Bristol, 25 February 1828; ‘Turkey’, *Caledonian Mercury*, Edinburgh, 17 September 1821; ‘Foreign Intelligence: Turkey’, *Examiner*, 116, London, 24 February 1828.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Massacre at Scio’, *The Morning Chronicle*, issue 16627, London, 2 August 1822.

¹⁰⁸ John Anthony Petropoulos, *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, 1833-1843*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1968, 135-6.

Trikoupis had been appointed Greek Ambassador to London between 1835-38, during which London-Chiot Pandias Ralli had stood as godfather to his daughter Sophia on 5 June 1837;¹⁰⁹ and Mavrokordatos had been appointed as an envoy in London between 1839-41, during which he also made close ties with the Chiots there.¹¹⁰ In 1831, Chiots E.J. Ralli and E.G. Galatty (Galatis), even opposed and condemned Kapodistrias (who was of the Russian Party), especially due to the “burning of the best part of our shipping...the sacking of Poros by the troops of the president; [and] the exile of many thousands of citizens, driven from their homes.”¹¹¹ With clearly deep loyalties to the English Party during this early period, the Chiots further solidified their connections with Britain, which provided another logical pull factor for Chiot refugees seeking settlement there.

Community Growth & Early Community Structures

Between 1822-30, the Chiot diaspora of London had grown from a handful of concentrated merchant families to an interconnected network of compatriots due to arrivals following the massacre. The new arrivals found a safety net in the existing diaspora, and both housing with relatives and employment in Chiot firms were available on arrival. The wealthier Chiots often donated funds to support the new arrivals, which were then distributed via the local Orthodox church.¹¹² By the 1830s, many of these families, who had arrived as refugees, were now running their own firms in Finsbury Circus, creating a business district. Catsiyannis noted at least 21 Greek firms in Finsbury Circus in 1839, with at least 17 owned by Chiots.¹¹³

Around 100-200 Chiots had initially emigrated to London after the massacre.¹¹⁴ Although exact records from the 1820s-30s do not exist, this number is likely accurate

¹⁰⁹ Timotheos Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865: The Founder of the Greek Community in London*, self-published, London, 1986, 117; Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 55.

¹¹⁰ Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*, 76-7.

¹¹¹ ‘French Papers: Letter in Reply to M. Eynard, on the Character of Capo D’Istrias’, *Standard*, London, 1 November 1831.

¹¹² Long, *Greek Fire*, 126-8.

¹¹³ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 53.

¹¹⁴ Christopher Long, ‘Greek Migration: Phanariot & Chian Families’, talk given to *The London Hellenic Society* at the Hellenic Centre in London, 19 May 2005; Jonathan Harris, ‘London’s Greek Community’, in George Kakavas (ed.), *Treasured Offerings: The Legacy of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of St Sophia, London*, Byzantine & Christian Museum, Athens, 2002, 6-7.

after analysing the slow population increase in later censuses. The 1841 census listed only 46 Chiots by recognisable names, however, most of these were men, and many women and children were not accounted for, as well as other families known to be there at the time.¹¹⁵ The 1861 census noted that nearly 1% of London's foreign-born population was from Greece and the Ottoman Empire, with most originating in Chios. This would have equated to around 480 people, rising around 150% from 316 in 1851.¹¹⁶ Using 150% as the percentage of increase per decade, it can be concluded that around 140 Ottoman-born Chiots lived in London in 1831. By the 1831 census of Great Britain, Finsbury Circus itself had 472 families employed in 'trade, manufacturing and handicraft', and 572 men were employed in retail trade. There were also 217 men working as 'capitalists'.¹¹⁷ These numbers were no doubt driven by the many Chiot family firms in the area, who made up a good portion of the area's merchants. These numbers also give reason as to why the Chiot merchants continued to operate there, as Finsbury Circus had become a trade hub.

The Chiots quickly formed a tight knit community around Finsbury Circus. This community eventually became organised, and in the 1830s an unincorporated Greek Brotherhood of 24 members, mostly Chiots, was formed, aiming to develop and organise the community (Appendix 2.1).¹¹⁸ 21 Chiot firms were also involved in the Brotherhood's formation (Appendix 2.2).¹¹⁹ A key member of the Brotherhood, Chiot refugee Pandias Ralli (a brother of Eustratio and John), was appointed the Greek Consul General in London in 1836, nominated by King Otto of Greece and approved by King William IV (Image 2.6).¹²⁰ The specific dealings of the Brotherhood are minimal in the archival record, however, they were always involved in any new developments of community structures,

¹¹⁵ Census of Great Britain, 1841. Only 10-12 women and ~15 children were mentioned. Many absent key families include: Argenti, Mavrogordato, Petrocochino, Scaramanga, Scouloudi, Tamvaco, and key Ralli members, among others.

¹¹⁶ Census of Great Britain, 1861, 'General Report', III, London, 1863, 39-40 & 163; Census of Great Britain, 1851, 'Comprising an Account of the Numbers and Distribution of the People', London, 1854, 77.

¹¹⁷ Census of Great Britain, 1831, 'Abstract of the Answers and Returns', I, London, 2 April 1833. Finsbury Circus was counted under the parish of St Stephen Coleman St in 1831.

¹¹⁸ Long, *Greek Fire*, 130-1; Michael Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1933, 21.

¹¹⁹ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 45-6.

¹²⁰ 'Foreign Office, Jan, 26', *Globe*, London, 27 January 1836, 4; 'From the London Gazette: Foreign Office, Jan. 26', *Standard*, London, 27 January 1836, 1.

particularly places of worship. 'Brotherhoods' as centres of Greek community became more frequent, and more 'regional', during the twentieth century, seen especially in the second case study, the Ikarians.¹²¹



Image 2.6: Portrait of Pandias 'Zeus' Ralli, possibly painted by Sir Francis Grant in 1862.¹²²

Initially, Greek Orthodox services were held at the Russian Chapel in the Russian Embassy, Welbeck St. By the late-1830s, London's Greek community had grown, calling for their own establishment. In 1837, the Brotherhood established a Greek Orthodox

¹²¹ Note: The term 'Brotherhood' is less formal in this era (nineteenth century), meaning a 'community of fellow Orthodox Christian believers', as opposed to the region-based Greek 'fraternities' of the twentieth century.

¹²² Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*, 32.

chapel at 9 Finsbury Circus, on the floor level of a brick house (Image 2.7), owned by the Greek community.¹²³ By November 1839, Demetrio Spartali and Nicolo Tamvaco, along with other trustees, had insured the building as a church, as well as the furniture, fittings, and church-related items inside.¹²⁴ The churchwardens were appointed from within the community (Appendix 2.1), and from 1840-41, Pandias Ralli and Spiridion Mavrojani had taken over the church's insurance.¹²⁵ This chapel serviced London's Greeks until 1849 and coincided with the community's acquisition of a Greek section in the West Norwood Cemetery (Image 2.8).¹²⁶ The first two priests, Galaktion Galatis (1835-37) and Dionysios Xenakis (1838-48), hailed from Chios, and the church offered schooling for Greek children.¹²⁷ The origins of the first two priests illustrated the dominant Chiot identity within the community.

Later in the century, Chiot descendants Stephanos and Marietta Ralli, in honour of their late son Augustus Ralli, funded St Stephens Chapel in the West Norwood Cemetery, where funeral services could be held (Image 2.9).¹²⁸ In 1885, the writer of the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* noted that the chapel was:

designed after the manner of the ancient Greek Parthenon, retaining its pure Doric style of architecture, but substituting in the frieze which ornaments the entrance over the peristyle of fine pillars, sculpture of events taken from Christian history, instead of the masterpieces of ancient art...Greek words which mean, "The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised," are immediately below the frieze, and angels, instead of centaurs, are seen above.¹²⁹

¹²³ Zetta Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis, 'The Hellenic Enclosure of the South Metropolitan (West Norwood) Cemetery', in Kakavas (ed.), *Treasured Offerings*, 9.

¹²⁴ INSURED: DEMETRIO SPARTALI, NICOLO TAMVACO AND OTHERS TRUSTEES OF THE GREEK CHURCH, London, 1 November 1839, LMA: CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/569/1311719.

¹²⁵ INSURED: PANDIA T. RALLI AND SPIRIDION MAVROJANI AND OTHERS, TRUSTEES OF THE GREEK CHURCH, London, 16 November 1840, LMA: CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/576/1341286; INSURED: PANDIA S. RALLI AND SPIRIDION MAVROJANI AND OTHERS, TRUSTEES OF THE GREEK CHURCH, London 10 August 1841, LMA: CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/574/1360741; Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London*, 33.

¹²⁶ Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis, 'The Hellenic Enclosure of the South Metropolitan (West Norwood) Cemetery', 10.

¹²⁷ Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*, 68-75.

¹²⁸ Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis, 'The Hellenic Enclosure of the South Metropolitan (West Norwood) Cemetery', 15-6.

¹²⁹ 'A Greek Memorial Chapel', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, Dundee, 29 August 1885, 2.

Separate from the Orthodox community, some Catholic Chiots settled in London post-massacre. This included key families, such as the Braggiotti, Castelli, Coressi, Corpi, D'Andria, Giustiniani, Nomico, Salvago, and Tubini.¹³⁰ Although not interacting with the Brotherhood and Orthodox establishments, they still connected to the Chiot community via commerce and business. This included the Braggiotti, Castelli, Giustiniani, Nomico, and Tubini merchant firms (Table 2.2), and the Coressi, Corpi, D'Andria, Salvago, and others, who were involved and employed by Chiot merchant firms.

¹³⁰ See database accessed 17.10.2023: <https://en.geneanet.org>



9 FINSBURY CIRCUS
in the City.

Image 2.7: The Greek Chapel at 9 Finsbury Circus, Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 64.

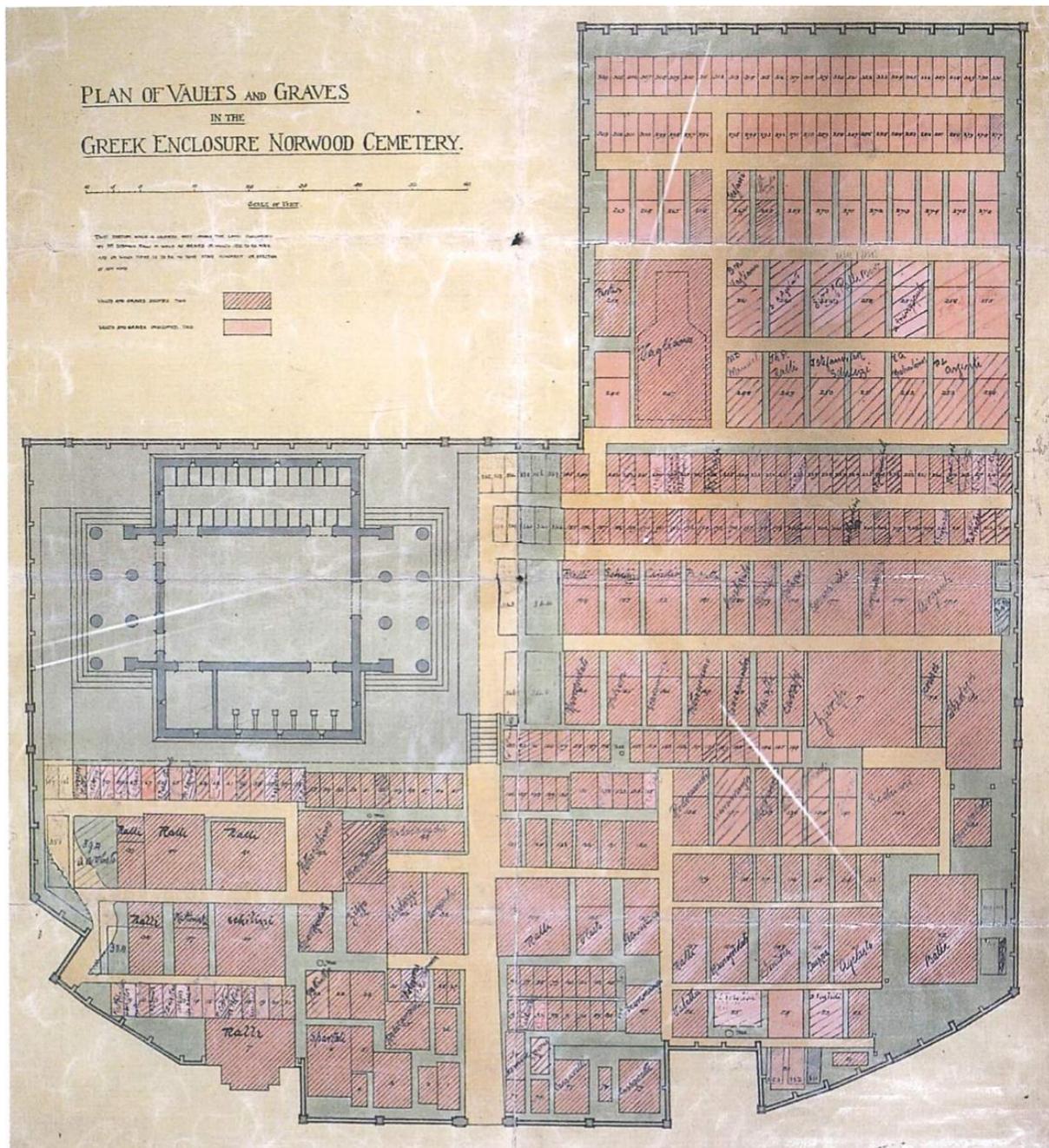


Image 2.8: Ground plan for the Greek section at West Norwood Cemetery, designed by Norton & Gregory, London.¹³¹

¹³¹ Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis, 'The Hellenic Enclosure of the South Metropolitan (West Norwood) Cemetery', 12.



Image 2.9: St Stephens Chapel, West Norwood Cemetery, designed by John Oldrid Scott 1872.¹³²

Beyond the 1830s

The community quickly outgrew the Finsbury Circus chapel, and the Chiot diaspora funded the building of the Greek Church of Our Saviour, 82 London Wall, near the corner of Old Broad St, in 1849. Three Chiot were listed as the church's trustees, Ambrosios Argenti, Antonio Alexander Ralli, and Eustratio Ralli. The building of the church was also overseen by a committee, which included the trustees, as well as Pandias Ralli and various other Chiot family heads, with most being sourced from the Brotherhood.¹³³ The opening of the church was noted in newspapers nationwide, where it was claimed to be

¹³² Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis, 'The Hellenic Enclosure of the South Metropolitan (West Norwood) Cemetery', 16.

¹³³ Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*, 102-10; Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London*, 35.

“the first Greek church erected in the United Kingdom”.¹³⁴ This is despite the fact that the Greek Orthodox ‘Church of the Koimesis’ was erected in Soho in the seventeenth century, and was now lost to memory.

The church continued to cause public interest, and a sketch was made in pencil on 2 August 1849 (Image 2.10), followed by images of the exterior and interior, published in the *Illustrated London News* on 12 January 1850 (Image 2.11). The article also described the church and its practices, comparing them with Judaism: “Withinside the screen is the altar, thus separated from the body of the Church, the place wherein it stands being termed the “holy place,” symbolic of the Holy of Holies in the Jewish ritual.”¹³⁵ The altar’s *Katharévousa* Greek inscriptions were also described, and an image was included of altar boys with the church’s first priest, Archimandrite Narkissos Morfinos of the island Astypalaia in the Dodecanese (Image 2.12).¹³⁶ The church, Morfinos, and the wealthy Chiot merchant community, were all described in James Ewing Ritchie’s *The Religious Life of London*, where it was started that,

Of all the chapels in London, surely this in London Wall is the most unique...I fancy there are no poor Greeks in London...All [church] expenses are paid by the men, chiefly merchants in Finsbury Square, who subscribe on an average for the cost of the service about twenty-five pounds a year.¹³⁷

The church was also described in John Timbs’ *Curiosities of London* in 1855, where it was stated that the church was designed by T.E. Owen of Portsmouth, and “cost about 10,000*l.*, yet the number of Greek residents at the date of its opening, in 1850, did not exceed 220” (Appendix 2.3).¹³⁸

¹³⁴ *Yorkshire Gazette*, York, 28 July 1849, 4. See also: *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, Truro, Cornwall, 3 November 1848, 4; *Hampshire Telegraph*, Portsmouth, Hampshire, 11 November 1848, 8; *Oxford University and City Herald*, Oxford, 11 November 1848, 4.

¹³⁵ ‘The New Greek Church, London Wall’, *Illustrated London News*, 12 January 1850, 25-6.

¹³⁶ See also: Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*, 116.

¹³⁷ J. Ewing Ritchie, *The Religious Life of London*, Library of Alexandria, Alexandria, VA, 1870, 42-5.

¹³⁸ J. Timbs, ‘Greek Church’, *Curiosities of London*, London, 1855, LMA: SC/PZ/CT/01/0751.



Image 2.10: Sketch for engraving of the Greek Church, Little Winchester St, London Wall, 2 August 1849.¹³⁹ Courtesy of the London Picture Archives.

¹³⁹ 'Greek Church', London Picture Archive, 3003, q477119x, sketch in pencil for engraving, London, 2 August 1849.

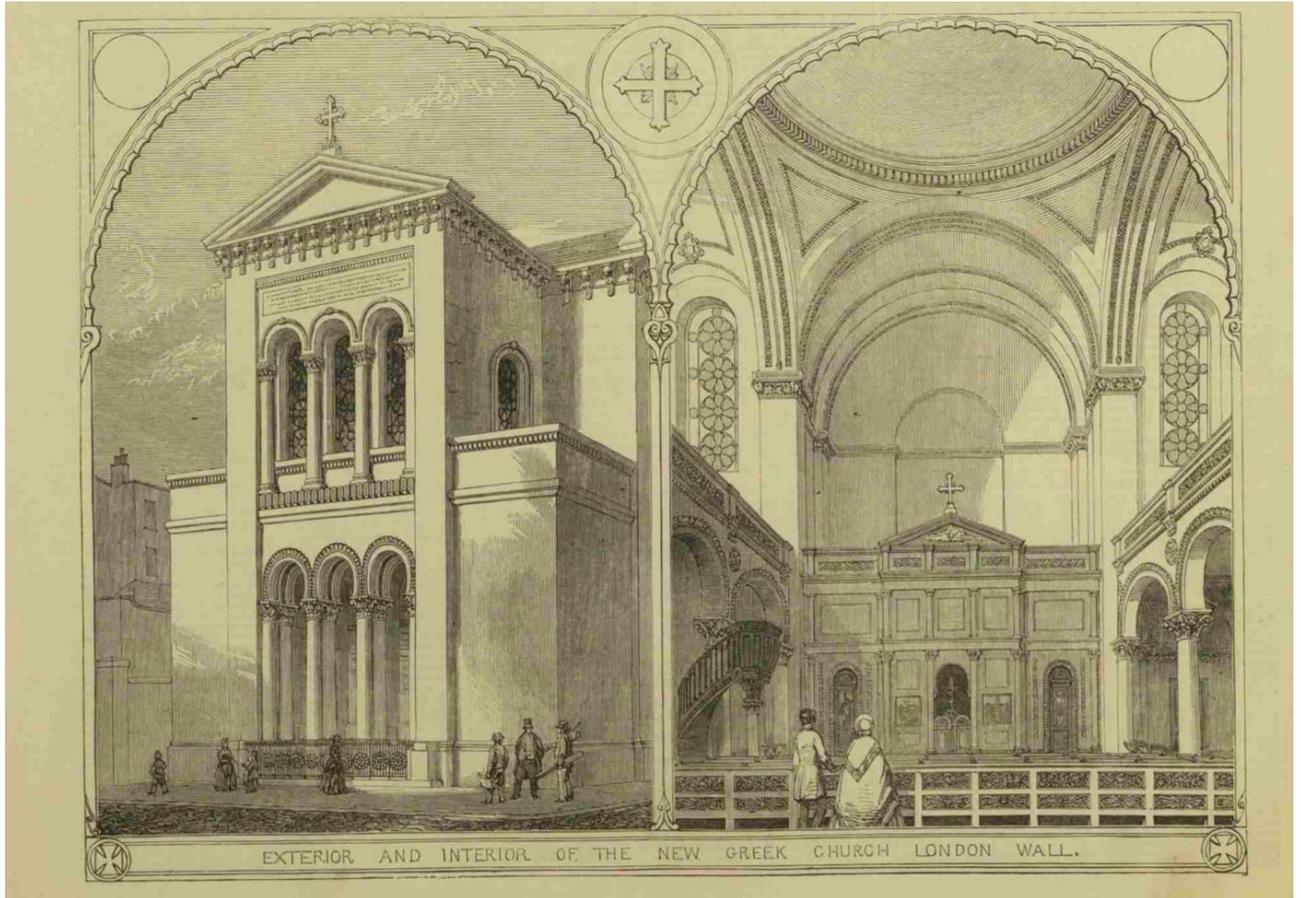


Image 2.11: Exterior and Interior of the Greek Church of our Saviour, 82 London Wall, from the *Illustrated London News*, 12 January 1850, 25-6.



PRIEST OF THE GREEK CHURCH READING THE GOSPEL AT THE ALTAR.

Image 2.12: Archimandrite Morfinos with altar boys at the Greek Church of Our Saviour, London Wall, from the *Illustrated London News*, 12 January 1850, 25-6.

In 1846, the London Greek Brotherhood hosted and entertained the Greek Revolutionary General Dimitrios Kallergis “at the London Tavern, in honour of his exertions in the cause of the Greek Constitution.”¹⁴⁰ They presented Kallergis with a ‘magnificent sword’ with the words ‘Religion, Country, Constitution’ and ‘To the General Kalergi, from the Greek Community of London, 21st Nov. 1846’, written in (presumably *Katharévoussa*) Greek on the blade. This event was adorned with both the national flags of

¹⁴⁰ ‘Entertainment to General Kalergi’, *Illustrated London News*, 28 November 1846, 347-8.

Greece and Great Britain, as well as banners reading '25th March, 1821' and 'Otto of Greece'. The chair of the night was Mr Ionides of the prominent merchant family, and there were also "about fifty gentlemen present, all members of the great commercial Greek houses in the metropolis."¹⁴¹ Toasts were given by Ionides and other community members, almost all Chiots. Kallergis responded with gratitude and that, "He delighted to find himself in the company of Greek merchants. He himself [had] been brought up in a merchant's office, and his father and uncles both were merchants."¹⁴² Dancing, possibly Greek, was described as taking place.¹⁴³ A Greek song was also sung by a certain Mr Cartwright.¹⁴⁴ An illustration of the event was published in the *Illustrated London News* (Image 2.13). This episode portrayed a community that was both 'cultivated' and conducting itself in a way that emulated British high society, while also keeping a traditional sense of their origins and a nationalistic Greek identity – despite not having lived under Greek administration.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ 'Entertainment to General Kalergi', 347.

¹⁴² 'Entertainment to General Kalergi', 348.

¹⁴³ 'Entertainment to General Kalergi', 348.

¹⁴⁴ Cartwright is of unknown connection to the community – possibly a classical scholar or philhellene. He is difficult to pin down due to the lack of further records and the commonness of the surname. One possibility is John Cartwright, a nineteenth-century British Consul General in Constantinople and Patras, who retired to London in 1844 and passed away in 1848. See: David Wilson, 'List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories, from the sixteenth century to about 1860,' *Levantine Heritage*, July 2011.

¹⁴⁵ F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*, Routledge, London & New York, 2007.

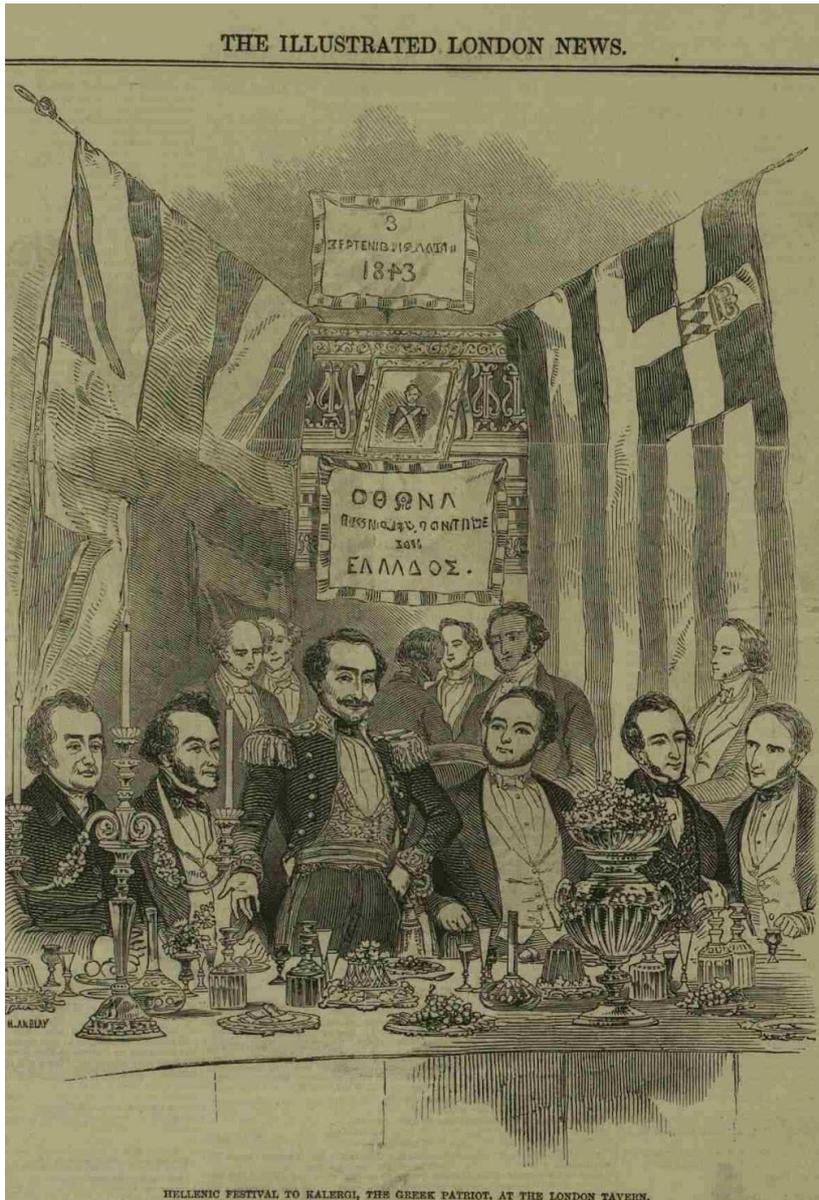


Image 2.13: Illustration of the event dedicated to General Kallergis at the London Tavern, from the *Illustrated London News*, 28 November 1846, 347-8.

Other events were hosted by the Brotherhood throughout the nineteenth century. In October 1843, a ‘Hellenic Festival in Celebration of the Greek Revolution’ was held at the London Tavern, where “between eighty and a hundred gentlemen, natives of Greece, and friends of their cause, sat down to a sumptuous banquet.” The event displayed three flags – the British, French, and Greek – as well inscriptions on pillars commemorating “first, of the various national assemblies of regenerated Greece, beginning with that of the 25th of March, 1825; secondly, of the battles won by the Greeks; thirdly and fourthly, of

the surviving and defunct heroes who had fought in the Greek cause.” In attendance were many London Chiot and their relatives, such as C.T. Ralli, A. Ionides, P.T. Ralli, Mr Georgiadi, Mr Alexandrides, Mr Mavrogordato, Mr Lascaridi, and Xenophon Balli, as well as Philhellenes including Colonel Leicester Stanhope, Dr Bowring, B. Cochrane MP (possibly Thomas Cochrane), and Colonel Thompson. Both Chiot and Philhellenes gave pro-Greek Independence toasts and speeches.¹⁴⁶

In 1842, a dinner was held at the London Tavern in honour of M. Souzzo, a Greek poet. Souzzo was either one of two Phanariot poet brothers, Alexandros or Panagiotis Soutsos, both of Chiot parentage.¹⁴⁷ The event was similarly chaired by the Brotherhood’s president C. Ralli Esq, who gave a toast to King Otto and his wife, and in attendance were T.T. Ralli Esq (vice-president), B.W. Hutton Esq (listed as the only Englishman present), M.E. Mavrogordato, D. Scaramanga, A. Ionides Esq, E.G. Franghiadi, and Mr Alexandriadi. Speeches were given, with vivid, nationalistic language, discussing ‘the memory of Byron’, ‘the prosperity of Greece’, ‘the army and navy’, ‘the noble-hearted Englishmen who had contributed...to the freedom of Greece’, ‘the learned men of Greece’ and to the health of Spyridon Trikoupis and Pandias Ralli.¹⁴⁸ The association with the English Party of Greece, with King Otto, and especially with Trikoupis, hinted at a liberal ideology prevalent in the London Chiot community.

The Baltic Exchange & the Ralli Brothers

London Chiot community structures were not just limited to the Brotherhood, churches, and family firms, but also expanded to include large-scale business enterprises. Chiot business success in Britain hinged on Britain’s growing financial, commercial, and imperial global dominance. One key example is the Baltic Exchange. The Baltic originated with British and Greek merchants, who traditionally met at the Virginia and Baltick Coffee House (sic), Threadneedle St, Cornhill, London, near the Royal Exchange (Image 2.14).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ ‘Hellenic Festival in Celebration of the Greek Revolution’, *Northern Star*, Leeds, 28 October 1843, 7.

¹⁴⁷ Graham Speake (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2019, 1161, 1178, 1468-71, 1546, 1571-3, 3111 & 3652-8.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Dinner to M. Souzzo, the Grecian Poet’, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, Oxford, 19 November 1842.

¹⁴⁹ Maria Christina Chatziioannou & Gelina Harlaftis, ‘From the Levant to the City of London: Mercantile Credit in the Greek International Commercial Networks of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’, in

Founded sometime during the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it was originally known as the 'Virginia and Maryland Coffee-House', and over time became known simply as the 'Baltic Coffee House'. The coffeehouse fostered an information and goods exchange from both the American East Coast and the Baltic Sea, and in 1935 it was noted that:

Like two other Great London exchanges—the Stock Exchange and Lloyd's—the Baltic Exchange, which is now in the public eye, was originally a coffee-house...all foreign and domestick (sic) news are taken in and all letters or parcels, directed to captains in the Virginia or Baltick (sic) trade, will be carefully delivered...Its membership grew from 300, when it first definitely established as an exchange in 1823, to its present figure, well over 2,000, and it has become, perhaps, the greatest shipping and grain exchange in the world.¹⁵⁰

Philip L. Cottrell, Evan Lange & Ulf Olsson (eds.), *Centres and Peripheries in Banking*, Aldershot, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, 2007, 27. See: Hugh Barty-King, *The Baltic Exchange: The History of a Unique Market*, Hutchinson Benham, London, 1977.

¹⁵⁰ 'The Baltic', *Belfast Telegraph*, Belfast, 31 January 1935, 8.



Image 2.14: View of the Virginia and Baltick Coffee House, across from St Bennet's Fink, Threadneedle St, London, 29 September 1797. Courtesy of the Royal Academy UK.¹⁵¹

Chiots and other Greeks met with other British merchants at the Baltic during the 1820s, with Pantia (or Pandias) Ralli, and later Antonio Ralli and Michel E. Rodocanachi becoming prominent in the exchange.¹⁵² Their focus was on trade from the Baltic Sea, later expanding to include Mediterranean and Black Sea trade. In 1857, the group purchased South Sea House and reorganised as a committee known as the Baltic Company, and both

¹⁵¹ Thomas Malton the Younger, *St Bennet's Fink, Threadneedle Street*, Plate 70, London, 29 September 1797.

¹⁵² Barty-King, *The Baltic Exchange*, 97-9 & 114.

Antonio Ralli and Rodocanachi sat on the board of directors.¹⁵³ Many of the shareholders were also Chiots, and the Baltic Exchange became London's central freight market by the end of the century.¹⁵⁴ Rodocanachi himself had only arrived in London from Chios during the late-1840s, and was naturalised in 1854, aged 31, during which he was working out of 26 Finsbury Circus, while also living at a residence at 3 Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, Middlesex.¹⁵⁵ Rodocanachi was married to a "French lady aged about twenty five years", of Chiot descent, Ariadne Petrocochino.¹⁵⁶ Rodocanachi's sons, Emmanuel and Michel, were both born in Chios, and both married local London Chiots from the Agelasto and Scaramanga families respectively.¹⁵⁷ In 1859, Rodocanachi, along with Bernard Tubini (a Catholic Chiot of Genoese descent), Prime Minister William E. Gladstone (a known Philhellene), and East India Company Chairman Russell Ellice (brother of Philhellene merchant and Hudson's Bay Company director Edward Ellice), founded the Bank of Turkey branch in London, and all four acted as directors.¹⁵⁸

Antonio Ralli, on the other hand, had been naturalised in 1848, aged 35, and resided at 42 Finsbury Circus. Ralli had lived in England since 1828, and all four of his children were born in London. On his naturalisation papers, Ralli noted his intention to buy land and ships in England, to enhance his business dealings both with the Finsbury Circus firms and the Baltic Exchange.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Barty-King, *The Baltic Exchange*, 113-4.

¹⁵⁴ Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping: The making of an international tramp fleet, 1830 to the present day*, Routledge, London & New York, 1996, 57-9.

¹⁵⁵ Naturalisation Papers: Rodocanachi, Michel Emmanuel George, from Scio. Certificate 1716, London, 16 January 1854, TNA: HO 1/53/1716.

¹⁵⁶ 'Michel Emmanuel (Emmanuel) Rodocanachi', Christopher Long, 13 May 2013 (last modified).

¹⁵⁷ 'Michel Emmanuel (Emmanuel) Rodocanachi', Christopher Long, 13 May 2013 (last modified).

¹⁵⁸ Abraham Mendes, *The Bank of Turkey: Remarks on its Financial Position and Prospects*, Joseph Clayton, London, 1861, 3; 'Michel Emmanuel (Emmanuel) Rodocanachi', Christopher Long, 26 September 2020 (last modified); 'The Bank of Turkey', *The Bankers' Magazine: Journal of the Money Market & Commercial Digest*, XX, Groombridge & Sons, London, 1860, 81.

¹⁵⁹ Naturalisation Papers: Ralli, Antonio Alexander, from Island of Scio. Certificate 756, London, 22 February 1848, TNA: HO 1/27/736. There were multiple Antonio Rallis in London during this period, however, this seemed to fit the occupation/description. For conflicting Antonios, see: 'Antonios 'Anthony' (Theodore) Ralli', Christopher Long, 21 January 2006 (last modified); 'Antonios (Alexander) Ralli: 1812-1882', I1011, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 10 April 2015 (last modified).

Although established officially in 1823, the Baltic had been used as a centre of discussions prior to this date, like many other coffeehouses (or *kafenía*).¹⁶⁰ In 1818, it was noted that the Benevolent Society of St Patrick had been hosting meetings there, and that:

At an extraordinary meeting of the committee of this institution, held at the Virginia Coffee House, in Cornhill...The following Notification was unanimously resolved:—That—Under the unprecedented circumstances of St. Patrick’s Day falling in Passion Week...[that it] be delayed to Saturday, the 18th of April—on which the celebration will take place at the City of London Tavern.¹⁶¹

The Baltic Exchange was also the subject of an 1823 satirical print by Richard Dighton, where well-known British traders and bankers, including Thomas Raikes Jr, Richard Mee Raikes, Richard Thornton, and Thomas Tooke, were portrayed as hypocrites and thieves, with the devil hovering over their meeting (Image 2.15). This came after criticisms of increasing import and duty prices (particularly on tallow) in the lead up to the financial crisis of 1825.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ See: Barty-King, *The Baltic Exchange*, 62-86.

¹⁶¹ ‘Benevolent Society of St. Patrick’, *British Press*, 4764, London, 17 March 1818, 1.

¹⁶² Larry Neal, ‘The Financial Crisis of 1825 and the Restructuring of the British Financial System’, *Review*, Reserve Bank of St Louis, May 1998, 53-76; Barty-King, *The Baltic Exchange*, 58-61.



Image 2.15: Richard Dighton, *A Scene on the Baltic Walk, Royal Exchange, November 1822*, satirical print, London, 1823.

The pre-existing Ralli Brothers merchant firms, however, were arguably the foremost enterprise of the London Chiots. As mentioned, John and Eustratio, were joined by their brothers Pandias, Augustus, and Toumazis following the massacre in 1827. Pandias and Toumazis had come to London from Chios, and Augustus may have been living in Marseille either prior to the massacre, or between the massacre and coming to London.¹⁶³ An era of prosperity had begun for the Rallis as from 1825 “the Turkish trade of the Levant Co. opened to all English merchants”.¹⁶⁴ The Ralli brothers initially conducted business at London’s Corn Exchange, and corn became their most traded item.¹⁶⁵ However, over the course of the nineteenth century, and in conjunction with members of other families (such as Agelasto, Argenti, Caralli, Mavrogordato, Negroponte, Pallis, Petrocochino, Scaramanga, Schilizzi, Vlasto, and others), the Rallis traded a diverse

¹⁶³ Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*, 27-8, 34-5 & 47-8.

¹⁶⁴ Long, *Greek Fire*, 126.

¹⁶⁵ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 68.

range of goods between London and various Mediterranean and Black Sea ports, including wheat, tallow, linseed, grains, cotton, Manchester textiles, and general 'colonial goods'.¹⁶⁶ They were also importing 'sweetmeats' (confectionary) from Africa to Liverpool by 1840; and possibly diamonds, precious metals, and other items from Brazil by 1847-48, as a Mr Ralli was listed twice as a returning passenger on a gold and diamond freight ship arriving from Rio de Janeiro to Falmouth, Cornwall.¹⁶⁷

As their portfolio grew exponentially, the Rallis began utilising British ships to trade goods. One of these, the *Hellas* (or *Pallas*), was being used by the late-1840s, and employed almost uniquely British labourers.¹⁶⁸ However, non-British workers may not have been recorded. Another, the brig *Betsey*, was being used by the Rallis between London and the Black Sea by 1836.¹⁶⁹

More importantly, however, this growth allowed them to expand their trading partnerships, and subsequent Ralli Bros offices were opened around the UK, in Manchester (1827), and Liverpool (between 1837-65), and later in Dundee (1897), Hull (1903), and Northampton (during mid-twentieth century).¹⁷⁰ By 1860, Ralli Bros branches were listed at Finsbury Circus, London, Calcutta (Kolkata) (in conjunction with the Mavrojani family), Istanbul, and Saint Petersburg (in conjunction with the Scaramanga family).¹⁷¹ Offices were also opened in other cities during the 1815-60 period, and the Rallis and connected firms could be found in the Ottoman Empire, Italy, Russia, Austria, France, Malta, the US, India, and Persia.¹⁷² This colonial, international expansion is discussed further in the following chapter.

Eventually, each Ralli brother settled in a different city where they operated their own branch: John in Odessa; Toumazis in Istanbul; Eustratio in Manchester; Augustus in Marseille; and Pandias in London.¹⁷³ This was reminiscent of the Rothschilds, who, like

¹⁶⁶ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 100-4; Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, 52-3.

¹⁶⁷ 'Imports', *Liverpool Mercury*, Liverpool, 28 February 1840; 'The Brazils', *Morning Post*, London, 3 May 1847, 4; 'The Brazils', *Morning Post*, London, 27 June 1848, 6.

¹⁶⁸ 'Folio 1771. Ship: Hellas. Instance Papers: Action of Ralli.', London, 1850, TNA: HCA 18/217/1771.

¹⁶⁹ Jack Vlasto, *Ralli Brothers Limited*, J.P. McNulty & Co., London, 1951, 9.

¹⁷⁰ Long, *Greek Fire*, 132; Katerina Vourkatioti, 'The House of Ralli Brothers (c. 1818-1961)', in Maria Christina Chatziioannou & Gelina Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids: Sea routes and maritime business, 16th -20th centuries*, Kerkyra Publications, Athens, May 2006, 100-10; Vlasto, *Ralli Brothers Limited*, 9.

¹⁷¹ *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping*, Cox & Wyman, London, 1860, xlv.

¹⁷² Vourkatioti, 'The House of Ralli Brothers (c. 1818-1961)', 100-3.

¹⁷³ Vourkatioti, 'The House of Ralli Brothers (c. 1818-1961)', 102.

the Rallis, also consisted of a family of five brothers that each settled in different cities where they controlled their own branches of the family business.¹⁷⁴ Other Ralli relatives also joined the brothers in London throughout the century, including Alexander Ralli in 1836, Pandia Theodore Ralli in 1838 (a different man from Consul General Pandias), Demetrius Theodore Ralli in 1844, Pantaleone Constantine Ralli in 1847, and Pandeli Ralli of Marseille in 1850, all working as merchants within the Chiot community.¹⁷⁵ S.D. Chapman, among others, has drawn connections between the Ralli family to other merchant settlers in Britain, including the Huguenots, Dutch Jews, and Germans, stating that they:

played an important part in the development of [nineteenth-century] British economy, not only because of their family-centred loyalties...their migration brought valuable reserves of entrepreneurial experience to Britain at a period when resources of enterprises were extended and bankruptcy was regularly depleting the ranks of the mercantile class.¹⁷⁶

Manchester (and eventually Liverpool) became important community and commercial 'outposts' for the Chiot merchants. In Manchester, only six Greek or Ottoman merchant firms were listed by 1831 – four in conjunction with Ralli Bros; and two firms owned by John Copeland Zigomala. However, by 1841, this number had risen to between 22-26 Greek and Ottoman firms (Table 2.2).¹⁷⁷ As Chatziioannou has noted, the Greek merchants of Manchester were viewed as 'oriental' and had a shared identity with their

¹⁷⁴ See: Niall Ferguson, *The House of Rothschild*, 1, Penguin Books, New York, 1999; Niall Ferguson, *The House of Rothschild*, 2, Penguin Books, New York, 2000; Count Egon Caesar Corti, *The Rise of the House of Rothschild*, Brian Lunn & Beatrix Lunn (trans.), Victor Gollancz, London, 1928.

¹⁷⁵ Naturalisation Papers: Ralli, Pandia Theodore, from the Isle of Scio, London, 1848, TNA: HO 1/28/875; Naturalisation Papers: Ralli, Alexander, from Scio, London, 1853, TNA: HO 1/50/1625; Naturalisation Papers: Ralli, Pantaleone Constantine, from Scio (Turkey), London, 1860, TNA: HO 1/98/3378; Naturalisation Papers: Ralli, Demetrius Theodore, from Greece, London, 1864, TNA: HO 1/118/4579; Naturalisation Papers: Ralli, Pandeli, from France, London, 1866, TNA: HO 1/132/5138.

¹⁷⁶ S.D. Chapman, 'The International Houses: The Continental Contribution to British Commerce, 1800-1860', *Journal of European Economic History*, 6, 1977, 35-41. See also: Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou & Stavros Ioannides, 'Market-Embedded Clans in Theory and History: Greek Diaspora Trading Companies in the Nineteenth Century', *Business and Economic History On-Line*, 2, 2004, 1-26.

¹⁷⁷ John Scholes, *Manchester's Foreign Merchants, 1781-1870 (or, The Merchant who shall be A Foreigner in the City of Manchester Consecutively given, from 1784-1870)*, MSFF/382/S/35, 1781-1870, 44-5. Note: John Scholes notes 24 in his tally but lists between 22-26 firms (depending on how the Ralli and Zigomala merchants are counted).

Armenian and Ottoman counterparts.¹⁷⁸ This was mainly due to their shared Ottoman history, as well as shared control of the silk trade. Other notable Chiot and related merchants that followed the Rallis to Manchester included the Ionides, Cavafy, Franghiadi, Calvocoressi, Negroponte, Coronio, Ziffo, Frangopulo, Argenti, Schilizzi, and others, who all had settled in Manchester by 1840, with many more coming throughout the century, especially between 1840-45 (Table 2.2). In 1845 alone, fifteen Eastern Mediterranean-owned firms opened in Manchester.

The other Chiot firms in Manchester around the same time as the Rallis were owned by John Copeland Zigomala. This included 'Stavert, Zigomala & Co.', in conjunction with the older British firm 'Crafts & Stell', and his own firm 'Copeland Zigomala'. Zigomala was born in Chios in 1816 to Emmanuel Zygomala and Zambelou Psychia and was orphaned due to the massacre in 1822. Following this, like many other Chiots, including Castanis, he was 'adopted' by an American businessman named Mr Copeland, who put him through education in the US.¹⁷⁹ Following his education, Zigomala moved to Manchester, where he started a firm, with partners William Shorter Stell, Stephen Madison Buckingham, Robert Stavert, and John Watson, at 101 Portland St and then 6 Minshull St, Manchester, trading cotton.¹⁸⁰ This partnership dissolved, however, in 1850, and only Zigomala, Stell, and Stavert continued together, with his godson, Pandia Petrocochino, becoming a partner during the late-nineteenth century.¹⁸¹ The company also had a branch in Glasgow at 23 West George St.¹⁸² In Manchester, Zigomala reconnected into the Chiot diasporic network, and married a Chiot born in Andros, Aspasia Petrocochino. Three of their five children married Chiots, connecting them with the Ralli, Scaramanga, and Sagrandi families of Manchester.¹⁸³ He was naturalised in

¹⁷⁸ Maria Christina Chatziioannou, 'Mediterranean Pathways of Greek Merchants to Victorian England', *The Historical Review/Le Revue Historique*, VII, 2010, 220.

¹⁷⁹ See: Van Steen, 'The United States as a Haven for Greek Revolutionary War Orphans?', 155-79.

¹⁸⁰ 'Stavert, Zigomala & Co.', *Science Museum Group*, Collection.

¹⁸¹ 'Partnerships Dissolved', *Morning Advertiser*, London, 16 February 1850, 1; 'Pandia (Themistocles) Petrocochino: 1863-1938', I1864, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 9 December 2010 (last modified).

¹⁸² Post-Office annual Glasgow directory, National Library of Scotland, NH.675-676, Glasgow, 1857-58, 245.

¹⁸³ 'John Copeland (Emmanuel) Zygomala', Christopher Long, 18 July 2005 (last modified).

1866.¹⁸⁴ Zigomala was remembered fondly by the wider British community and an extensive obituary was published in the *Manchester Evening News* in 1886.¹⁸⁵

Table 2.2: Foreign Merchants of Manchester (Greek and Ottoman) by year of commencement.¹⁸⁶

1827	Ralli Bros	Crafts & Stell			
1828	Eustratio Ralli	Michael Ralli			
1829	Ralli & Mavrojani				
1830	Stavert, Zigomala & Co. (with Crafts & Stell)	Zigomala Copeland			
1833	Ionides	Antonio Lascaridi	Abdoullah Yadlibi		
1834	Cavafy	Stephen Franghiadi			
1837	Calvocoressi	Negroponte & Coronio	Ziffo		
1838	Capamagian	Antonio Carati	Manuel Frangopulo		
1839	Psichiari				
1840(a)	Argenti & Schilizzi	Chiriaco & Zicaliotti	Mavrogordato	Raphael	
1840(b)	John Schilizzi	Basilio Georgala	Apostolo Scouloudi	Vernudachi	
1842	Nomico	Neolopoulo	Emmanuel Dondia	Rodocanachi	Sofiano & Capsidi

¹⁸⁴ Naturalisation Papers: Zigomala, John Copeland, from Turkey, London, 1866, TNA: HO 1/130/5026, London, 1866.

¹⁸⁵ 'Death of Mr. J. C. Zigomala – Mr. Zigomala', *Manchester Evening News*, 7 July 1886, 2.

¹⁸⁶ Scholes, *Manchester's Foreign Merchants, 1781-1870*, 50-1. See also: Fred Halliday, 'The Millet of Manchester: Arab Merchants and Cotton Trade', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 19(2), 1992, 159-76.

1843	Braggiotti (of Castelli & Giustiniani)	Cuyumgian	Picciotti	Tamvaco, Micrulachi & Mavrogordato	Chiliaditti & Lambichi
1844	Pappa	Petrocochino	Dilberoglue (of Cassavetti & Cavafy)		
1845(a)	Entichidi	Ferigni (of Castelli & Giustiniani)	Paul Cababe	Constantinidi	
1845(b)	John Contostavlo	Fotiadi	Giro	John Papadachi	
1845(c)	Salvago	Scaramanga (of Argenti & Sechiari)	Theologo	Tulini (Tubini)	
1845(d)	Zacharof	Zolas	Zizinias		
1847	John Basilli	Theodore Coronio	Pangiri	Panagopulo	
1866	Atho Joannides				
1874	Hazzopoulo				

At the same time as their early successes in Britain, the extended diaspora in Russia were also experiencing successes which helped solidify Chiot trade dominance. Harlaftis noted that by 1837, grain from southern Russia accounted for 78% of the Black Sea region's grain trade, valued at 1.7 million imperial quarters.¹⁸⁷ Ten years later, by 1847, Southern Russia was exporting over one million tons of grain, compared to the Danubian provinces' nearly 300,000 tons that same year.¹⁸⁸ Much of this trade was directed by Chiot merchant houses, in particular the Ralli, Rodocanachi, Scaramanga, and Sevastopoulos families, who all also ventured into other exports, such as tallow and wool. During the 1830s, the Greek diaspora owned 33% of the export tonnage cleared from

¹⁸⁷ Gelina Harlaftis, 'The Role of the Greeks in the Black Sea Trade, 1830-1900', in Lewis R. Fischer & Helge W. Nordvik (eds.), *Shipping and Trade, 1750-1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History*, Lofthouse Publications, Pontefract, West Yorkshire, 1990, 65-7.

¹⁸⁸ Harlaftis, 'The Role of the Greeks in the Black Sea Trade, 1830-1900', 67-9.

Odessa and surrounding ports, and over 50% at Taganrog.¹⁸⁹ Many of these exports would arrive in Britain, where their British Chiot counterparts would further move the products, creating a solely Chiot-controlled export route. During the Crimean War (1853-56), the Russia-based Chiots were included in the wartime embargo on Russian traders by the Allied Powers. Herlihy noted, however, that this caused the Chiots to shift their focus to the Danubian trade and landownership.¹⁹⁰

Returning to London, Chiot firms like the Rallis continued to grow in significance as their trade dominance increased. They were enabled in many ways by what some scholars have described as Britain's devotion to free trade, which made it possible for Chiot refugees to reconstitute their commercial enterprise during the nineteenth century.¹⁹¹ Often, the Chiot firms were consulted on matters that concerned trade, especially from the Mediterranean. In 1847, Consul General Pandias Ralli, due to his role as Greek Consul General in London, had a hand in trade and commerce negotiations between Britain and Greece, where it was noted that:

The ratifications of a treaty of commerce and navigation, negotiated (sic) and signed at Athens by Mr. P. Delgauni, Councillor of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to his Majesty the King of Greece, and Dr. Patrick Colquhoun, Hanseatic Plenipotentiary at Athens, were exchanged on the 15th ult., in London, by Mr. Ralli, Consul General of his Hellenic Majesty, and Dr. Patrick Colquhoun, on the part of the Venerable Senate of Bremen.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Harlaftis, 'The Role of the Greeks in the Black Sea Trade, 1830-1900', 70-9.

¹⁹⁰ Patricia Herlihy, 'Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century', in Ihor Sevcenko & Frank E. Sysyn (eds.), *Harvard Ukrainian Studies Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, III/IV, part 1, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979-1980, 410 & 414.

¹⁹¹ On British free trade and the debate surrounding it, see: Emily Erikson, *Trade and Nation: How Companies and Politics Reshapes Economic Thought*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2021; Lars Magnusson, *The Tradition of Free Trade*, Routledge, London & New York, 2004; Kevin H. O'Rourke, 'British trade policy in the 19th century: a review article', *European Journal of Political Economy*, 16, 2000, 829-42; William D. Grampp, 'How Britain Turned to Free Trade', *The Business History Review*, 61(1), 1987, 86-122; John Vincent Nye, 'The Myth of Free-Trade Britain and Fortress France: Tariffs and Trade in the Nineteenth Century', *The Journal of Economic History*, 51(1), 1991, 23-46; Ellen Frankel Paul, 'Laissez Faire in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Fact or Myth? A Bibliographical Essay', *Literature of Liberty*, 3(4), 1980, 5-38.

¹⁹² 'Court Circular', *Standard*, London, 6 January 1847.

Prior to his appointment as Consul General, Pandias helped broker the loans for Greece on behalf of the Greek deputies in London, as discussed earlier.¹⁹³ In another instance, on behalf of the firm, one Ralli (likely Pandias) joined a deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer opposing new excise policies and higher duty taxes that would jeopardise their tallow, grain, and other agricultural trade from Russia.¹⁹⁴ In 1838, Pandias also reported to Lloyd's Exchange that there was a quarantine centre established in the port of Piraeus, Greece, likely for one of the various epidemics of the period, such as influenza, smallpox, cholera, typhus, or bubonic plague.¹⁹⁵ In 1842, Pandias Ralli subscribed over £2 to a fund organised at the London Tavern, that aimed to present the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, Sir John and Lady Pirie, with "a suitable testimonial, to express the public esteem and gratitude with which such services are held by all parties and persons."¹⁹⁶ John Pirie would become the namesake of the South Australian town of Port Pirie. Pandias Ralli was nicknamed 'Zeus' due to his prominent role in the London Greek community and he remained a key figure in wider British and Greek society throughout much of the nineteenth century. He was naturalised in 1852, after thirty years of residing in Britain.¹⁹⁷

Societal Reception

As their societal prominence heightened, the Rallis and their partnered families quickly became intertwined into Britain's 'cultivated elite'. This is seen through various news reports, listing the Rallis (particularly Consul General Pandias) and their connections, attending significant events. In 1837, the Queen's Levee was attended by Pandias Ralli and Greek ambassador Trikoupis along with Admiral George Anson Byron, 7th Baron Byron (cousin and successor to Lord Byron) and others.¹⁹⁸ In 1838, Madame P. Ralli

¹⁹³ 'Greek Loans', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 16 November 1826.

¹⁹⁴ 'To the Editor of the Standard', *Standard*, 2761, London, 15 March 1836, 1.

¹⁹⁵ 'Shipping Intelligence', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 19 February 1838. See also: Richard J. Evans, 'Epidemics and Revolutions: Cholera in Nineteenth-Century Europe', *Past & Present*, 120, August 1988, 123-46; J.C. Le Huec, L. Boué, S. Bourret, M. Saffarini & M. Le verge, 'Epidemics Over the Centuries', *Neurospine*, 17(2), June 2020, 334-6; K.D. Patterson, 'Pandemic and epidemic influenza, 1830-1848', *Social Sciences & Medicine*, 21(5), 1985, 571-80; Olga Krylova & David J.D. Earn, 'Patterns of smallpox mortality in London, England, over three centuries', *PLoS Biology*, 18(12), 2020, 1-27; K. Tynkkynen, 'Four cholera epidemics in nineteenth-century London', *Hippokrates (Helsinki)*, 12, 1995, 62-88.

¹⁹⁶ 'Pirie Testimonial', *Morning Post*, 22,445, London, 26 December 1842.

¹⁹⁷ Naturalisation Papers: Ralli, Pantia, from Greece, London, 1852, TNA: HO 1/45/1419.

¹⁹⁸ 'Her Majesty's Levee', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 20 July 1837; 'Her Majesty's Levee', *Morning Post*, London, 20 July 1837.

(Marietta Scaramanga, wife of Pandias) and Princess Soutzo (wife of Trikoupis), attended the Queen's Drawing Room.¹⁹⁹ Pandias Ralli attended the Bedford Hotel in 1844, and again with his family 1847, as well as the Queen's Hotel in 1848; while E. Ralli (presumably Eustratio) moved to 6 Eastern Terrace in 1847. Both Pandias' and Eustratio's movements were listed in what was named 'fashionable intelligence' by the *Sussex Advertiser*.²⁰⁰

In 1847, Ralli and Scaramanga couples attended the Lady Mayoress' grand ball at her mansion; and Madame Ralli, occasionally with Pandias, attended the Royal Italian Opera multiple times on its tours between 1847-50.²⁰¹ In 1849, members of the Cananidi, Calvocoressi, Consterdine, Fotiadi, Frangopulo, Galatti, Giro, Lambichi, Lascaridi, Mandochi, Mavrogordato, Pangrati, Psicha, Ralli, Rodocanachi, Schilizzi, and Xenos families attended a grand ball in the new Exchange of Manchester.²⁰² In 1850, the Rallis again were noted being at Her Majesty's Theatre and the St James Theatre, watching performances such as *Medea*, *Don Giovanni*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Esmerelda*, *Puritani*, and *Bajazet*; as well as at the Queen's Drawing Room with a host of foreign diplomats, including Ottoman ambassadors and diplomats Agop Divitzian, Dilaver Effendi, Cabouby Effendi, and Sadik Bey.²⁰³ In 1851, Lucas Ralli was elected as president of the committee

¹⁹⁹ 'Her Majesty's Drawing-Room', *Morning Post*, London, 27 April 1838; 'The Queen's Drawing-Room', *Caledonian Mercury*, Edinburgh, 30 April 1838.

²⁰⁰ 'Brighton Journal: Fashionable Intelligence', *Sussex Advertiser*, Lewes, Sussex, 5 March 1844, 3; 'Brighton Journal: Fashionable Intelligence', *Sussex Advertiser & Surrey Gazette*, Lewes, Sussex, 31 August 1847, 5; 'Brighton Journal: Fashionable Intelligence', *Sussex Advertiser & Surrey Gazette*, Lewes, Sussex, 7 September 1847, 5; 'Arrivals: Queen's Hotel', *Cheltenham Looker-On*, Cheltenham, 7 October 1848, 661.

²⁰¹ 'The Lady Mayoress's Grand Ball at the Mansion House', *Morning Post*, London, 3 November 1847, 6; 'The Lady Mayoress's Grand Ball at the Mansion-House', *Standard*, 7250, London, 3 November 1847, 1; 'Royal Italian Opera', *Standard*, London, 12 April 1847; 'Royal Italian Opera', *Standard*, London, 27 March 1848; 'Royal Italian Opera', *Morning Post*, London, 21 March 1849, 6; 'Royal Italian Opera', *Morning Post*, London, 23 April 1849, 6; 'Royal Italian Opera', *Morning Post*, London, 6 June 1849, 6; 'Royal Italian Opera', *Standard*, London, 18 March 1850; 'Royal Italian Opera', *Morning Post*, London, 17 May 1850, 5.

²⁰² 'Grand Ball Last Night in the New Exchange Rooms', *Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser*, 317, Manchester, 19 May 1849, 5.

²⁰³ 'Her Majesty's Theatre', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 13 March 1850, 6; 'Her Majesty's Theatre', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 15 April 1850, 6; 'Her Majesty's Theatre', *Standard*, London, 10 May 1850; 'Her Majesty's Theatre', *Morning Post*, London, 24 May 1850, 6; 'Her Majesty's Theatre', *Standard*, 7982, London, 13 March 1850, 1; 'St. James's Theatre', *Morning Post*, London, 4 July 1850, 6; 'Her Majesty's Drawing-Room', *Morning Chronicle*, London, 21 June 1850, 5.

for the Greek section of the 'Great Exhibition' of classical works in Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, London, which has been the subject of multiple studies.²⁰⁴

The evident positive reception of the Rallis and Chiot community into British society appeared to derive from two areas. Firstly, the Chiots were seen as a wealthy merchant class, and thus beneficial to Britain and an important driver of wealth for the metropole. Secondly, they were seen as Greeks, who were 'inheritors' of classical history, an idea tied to Philhellenism and upper-class British romanticism with classical Greece as the birthplace of Western society.²⁰⁵ The Philhellene Prime Minister Gladstone is a testament to this.²⁰⁶ However, questions surrounding 'foreigners' and their role in Britain were emerging, particularly during the mid-nineteenth century, where prejudices and restrictions were placed on those that did not fit the entrepreneurial 'good migrant' blueprint, such as certain Italian, Jewish, Chinese, and Irish immigrants.²⁰⁷ Renshaw noted Irish Catholic, Chinese, and Jewish communities being treated as the diasporic, ethnic, and religious 'other' in nineteenth century Britain, and were often targeted, harassed and monitored by society members, policies, and authorities.²⁰⁸ Compounding

²⁰⁴ 'Exhibition of 1851', *Morning Post*, London, 12 November 1850; 'The Exhibition of 1851', *Daily News*, London, 12 November 1850, 3. See also: Artemis Yagou, 'Facing the West: Greece in the Great Exhibition of 1851', *Design Issues*, 19(4), Autumn 2003, 82-90; Jonathon Shears, *The Great Exhibition, 1851: A Sourcebook*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2017; Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2008; Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999; Charles Harvard Gibbs-Smith, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 2nd edn., HMSO, London, 1981.

²⁰⁵ Margarita Miliari, 'Ambiguous Partisanship: Philhellenism, Turkophilia and Balkanology in 19th century Britain', *Balkanologie*, VI(1-2), 2002, 127-53; Pandeimon Hionidis, 'British Hellenism and British Philhellenism: The Establishment of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1879', *Akropolis: Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 4, 2020, 85-108; Pandeimon Hionidis, 'Mid-Victorian Liberalism and Foreign Affairs: "Cretan Atrocities" and Liberal Responses, 1866-69', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 30(2), 2012, 191-213; Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism', 52-72.

²⁰⁶ Pandeimon Hionidis, 'Gladstone, Religion, and the "Christian Cause" in the Balkans, 1875-1878', in Miroljub Jevtić & Marko Veković (eds.), *Politology of Religion: A Biannual Conference 2018, Conference Proceedings*, Center for Study of Religion & Religious Tolerance, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, 2019, 9-22; Pandeimon Hionidis, 'Philhellenism and party politics in Victorian Britain: the Greek Committee of 1879-1881', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 14, 2017, 141-76; Pandeimon Hionidis, 'Mid-Victorian Liberalism and Foreign Affairs: "Cretan Atrocities" and Liberal Responses, 1866-69', *The Historian*, 77(4), 2015, 716-39.

²⁰⁷ Robert Winder, *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain*, Little, Brown, London, 2004, 112-64.

²⁰⁸ Daniel Renshaw, *Socialism and the Diasporic 'Other': A comparative study of Irish Catholic and Jewish radical and communal politics in East London, 1889-1912*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2018, 15-35; Daniel Renshaw, 'Prejudice and paranoia: a comparative study of antisemitism and Sinophobia in turn-of-the-century Britain', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 50(1), 2016, 38-60; Daniel Renshaw, 'Old Prejudices and New Prejudices: State Surveillance and Harassment of Irish and Jewish Communities in London -

these ideas, from the mid-nineteenth century there were also shifts in definitions of British national identity and growing eugenicist ideas.²⁰⁹ Essentially, the Chiotos coalesced being 'Chiot merchants' and 'descendants of classical Greeks', while also being 'others' and 'foreigners.'

In some instances, they were not received warmly, and their 'foreigner' status was still seen as a point of difference and prejudice by some members of British society. In one 1844 case, Mr Demetrius Ralli, merchant of Tib St, was assaulted and threatened with further violence by a Mr John Cooke of the firm Goodier, Krauss & Co. calenderers. The circumstances of the assault were described as "delicate...in which a lady was concerned, as well as a Greek merchant." The assault hinted at the racist trope and xenophobic fear of swarthy, foreign men 'stealing' Anglo women, and was described in the following way:

Ralli was attending a public concert on the 29th Oct., and during the evening, I believe, had shown some courtesy, as a gentleman, to persons with whom he had met in the hall, but which seems to have been misinterpreted, and as he was leaving, towards conclusion, he was met on the staircase by the defendant, Mr. Cooke, who thought proper to take hold of him by the collar, shake him violently, and threaten to throw him over the bannisters, down stairs...he [Cooke] said, "Are you the person that attempted to seduce my daughter?" Mr. Ralli said, "No, I am not;" but of course a public staircase was not a place for an explanation.²¹⁰

Ultimately, the case was withdrawn, and Cooke was not charged.

Additionally, although not restricted from entering Britain, restrictions were placed on Greek Orthodox marriages in Britain from 1856, with all preceding Orthodox marriages being unrecognised due to their lack of proper registration methods. This was noted as causing difficulty in proving financial legitimacy for the couples and their

1800-1930', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 40(1-2), 2022, 79-105; Daniel Renshaw, 'The violent frontline: space, ethnicity and confronting the state in Edwardian Spitalfields and 1980s Brixton', *Contemporary British History*, 32(2), 2018, 231-52.

²⁰⁹ Ben Braber, *Changes in Attitudes to Immigrants in Britain, 1841-1921: From Foreigner to Alien*, Anthem Press, London, 2020, 7-11.

²¹⁰ "Delicate" Explanations', *The Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser*, Manchester, 16 November 1844, 8. See also: 'Borough Court – Monday, Dec. 2: Breach of the Peace – Ralli v. Cooke', *Manchester & Salford Advertiser*, Manchester, 7 December 1844, 2.

children and was not rectified until 1884.²¹¹ Of the 62 marriages during this period, at least 39 (2/3rds) were between Chioti.²¹²

In contrast to their successes, the Ralli family also had many unsuccessful ventures. This included the bankruptcies of some firms, such as Nicholo di Theodoro Ralli, merchant of Suffolk Lane, in 1825, and S. Pandeli Ralli, Home Farm, Whittlebury, Northampton, in 1892.²¹³ Additionally, some partnerships were dissolved, presumably due to internal disputes and others due to financial hardships, such as the separation of the five Ralli brothers from their relatives Antonio, Stephen, Pandia, and Michael Ralli, in 1839; J.P. Schilizzi from T.M. Ralli of Liverpool, in 1849; and M.E. Rodocanachi and T.P. Rodocanachi from C.T. Ralli in 1850.²¹⁴ These partnership breakdowns beg the question of whether the Ralli brothers were distancing themselves from other Chiot families over the course of the century, and becoming more insular, possibly to keep the wealth within their immediate family.

Other setbacks and minor controversies hit the firms throughout the century. On 6 August 1844, there was a fire in the merchants' warehouses at Manchester. The warehouses, known as the Irwell Buildings, corner of Blackfriars St and Parsonage, contained large amounts of wood, and hosted merchants including M. Ralli, along with Richard Rostron, Mr Garser (or Garner), Henri Jacquet, H. Fiescher, J. Helsted, and Mr Mendel (likely the famed merchant Samuel Mendel). One death occurred due to the fire in the packing warehouse of Robert Charlton & Sons, when a man named John Irving was killed as the woodwork building collapsed, while his workmate Thomas Jackson was severely wounded and not expected to recover. There was between £20,000-£25,000 in damages.²¹⁵ Another accident eventuated in Manchester in 1847, considered a 'narrow

²¹¹ See: Hansard – 'Greek Marriages Bill-(No 26.)/Second Reading', House of Lords, vol. 285, cc1515-6, United Kingdom, 14 March 1884; James Perry (ed.), 'Marriages in the London Wall Greek Church, 1837-1865', Ben Dale (trans.), Humanities Commons, 2017: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17613/M6NV5J>

²¹² Perry (ed.), 'Marriages in the London Wall Greek Church, 1837-1865'.

²¹³ 'Bankrupts', *Hereford Journal*, Hereford, 30 November 1825, 2; 'Postscript: Bankrupts', *Sussex Advertiser*, Lewes, Sussex, 28 November 1825, 3; 'The Failure of Mr. S. P. Ralli', *Northampton Mercury*, Northampton, 2 December 1892, 8.

²¹⁴ 'Partnerships Dissolved', *Perry's Bankrupt Gazette*, London, 2 November 1839, 697-8; 'Partnerships Dissolved', *Sheffield Independent*, Sheffield, 28 April 1849, 7; 'Partnerships Dissolved', *Examiner*, London, 5 January 1850, 13.

²¹⁵ 'Destruction of Warehouse Property by Fire, and Loss of Life', *Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser*, Manchester, 10 August 1844, 2; 'Destructive Fire at Manchester', *Northern Star*, Leeds, 10 August 1844, 5; 'Destructive Fire at Manchester', *The Leeds Times*, Leeds, 10 August 1844, 7; 'Extensive

escape', where a man named William Briddon was struck on the head by a falling sledge while walking under the doorway of Ralli & Mavrojani's warehouse. Briddon survived with minor injuries.²¹⁶

In 1850, there was an embezzlement charge against a man named Francis Mellor. During the case, clients of Mellor were listed, which included many Manchester merchants, including the Rallis, who had paid £18 to Mellor for his services as an agent. The sum was embezzled by Mellor, who had fled to the US in 1849, and was finally arrested in 1850.²¹⁷ This came after a similar case in 1847, where embezzlement charges were brought against a salesman and clerk named George Holmes, who also had received money from the Rallis.²¹⁸ There was also a controversial 1849 case where the Rallis brought an action against Mr James Pilling of Rochdale for over £118 worth of defective manufactured goods.²¹⁹

A bizarre accusation of child stealing also came against two unnamed members of the Ralli family. In 1849, a woman named Ellen Shiel gave birth to a daughter in Manchester. Shiel noted that some days prior to the birth, an application had been made to her by the wife of a Mr Ralli of Withington, wishing to adopt the child, as they had no children of their own. They offered Shiel money and the option to see her daughter occasionally. Shiel agreed, but after the adoption, contact was immediately cut off with the Rallis. She appealed to the police, who noted that no Rallis lived in Withington, and that all the information given by the adopters was false. None of the Ralli families of Manchester knew anything about the adoption, either. Nothing further came of this case, although there was a report of the child being spotted in an omnibus at Hulme.²²⁰ It is very likely that the Rallis mentioned were in fact members of a connected family, or someone completely unrelated, using the 'Ralli' name due to its status. This strange case,

Destruction of Warehouse Property by Fire, and Loss of Life', *Standard*, 6257, London, 7 August 1844, 1; 'Extensive Fire and Loss of Life', *Hereford Times*, Hereford, 10 August 1844, 128; 'Extensive Fire and Loss of Life', *Leicestershire Mercury*, Leicester, 10 August 1844, 4.

²¹⁶ 'Narrow Escape', *Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser*, 442(or 412), Manchester, 30 June 1847.

²¹⁷ 'Embezzlement at Manchester', *Daily News*, London, 16 September 1850.

²¹⁸ 'Embezzlement by a Clerk', *Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser*, 540, Manchester, 25 August 1847.

²¹⁹ 'Important Commercial Case: Manchester County Court, Dec. 26 (Before R. Brandt, Esq., Judge)', *Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser*, 721, Manchester, 29 December 1849, 6.

²²⁰ 'Strange Case of Child Stealing', *Hampshire Advertiser*, Southampton, 29 December 1849, 6.

which only made a minor report in newspapers, hints at an unspoken class double-standard, where, due to their societal standing, Rallis and other Chiots were not always publicly investigated or seriously questioned.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the unfortunate events of the Chios Massacre became the largest propeller of Chiot emigration and settlement in the post-1822 period. Ports, such as Psara, Syros, Marseille, and Malta became important centres of Chiot movement, which eventually led to settlement in London. The early-nineteenth century's existing diasporic network that the Chiots navigated, in combination with the migratory groundwork of the mercantile class who established themselves in London before 1822, created a large safety net for Chiots fleeing the massacre. This safety net, concentrated on the existing London Chiot community around Finsbury Circus, translated into the founding and settlement of an established large-scale Chiot diaspora. The London Chiot diaspora became a meeting point for European, Mediterranean, and Black Sea trade and mobility networks, and many Chiots found a comfortable and prosperous life when settling in Britain. The initial community building exhibited by this diaspora, as seen through community structures such as the Brotherhood and churches, and businesses such as the Baltic Exchange and Ralli Bros (enabled by Britain's free trade), developed a culture that rapidly intertwined the Chiots into 'cultivated' British society. From here, Chiots began spreading further into other cities, such as Manchester, and to other nations. However, questions of how Chiots were received and viewed in the wider societal eye remained chequered.

In his memoir *The Greek Exile*, Christophorus Castanis noted that following the massacre, "The symbols of Chian prosperity travelled farther than the feet of any of its native owners had, at that time, wandered. These testimonies of Chian industry and skill ran over the globe as heralds and forerunners of the exiles of Scio!"²²¹ The following chapter links the established Chiot emigration, settlement, and initial community building, with long-term Chiot settlement and ultimately integration into British society.

²²¹ Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 45.

Chapter 3: Chiot Community Building & Integration

In 1987, historian Mai Wann alluded to the London Chiots as a 'remnant' community, when discussing the later Chiot community that arrived in London after WWII:

On their arrival in London they [the post-War Chiot immigrants] found the remains of a previous Chiot community of wealthy merchants which ceased to exist at round the turn of the century. The Greek Cathedral which they had built in 1879 and which had fallen into disrepair became again the centre of Greek activity. The surrounding area of Bayswater, which had housed the 19th century Chiot merchants, was favoured by the newcomers for residential purposes.¹

But had this former community really disappeared, or had they become completely integrated into London society that they no longer 'stood out'? The evidence points to the latter.

In 1932, historian and classicist John Mavrogordato, a Londoner of Chiot descent, wrote and sent to the renowned Greek poet Constantine P. Cavafy (also of Chiot descent) in Alexandria, a copy of his book *Modern Greece 1800-1931*. In his letter, Mavrogordato blended *Katharévousa* Greek with English, an act reminiscent of modern 'Greeklish' in Australia.² Mavrogordato stated that: "I have seen a few of your more recent works in odd numbers of πρωτοπορία [*protoporía* – avant-garde collections] that reach me from Athens, but I am very anxious indeed to complete my collection."³ In doing so, Mavrogordato, also a former secretary of the Anglo-Hellenic League,⁴ demonstrated his connection to Greek heritage, Greek language, and the wider Greek (and Chiot) diasporas

¹ Mai Wann, 'Chiot Shipowners in London: An Immigrant Elite', Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, Coventry, research paper no. 6, 1987, 2.

² Peggy Giakoumelos, 'The Greeklish project and speaking hybrid languages', *SBS News*, 26 July 2015; Mary Harris, "'To Booko": The Greek-Australian Dictionary of the Greeklish Dialect', *Greek Reporter Australia*, 19 August 2016; Helen Velissaris, 'The Greeklish Project', *Neos Kosmos*, 23 June 2015.

³ John Mavrogordato to Constantine P. Cavafy, London, 24 February 1932, Onassis Cavafy Archive: GR-OF CA CA-SF02-S01-SS01-F18-SF003-0149 (1235), 2.

⁴ John Mavrogordato to the Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund, 29 January 1943, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 1/3498/3.

more than 100-years after the initial Chiot settlements in London. Mavrogordato would go on to translate Cavafy's poems into English and first published them in 1951.⁵

Mavrogordato's own family lineage was at least three generations removed from Chios – he was born in London in 1882; his father, Nicolas Ambrouzis Mavrogordato, was a Chiot born in Istanbul in 1850, and migrated to London to work in the Greek merchant firms (naturalised in 1877). His mother, Alexandra Amalia Scaramanga, was a Chiot born in Trieste in 1857 (Image 3.1). Mavrogordato married an English woman in 1914, Christine Maud Humphries. This generational mobility was not atypical of the Chiot diaspora, as has been established and explored in this dissertation.

⁵ Constantine P. Cavafy, *Poems by C. P. Cavafy*, John Mavrogordato (trans.), Chatto & Windus, London, 1951.

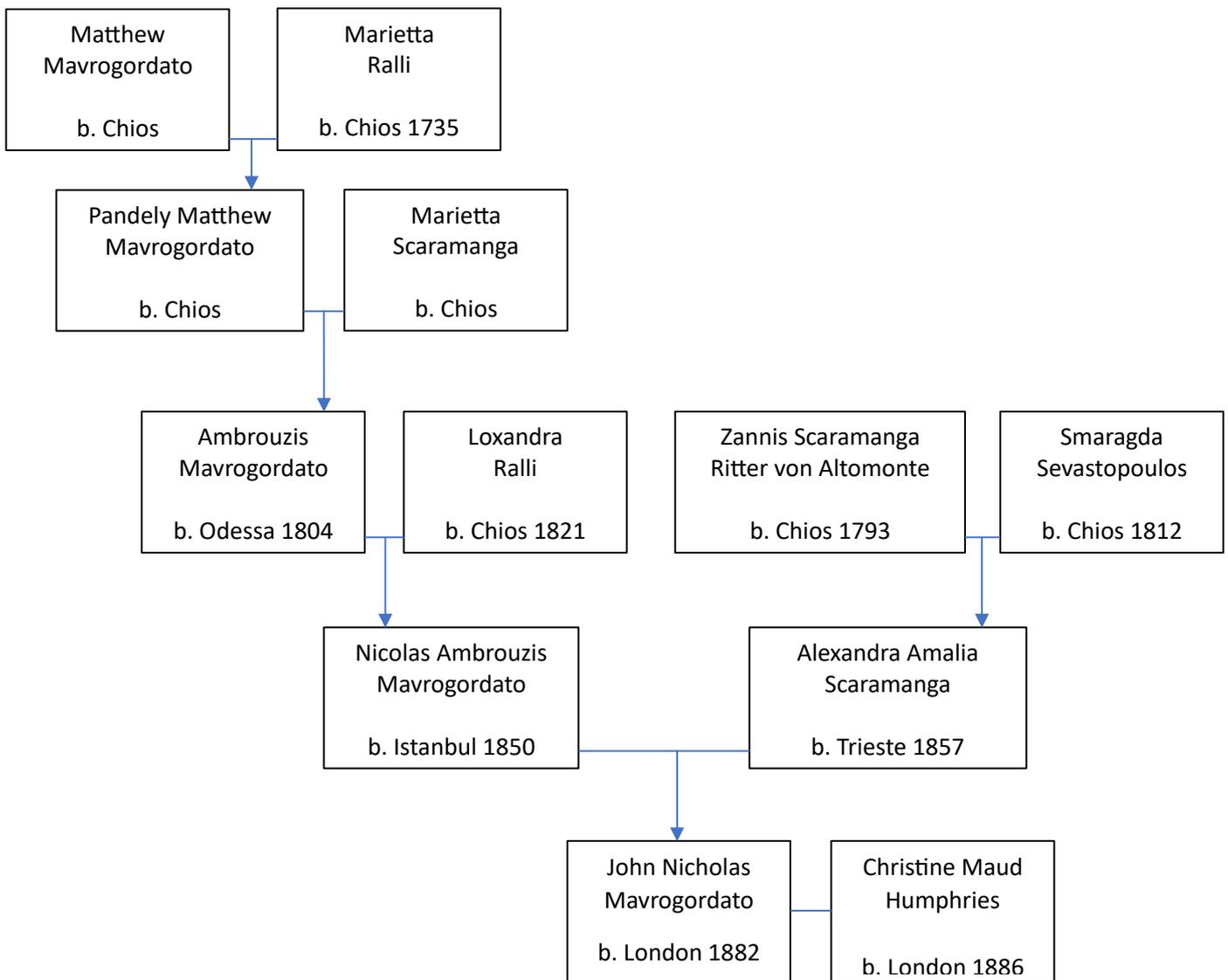


Image 3.1: Ancestry of British Chiot historian John Mavrogordato.⁶

In contrast to his letter to Cavafy, a year earlier, in 1931, John Mavrogordato, displayed a critical opinion on the prospects of the Greek Republic:

No one who has had any intimate knowledge of the Greek people as confined in the modern republic can be very confident about the future. They have faults of character which must make them rarely fitted to be left in charge of an

⁶ Family tree information taken from Christopher Long's archive on 11.10.2022: <https://christopherlong.co.uk>

administrative machine; and although much is hoped of the new Public School on English lines founded at Spetsai it must be at least two generations before a sufficient number of sound civil servants can be regularly drawn from the educated classes to ensure a reasonably smooth and honest administration.⁷

This ‘distrust’ for the Greek people and Greek systems, and faith in English structures, speaks to a unique diasporic identity that bounced between being ‘Chiot’, ‘Greek’, ‘British’, or something in the middle. His comments hinted at his Anglocentrism, British liberal democratic expectations, and imperial tropes of Greeks as ‘backwards people’, not being able to govern themselves. Simultaneously, Mavrogordato was an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-nationalist who held “that international socialism was the only remedy for modern society”, and later became an integral member of the pro-Greek democracy movement, being elected president of the League for Democracy in Greece in 1947.⁸ This chapter analyses pluralistic cases like that of Mavrogordato’s, to unravel the methods and effects of long-term Chiot community building in London, societal integration, and ultimately the complexity of the diaspora’s various identities.

Building on the past two chapters, which explored emigration, settlement and initial community building, this chapter seeks to unravel the extent of long-term Chiot community building in London, as well as their integration into British society. The years of the 1840s-1910s (especially post-1860), being the height of Chiot long-term community building in London, form the focus. Much of this period’s community building revolves around four interconnected communal elements, including: the London Greek Brotherhood, London’s Orthodox churches, Chiot family structures, and businesses, especially the Ralli Bros and the Baltic Exchange. These elements are unpacked further in this chapter, to help answer the question of how they contributed to Chiot integration. Additionally, a broader view of the Chiots is presented, where their communal integration ultimately pushed them beyond London, and linked them with imperial networks, such as in cities like Liverpool and Manchester, and in British possessions such as India.

⁷ John Mavrogordato, *Modern Greece: A Chronicle and a Survey, 1800-1931*, Macmillan, London, 1931, 197.

⁸ Peter Mackridge, ‘Mavrogordato, John Nicolas (1882-1970)’, *ODNB*, 27 May 2010. See also: Papers of John Mavrogordato, 1938-1946, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: GB/161/Arch. Z./Mav. 4(1-2).

To unravel the themes of long-term community building and integration, primary sources are employed that help paint the picture of the London Chiot community. Naturalisation papers, newspaper reports, images (photographs, drawings, and paintings), family histories, and items held by British archives (especially the London Metropolitan Archive, the National Archives, and the British Library) are used to deconstruct and rebuild a picture of London's long-term Chiot diaspora. An in-depth look at over 1,800 UK census records between 1841-1911 has also been conducted to guide this study.

Chiot identity and memory is a core theme of this chapter, especially the use of memoirs, descendants' reminiscences, and a small oral history study. By exploring identity, the nuances of individual and communal integration become more pronounced, and important contrasts, confusions, and points of contention can be discussed. Ultimately, this chapter has been arranged thematically, looking at community building in conjunction with integration, followed by an exploration of the plurality of identities at play within the London Chiot community: Chiot identity, Greek identity, British identity, and finally 'nostalgic identity', driven by memory. This plurality of identities, as described by Homi K. Bhabha, is not viewed as "ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition" but rather as "cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation."⁹

Community Building & Integration

The ways in which Chiots established a long-term community and integrated into London society are diverse and cut across multiple sectors. Building on the foundations of the pre-1840s era, London's Chiots continued to develop and solidify their community's presence. This is most notably seen through the Greek Brotherhood; the establishment of St Sophia, Bayswater as a new centre of community activity; the establishment of 'outpost' communities in other cities; the role of the Consul General; Chiot endogamy; key business ventures, such as Ralli Bros (and other merchant houses), who contributed back to the community and to wider society; and the methods of integration used to solidify

⁹ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Change*, Routledge Classics, Abingdon, Oxon, 2004, 3.

and blend the community into British society, such as their royal and political attitudes, their support for the arts, and the imperial networks they later traversed.

During 1841-1911, as many as 1,811 Chiots (and related families) lived primarily in the UK according to census records. The surnames that were examined in these censuses were drawn from existing naturalisation papers, memoirs, reminiscences, and other related studies on the Chiots, all of which have been consulted previously in this dissertation. Variations of spellings were also examined as best as possible. However, it is acknowledged that there were Chiot families that were likely overlooked or missed in this survey due to misspellings, lack of clear existing records, or human error.

By far the most numerous family were the Rallis, with nearly 400 members over the course of nearly 100 years. Others were also prolific, including the Ionides and Mavrogordato families (Table 3.1). This large Chiot community, described sometimes as an 'enclave',¹⁰ set the trajectory for the wider Greek community of London.

Table 3.1: Chiot and related families listed in UK censuses 1841-1911.

Chiot and related families in UK Censuses	Instances
Ralli	394
Ionides	166
Mavrogordato	127
Rodocanachi	85
Agelasto	70
Sechiari	60
Valieri	59
Calvo	56
Schilizzi	51
Scaramanga	48
Negroponte	46
Tamvaco	45
Franghiadi	45

¹⁰ Jack Mavrogordato, *Behind the Scenes: An Autobiography*, Element, Tisbury, Wiltshire, 1982, 11.

Calvocoressi	44
Sevastopoulos	43
Vlasto	41
Braggiotti	41
Petrocochino	39
Schinas	32
Frangopoulos	30
Coroneo	27
Zigomala	26
Paspati	24
Ziffo	23
Zizinia	22
Zarifi	21
Cavafy	18
Damala	15
Mavrojani	13
Contostavlos	13
Sagrandi	11
Psicha	11
Lambrinudi	11
Benachi	8
Scrini	7
Scouloudi	7
Zervudachi	6
Eumorfopoulos	6
Chaviara	5
Salvago	4
Psichari	4
Giustiniani	4
Zevelechi	1
Valeros	1
Korosis	1
Total	1811

St Sophia & London's Greek Brotherhood

The unincorporated Greek Brotherhood that was formed by the London Chioti in the 1830s appeared to underpin most community-centred activities during the nineteenth century. It also took the lead in continuing to develop community structures that began with the early churches and cemetery established between the 1830s-50s. This idea was solidified in an interesting 2020 High Court hearing, where it was noted that “the Greek Community of London was established in order to found a Greek Church in London”, and that subsequent churches throughout the nineteenth century were in essence the same church, which had been moving due to community growth.¹¹

By the 1860s, after 40 years of significant growth, many Chioti began moving out of Finsbury Circus towards West London. This shift was similar to the nineteenth-century Jews of the East End and twentieth-century Cypriots of Soho who had moved to London's middle-class North, North East, and North West suburbs between the 1930s-50s, while other migrants took their ‘place’ in the working-class East End and Soho.¹² Holmes noted that “It has to be admitted that Britain has never developed ghettos on the same scale as Harlem or San Francisco's Chinatown, but certain areas have continually attracted immigrants and become centres of immigration.”¹³ Areas such as Marylebone, Soho, and the East End, had historically acted as these centres of working-class immigration.¹⁴

¹¹ *Fafalios & Ors v Apodiasos & Ors*, 13 May 2020, Hearing 28-29 April 2020, England and Wales High Court (Chancery Division) Decisions: [2020] EWHC 1189 (Ch), 112-31.

¹² Anne J. Kershen, ‘From East End 1888 to East End 2016: A Cartographic and Demographic Journey in the Life of an Inner London Borough’, in Colin Holmes & Anne J. Kershen, *An East End Legacy: Essays in Memory of William J. Fishman*, Routledge, London & New York, 2018, 16-7; Geoff Dench, Kate Gavron & Michael Young, *The New East End: Kinship, Race and Conflict*, Profile Books, London, 2006; Andrekos Varnava, ‘Cypriot Emigration, 1820s to 1930s: Economic Motivations within Local and Global Migration Patterns’, in M. Ruiz (ed.), *Bridging Boundaries in British Migration History: In Memoriam Eric Richards*, Anthem Press, London, 95-122; Andrekos Varnava, ‘Border Control and Monitoring “Undesirable” Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1945-1959’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, 40 (1-2), 2022, 132-76. See also: Daniel Renshaw, *Socialism and the Diasporic ‘Other’: A comparative study of Irish Catholic and Jewish radical and communal politics in East London, 1889-1912*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2018; Daniel Renshaw, ‘The violent frontline: space, ethnicity and confronting the state in Edwardian Spitalfields and 1980s Brixton’, *Contemporary British History*, 32(2), 2018, 231-52; Sarah Glynn, *Class, Ethnicity and Religion in the Bengali East End: A Political History*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2014; Sarah Glynn (ed.), *Where the Other Half Lives: Lower Income Housing in a Neoliberal World*, Pluto Press, London & New York, 2009; Sarah Glynn, ‘Playing the Ethnic Card: Politics and Segregation in London's East End’, *Urban Studies*, 47(5), 2010, 991-1013.

¹³ Colin Holmes, ‘Introduction: Immigrants and Minorities in Britain’, in Colin Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, George Allen & Unwin, London, Boston, & Sydney, 1978, 18.

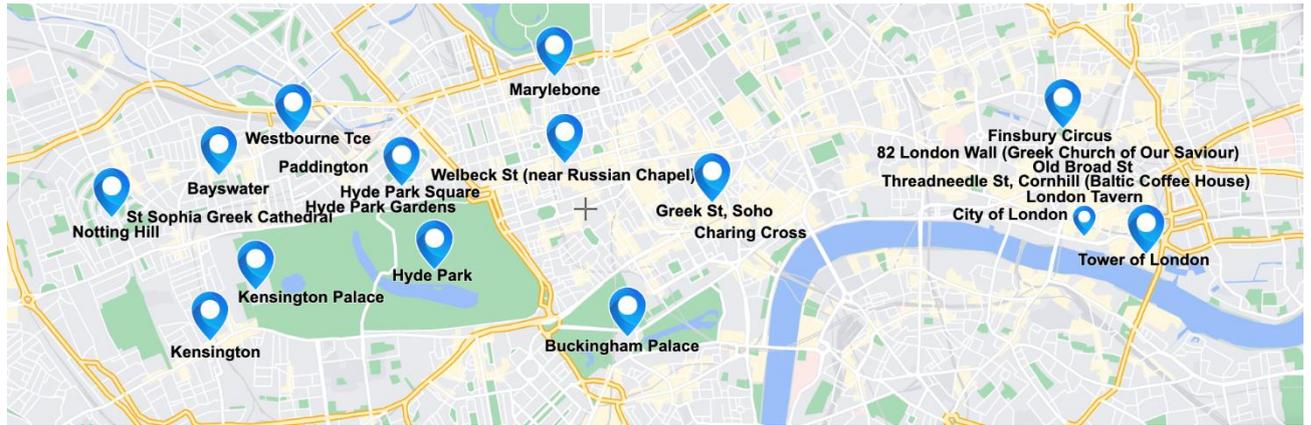
¹⁴ Panikos Panayi, *Migrant City: A New History of London*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 2020, 28-56.

Contrastingly, the City of London, near Finsbury Circus, was dominated by immigration from the middle and upper-middle classes – which is where the mercantile Chiots initially settled. Panayi emphasised the reason was the “centrality of commerce and finance, which have attracted people from all over the world, especially continental Europe and, more recently, from further afield, to the City of London.”¹⁵ In essence, the Chiots became part of the ‘migratory elite’, the “growing army of middle-class workers...[moving] not only from city to suburb, but also between suburb and suburb in furtherance of white-collar careers or in flight from the intrusion of social inferiors.”¹⁶

The next community enclave after Finsbury Circus was the more affluent suburb of Bayswater in Westminster, located between Paddington, Kensington, and Notting Hill. Bayswater is between 9-10 kms from Finsbury Circus, however, it is closer to Greek St, Soho (where London’s first Greek church was built) and to the Russian Chapel on Welbeck St (Map 3.1). Christopher Long catalogued multiple members of various Chiot families living in Bayswater and nearby Hyde Park, Paddington (particularly Gloucester Square, Hyde Park Square, and Hyde Park Gardens). Westbourne Tce, which runs through both Paddington and Bayswater, had many Chiots, especially from the 1860s-1910s, where at least 23 families were recorded (Table 3.2). As many as 60 other Chiot families were recorded in the vicinity of Bayswater, particularly Kensington, Paddington, and the Hyde Park precinct. Living so close to one another was an integral part of maintaining contacts, friendships, and endogamy, as well as fostering Chiot identity, and in essence recreated Chiot village community life. This is similar of the Ikarians, who based themselves on Florence St, Port Pirie, and in the Adelaide CBD.

¹⁵ Panayi, *Migrant City*, 113-4.

¹⁶ F. Musgrove, *The Migratory Elite*, Heinemann, London, 1963, 45. See also: Ben Braber, *Changes in Attitudes to Immigrants in Britain, 1841-1921: From Foreigner to Alien*, Anthem Press, London, 2020.



Map 3.1: The locations of key areas for London’s Chiot community in relation to each other and to other landmarks. Created courtesy of Scribble Maps.

Table 3.2: Chiot with addresses on Westbourne Tce, Bayswater.¹⁷

Westbourne Tce, Bayswater, Street Number	Names (Heads of Household)	Year(s) Recorded
12	Dimitrius Katinakis & Harriet Fanny Brook	1864
20	Alexander Constantine Ionides & Calliope Zarifi	1887
40	Alexander Anthony Vlasto & Calliope Ralli	1907
48	Alexander Anthony Vlasto & Calliope Ralli	1907
56	Emmanuel Antonios Mavrogordato & Despina Ralli	1870
66	Emmanuel Michel Rodocanachi & Alexandra Agelasto	NA
66	Michel Emmanuel Rodocanachi & Ariadne Petrocochino	1884
72	Eustratius Petrocochino & Angeliki Vlasto	1866-1881
74	Pantaleon Ambrose Mavrogordato & Zennou Schilizzi	1931 (earlier)
81	Pandely Constantine Ralli & Charikleia Ralli	1854/1878
81	Captain Stephen Ralli (Stephen Pandeli Ralli) & Minnie Leeson	1893
86	Pandia Alexander Ralli & Sophia Rodocanachi	1864
90	Theodore Emmanuel Schilizzi & Hypatia Schilizzi	1872
90	Nicolas Fachiri & Cléopatre Zizinia	1864
93	Stephen Stephanovich Schilizzi JP & Julia Ralli	1872

¹⁷ Data taken from Christopher Long’s archive on 11.10.2022: <https://christopherlong.co.uk>

93	John S. Schilizzi Stephanovich & Virginia Sechiari	1872
95	Theodore Emmanuel Schilizzi & Hypatia Schilizzi	1872
96	Pandia Alexander Ralli & Sophia Rodocanachi	1867
96	Peter Calliga & Julia Ralli	1883
96	Alexander Pandia Ralli & Aicaterina Ralli	1879
102	Antonios Ralli & Nina Mavrogordato	1881
125	Pandia Peter Rodocanachi & Alexandra Schilizzi	1889
125	Emmanuel Sechiari & Aikaterini Rodocanachi	1889

This growth in London's west raised a call for a new school and Greek Orthodox church to service the Bayswater community. First came the school, which was founded in 1870 by the Brotherhood, with Lucas Ziffo and Antonio A. Ralli acting as trustees. Known as the 'Greek College of Kensington Gardens Square', it aimed to maintain Greek language and avoid "the gradual dehellenisation of the children, who had already British citizenship and could not easily resist the temptation of being British".¹⁸ Its first and only principal was Prof Ioannis Valettas of Sifnos, who came from an old noble Cycladic family and had been principal of the Training School of Syros. However, the school did not last long and closed in 1884.¹⁹

In 1872, at a general assembly of London's Greek Brotherhood, a committee (of Chiot majority) was established, with the aim of building a new church. The committee consisted of a president, Emmanuel Antonios Mavrogordato, and members, Constantine A. Ionides, Sophocles Constantinidi, Peter (Pietro) Pandia Rodocanachi, Paraskeva George Sechiari, Dimitrios Stephanovich Schilizzi, Stavros Dilberoglou (Stauros Dilberoglue), Dimitrios Vikelas, as well as estate agent Robert Vigers and lawyer Edwin Freshfield.²⁰ Freshfield was also an antiquarian, Philhellene, and Byzantinist, who later established the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund at the British School at Athens

¹⁸ Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, self-published, London, 1993, 452.

¹⁹ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 452-6.

²⁰ Bishop Theodoritos of Nazianzos, 'History of the Greek Cathedral of Saint Sophia in London', in George Kakavas (ed.), *Treasured Offerings: The Legacy of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of St Sophia, London*, Byzantine & Christian Museum, Athens, 2002, 24.

in 1908.²¹ The subsequent finance and constitution committees included Michel Emmanuel Rodocanachi, Antonios Ralli, Michael Paspati, Stavros Dilberoglou, and secretary S. Papantonopoulos, and Aristides George Eumorfopoulos, Eustratius Petrocochino, Alcibiades Vagliano, A. (likely Alexander) Vlasto, Octavius Valieri, and Dimitrios Vikelas.²²

The committee swiftly commissioned architect John Oldrid Scott to design a 'Byzantine' style church.²³ Scott had designed the St Stephens Chapel at West Norwood Cemetery for the Ralli family four years earlier. The unique design, intended for a location in Notting Hill and modelled after the 'Greek cross', was published on 5 May 1876 in the *Building News*, and was featured in the Royal Academy Exhibition (Image 3.2).²⁴ Eventually, the committee settled on a corner-site in Bayswater instead of Notting Hill.²⁵ On 18 July 1877, the foundation stone was laid by community figure and pre-1822 Chiot migrant Eustratios Ralli, and building was completed on 1 June 1879 (Images 3.3 & 3.4). Three months earlier, the *Building News* had noted it as having a 'remarkable' design, and that it was one of two new places of worship in Bayswater, the other being a new synagogue on Petersburg Place.²⁶

²¹ Mary Greensted, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement: Exchanges between Greece and Britain (1876-1930)', thesis, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, 2010, 49, 67-72 & 90; Michael Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1933, 51-5.

²² Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London*, 55-6; From Christopher Long's archive on 11.10.2022: <https://christopherlong.co.uk>

²³ Bishop Theodoritos of Nazianzos, 'History of the Greek Cathedral of Saint Sophia in London', 24.

²⁴ 'Our Lithographic Illustrations: Proposed Greek Church, Notting-Hill', *Building News*, London, 5 May 1876, 442.

²⁵ Zita Konialidis, 'The Construction and Early Decoration of Saint Sophia', in Kakavas (ed.), *Treasured Offerings*, 33.

²⁶ 'The Greek Church and the New Synagogue at Bayswater', *Building News*, London, 14 March 1879, 271.

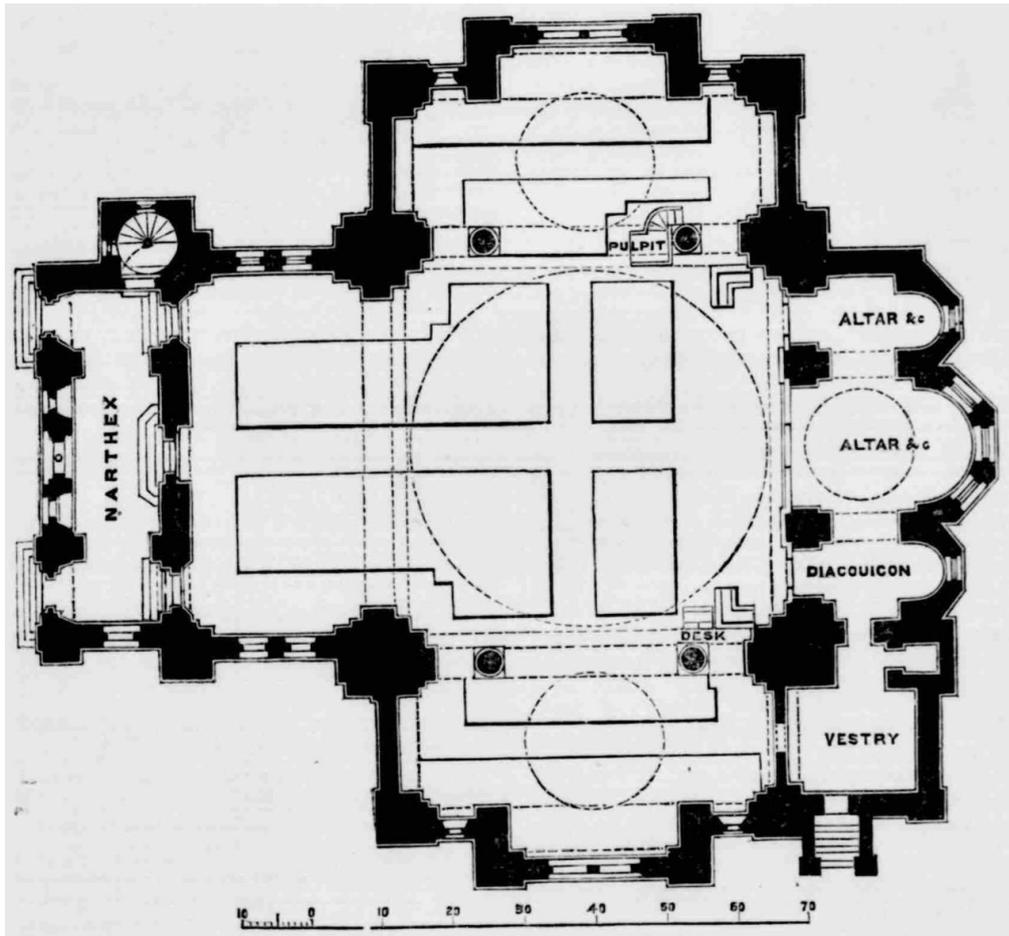


Image 3.2: Design for the Greek Church of St Sophia, by John Oldrid Scott, May 1876.²⁷

²⁷ 'Our Lithographic Illustrations: Proposed Greek Church, Notting-Hill', *Building News*, London, 5 May 1876, 442.

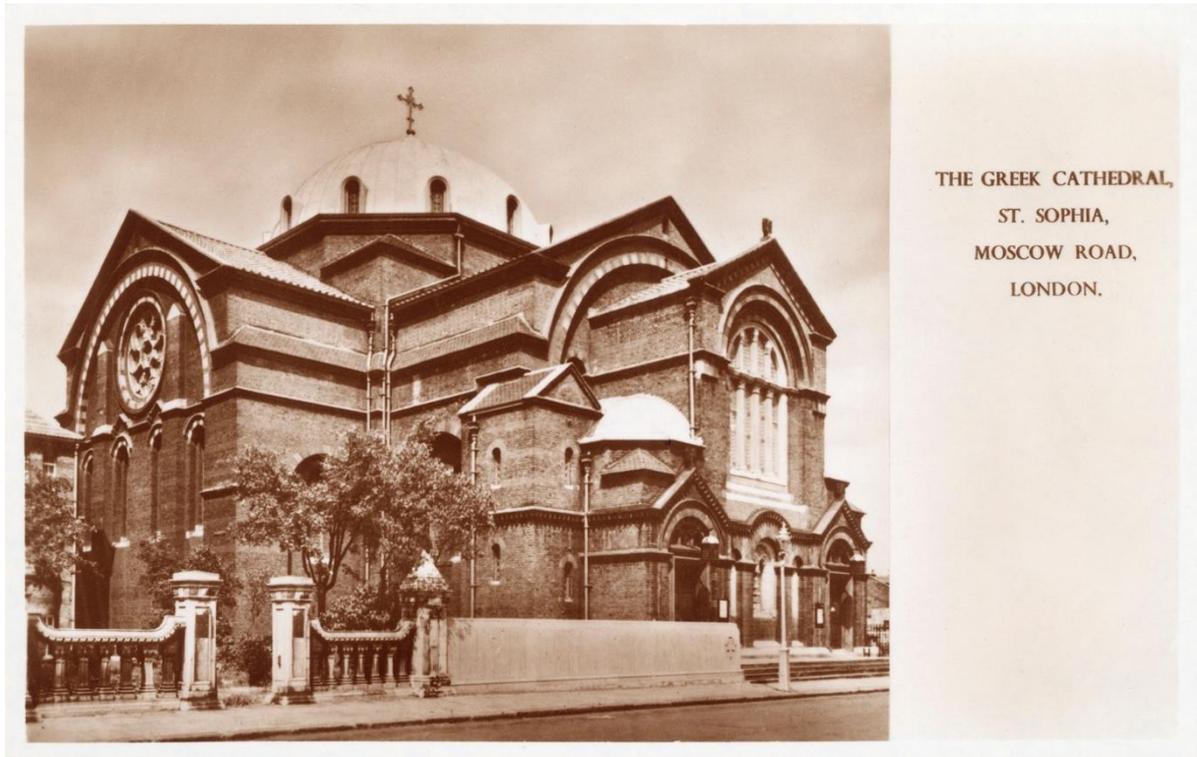


Image 3.3: Photograph of the Greek Cathedral of St Sophia, Moscow Rd, Bayswater c. 1930s.²⁸

²⁸ 'The Greek Cathedral, St. Sophia, London', *Chronicle*, 1930s, via *Alamy Stock*, DRFJ3M.

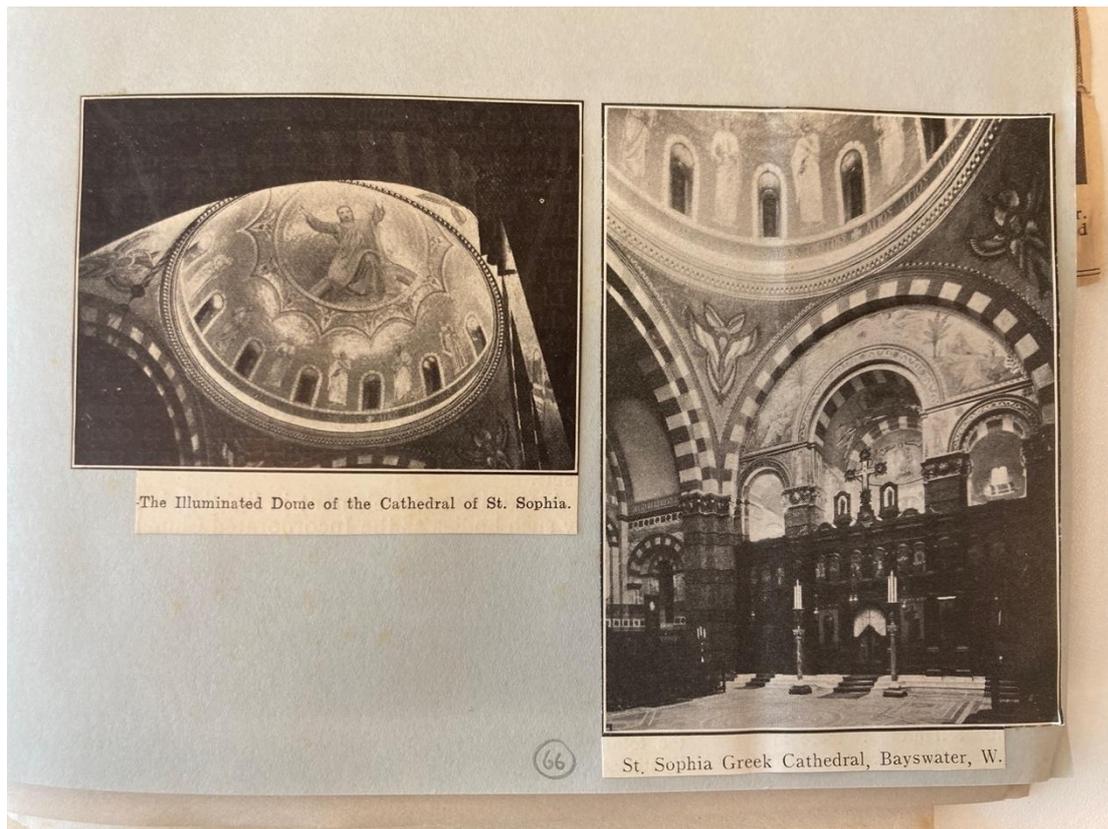


Image 3.4: Photographs of the inside of St Sophia. Courtesy of the London Metropolitan Archives.²⁹

²⁹ Saint Sophia Greek Cathedral, 19---, Special Collections, LMA: SC/SS/07/029/066.

A month after its completion, the church began receiving media attention, when Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna of Russia (also the Duchess of Edinburgh) visited during a Sunday liturgy, likely due to her own Eastern Orthodox faith. She was accompanied by the Russian Ambassador Count Pyotr Shuvalov, Count Nikolay Adlerberg, the Dutch Minister, Countess Bylands (or Bylandt – who was Russian), Greek Minister in London John Gennadius, and the church wardens Ionides, Ralli, and Ziffo. The liturgy (of St Chrysostom) was given by Archimandrite Hieronymos Myriantheus, priest ‘Kykotes’ (Kykkotis, presumably ordained in Kykkos, Cyprus), and psalter M. Patrighios.³⁰ Myriantheus himself had only arrived in London a few years earlier around 1875, where he was under the care of Greek community members, including Thomas Ralli and Emmanuel A. Mavrogordato. Mavrogordato had asked Gladstone (who had just finished a term as PM the previous year) to help support the new priest and “to accompany him, as he is unacquainted with London + English, and is apt to lose his way in this great city.”³¹

An official consecration ceremony for St Sophia was held a few years later, on 5 January 1882, by Archbishop of Corfu Antonios Hariatis, Archimandrite Myriantheus, Rev Constantine Stratoulis of Liverpool, and Archpriest Stephen Hatherly of Bristol (noted as “the only Englishman in holy orders in the Greek Church”).³² At the consecration, it was emphasised that “The wealthy community of Greek merchants in London were fully represented”.³³

Similar high-profile services were held throughout the late-nineteenth century, which raised the public perception of the church and community. The frequent services and events also demonstrated a continued community loyalty to Greek nationalism, the Greek monarchy, and Greek Orthodoxy. In 1881, the *Illustrated London News* featured a memorial service at St Sophia for Alexander II of Russia on its front page (Image 3.5). In

³⁰ ‘Visit of the Duchess of Edinburgh to the Greek Church in London’, *Blackburn Standard*, Blackburn, Lancashire, 5 July 1879, 2.

³¹ Emanuel Antonio Mavrogordato to W.E. Gladstone, Hyde Park, 12 March 1875, British Library: Add MS 44446, f. 318.

³² ‘Consecration of a Greek Church in London’, *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, Glasgow, 6 February 1882, 2; ‘The Greek Church at Bayswater’, *Illustrated London News*, London, 11 February 1882, 14; Bishop Theodoritos of Nazianzos, ‘History of the Greek Cathedral of Saint Sophia in London’, 24-5. Note: Rev Stephen Hatherly was also the minister for the Greek Church of St Nicholas, Cardiff, from 1870-1903: Theodore E. Dowling & Edwin W. Fletcher, *Hellenism in England*, John (Joannes) Gennadius (intro.), Faith Press, London, 1915, 135.

³³ ‘Consecration of a Greek Church in London’, *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, Glasgow, 6 February 1882, 2.

1889, a liturgy “In celebration of the marriage [of Princess Sophia of Prussia and the Crown Prince of Greece, Constantine, Duke of Sparta (future King Constantine I)] at Athens” was attended by prominent members of the Greek community; as well as Greek politicians and military figures, including M. Autopoulos, Captain Contostavlos, and Lt Apergis; as well as the German Ambassador Count Paul von Hatzfeldt; the Russian and Danish *Chargés d’Affaires*; and Sir Thomas Saunderson of the Foreign Office.³⁴ Clear Russian links were evident in the community during the second half of the nineteenth century, as were emerging Danish links due to the Greek monarch being of Danish descent.

³⁴ *Morning Post*, London, 28 October 1889, 5.

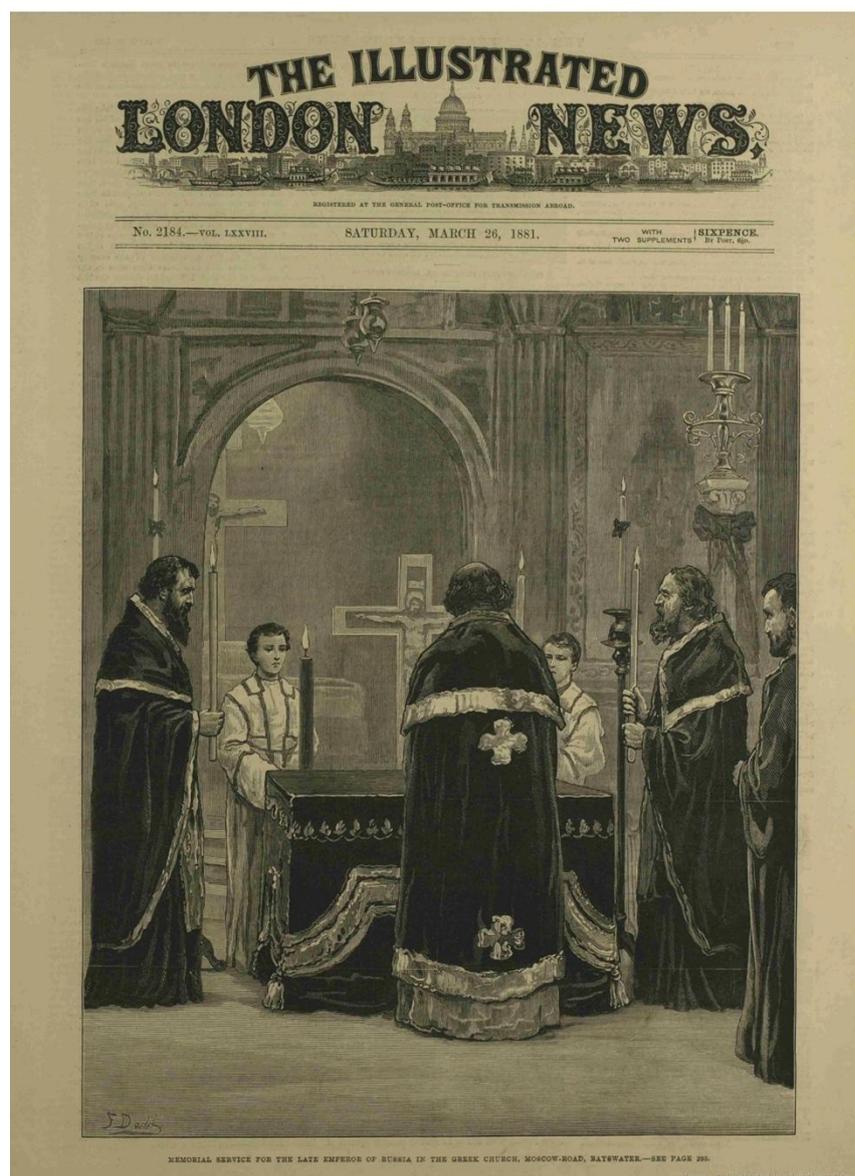


Image 3.5: Front-page illustration of the memorial service for Tsar Alexander II of Russia, held at the Church of St Sophia, Moscow Rd, Bayswater. Courtesy of the *Illustrated London News*, London, 26 March 1881, 1.

A wedding of two members of the Ralli family at St Sophia – Constantine Ralli of Liverpool and Antonina Ralli of London – was recorded publicly in November 1885.³⁵ The wedding took place on 21 November, and it was noted that “A large gathering of notables assembled to welcome the bridal party” and, using very descriptive language, that:

the bridal pair...were met by the priests in golden robes at the little table set in the middle of the church, just in front of the lectern. The priests came out of the Holy

³⁵ ‘Wedding at the Greek Church’, *West London Observer*, London, 28 November 1885, 6.

of Holies, the doors of which they left open, disclosing a perfect blaze of golden splendour in lamps and crucifixes. After wafting the fragrant incense about – a kind much more agreeable than that generally used in Roman Catholic churches, which has a heavy odour – the ceremony commenced.³⁶

This language and seeming enthusiasm for the Greek ritual likely speaks more of anti-Roman Catholic sentiment in Britain, than of pro-Greek Orthodox feelings.

Not all press was 'positive', however, during the 1880s. In 1886, a 'brawl' broke out at St Sophia between a Greek teacher and *anagnóstis* (reader) named Stamatius Athanasius Nicorasouras, and the church wardens and priest, Rev Agathangelos Moschovakis. The argument appeared to begin during a service when Nicorasouras criticised the current priest's administration of the sacrament, and called the former priest of the church a 'liar', 'hypocrite', 'mad', and a 'deceiver', which caused the church wardens to speak "impolitely to him."³⁷ This dogmatic dispute set off what was described as "riotous and indecent behaviour", which resulted in a court case.³⁸ During the case, the St Sophia's sacristan, Triantaphyllos Costa, represented the church. It is unclear the exact issue Nicorasouras had with the church, however, he spent five days in prison because of the event after not attending the court summons. The 'brawl' was reported widely in Britain.³⁹ One year later, in November 1887, Nicorasouras again disturbed the congregation at St Sophia, and he received a month's sentence.⁴⁰

Also receiving media attention was the will case of Archimandrite Morfinos. Morfinos' estate had benefited the children of his servant Spiro Parthesi, which was challenged by Morfinos' sister, Maroula George. The will case was in attendance by key members of the Greek community, including Brotherhood president Mavrogordato, J.D. Loverdo (official interpreter of the Greek Consulate), and Morfinos' successor,

³⁶ 'Wedding at the Greek Church', *West London Observer*, London, 28 November 1885, 6.

³⁷ 'Alleged Brawling in a Greek Church', *West London Observer*, London, 27 November 1886, 2.

³⁸ 'Disturbance in a Greek Church', *Evening Star*, Ipswich, Suffolk, 22 November 1886, 2.

³⁹ 'Disturbance in a Greek Church', *Aberdeen Evening Express*, Aberdeen, 22 November 1886, 3; 'Brawling in a Church', *Congleton & Macclesfield Mercury & Cheshire General Advertiser*, Cheshire, 27 November 1886, 6; 'Brawling in a Church', *Lakes Herald*, Westmorland, 26 November 1886, 6; 'Brawling in a Church', *Boston Guardian*, Lincolnshire, 27 November 1886, 6; 'Brawling in a Church', *Rutland Echo & Leicestershire Advertiser*, Leicestershire, 27 November 1886, 4; 'Brawling in a Church', *Witney Gazette & West Oxfordshire Advertiser*, Oxfordshire, 27 November 1886, 4.

⁴⁰ 'Disturbing a Greek Congregation', *Morning Post*, London, 22 November 1887, 3; 'Brawling in a Greek Church', *Derby Daily Telegraph*, Derby, 23 November 1887, 3.

Archimandrite Myriantheus, and made headlines in London's *Globe* and even the *Glasgow Evening Post*.⁴¹

St Sophia was discussed again in 1889 in the *West London Observer*, where it was compared with the Catholic church, and pondered whether the Orthodox were 'schismatic'. The writer criticised 'high ritualists' and concluded that despite:

keep[ing] the Nicene Creed in its integrity...[and] the doctrine in the Athanasian Creed...On what grounds is a Greek Christian hearing mass in the Greek Church in Moscow Road, Bayswater, less schismatic than a Roman Christian hearing mass in the Roman St. Mary of the Angels, Westmoreland Road, Bayswater?⁴²

This discussion was sparked during a visit from Sophronios III, the Archbishop of Cyprus in 1889, where it was mentioned that "on Anglican grounds, this Archbishop of Cyprus is, in England, a schismatic. Where was he on Sunday morning?...He was at the celebration of the liturgy (*i.e.*, the mass) in a Greek church at Bayswater, and not at mass at St. Alban's".⁴³ The Archbishops of Canterbury, Cyprus, and Lincoln had been exchanging positive public letters prior, and an honorary degree (Doctor of Divinity) was given to Sophronios III by Oxford University.⁴⁴ These correspondences came after discussions to unite the Church of England with Eastern Orthodoxy, beginning in the 1860s.⁴⁵ Sophronios III was ultimately well-received in Britain, due to his pro-British stance, his lack of ethnic-nationalism, and the lingering discussions of an Anglican-Orthodox church union.⁴⁶

The pro-Anglican-Orthodox union attitude was also present among the Chioots. In 1875, Emmanuel A. Mavrogordato wrote a series of letters to Gladstone in the wake of

⁴¹ 'A Greek High-Priest's Will Case', *Glasgow Evening Post*, Glasgow, 2 February 1880, 4; 'The Will of a Greek High Priest: Extraordinary Case', *Globe*, London, 2 February 1880, 2.

⁴² 'The West End and the Greek Church', *West London Observer*, London, 20 July 1889, 3.

⁴³ 'The West End and the Greek Church', *West London Observer*, London, 20 July 1889, 3.

⁴⁴ 'The Archbishop of Cyprus', *Belfast News-Letter*, Belfast, 28 June 1889, 7; 'The Archbishop of Cyprus', *Morning Post*, London, 21 August 1889, 5; *Truth*, London, 23 January 1879, 7; 'Letters from the Archbishop of Cyprus', *St James's Gazette*, London, 21 August 1889, 15.

⁴⁵ Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2009, 169.

⁴⁶ Andrekos Varnava, 'Sophronios III, 1865-1900: The Last of the 'Old' and the first of the 'New' Archbishop-Ethnarchs?', in Andrekos Varnava & Michalis N. Michael (eds.), *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013, 127-30.

the Bonn Conference between members of the Anglican, Old Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox churches, noting the attendance of key members of the Greek church.⁴⁷ Following the conference, on 21 April 1875, Mavrogordato wrote again to Gladstone:

The result of the Bonn Conference must be highly gratifying to every lover of Union among Christians – and very much so to the Greeks, who for the first time after centuries of estrangement, have seen the principles of their Church receive such splendid recognition in an Assembly of Western Theologians...The Easterns have decided, to form amongst themselves and Association for promoting the object of the Union...The Greeks feel that they owe a great debt of gratitude to yourself...for it was at your word, that a representation of the Eastern Churches, more complete than any which ever appeared in Europe in former times, has assembled in Bonn.⁴⁸

These sentiments, however, did not appear to be explored too much further amongst the Chiots outside of private circles and correspondences.

Outposts of the Community: Liverpool & Manchester

Throughout the nineteenth century, the communities of Liverpool and Manchester acted as extensions of the London Greek and Chiot communities. As many as 400 Chiots lived in Lancashire (which incorporated both cities) between 1841-1911, and many had initially lived in London. This was essentially an internal migration of the Chiots within Britain. Lancashire was the only county that rivalled London, which boasted 930 in this period. Lancashire had nearly four times as many Chiots as the next most populous county of Sussex, which had 103 (Table 3.3). Essentially, just over 51% of Chiots lived in London, and nearly 49% lived outside London, with 22% in Lancashire.

⁴⁷ E.A. Mavrogordato to W.E. Gladstone, 4 May 1875, 8 May 1875, 27 May 1875, 9 August 1875, British Library: Add MS 44447, f. 103-4, 108-9, 182, 343-4. On the Bonn Conference, see Panteleimon Champidis, 'The Old Catholic-Eastern Orthodox Dialogue in the Bonn Union Conferences and its prospects for inter-Orthodox and inter-Christian relations today', *International Journal of Orthodox Theology*, 11(3), 2020, 187-92.

⁴⁸ E.A. Mavrogordato to W.E. Gladstone, 21 August 1875, British Library: Add MS 44447, f. 373-6.

Table 3.3: Number of Chiots per county according to the UK Censuses between 1841-1911.

County	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	BDM	Total instances
London	29	65	80	89	161	169	101	169	67	930
Lancashire (incl. Liverpool & Manchester)	13	21	37	59	77	40	35	70	48	400
Sussex		1		5	8	8	33	42	6	103
Surrey			4		2	3		34	4	47
Middlesex	1			1	1		7	17	20	47
Cheshire		3			11		5	9	12	40
Hampshire							17	2	1	20
Essex				5		3		9		17
Yorkshire		5	2				1	4	4	16
Lanarkshire		1	3			5	7			16
Kent		1	1				2	9	2	15
Devon	2							9	2	13
Wiltshire			1		2			7	2	12
Northamptonshire					2		1	6	2	11
Warwickshire			3	2	1	1		3		10
Denbighshire						2	3	5		10
Berkshire					1			9	1	10
Dorset								8		8
Oxfordshire					4			1	2	7
Gloucestershire			2		3	1		1		7
Staffordshire						6				6
Isle of Man						6				6
Hertfordshire			1	2			1	2		6
Buckinghamshire								5	1	6
Norfolk							1	1	2	4
Suffolk					1	2				3
Glamorganshire								3	3	6
Flintshire							3			3
Cambridgeshire				1	1			1		3

Cumberland								2		2
Cardiganshire			1				1			2
Bedfordshire								1	1	2
Aberdeenshire		1				1				2
Worcestershire							1		1	2
Somerset								1		1
Shropshire							1			1
Nottinghamshire				1						1
Northumberland								1		1
Montgomeryshire	1									1
Military								1		1
Midlothian							1			1
East Midlands									1	1
Kirkcudbrightshire		1								1
Channel Islands								1		1
Hereford									1	1
Derbyshire							1			1
Cornwall								1		1
Carnarvonshire (Caernarfonshire)				1						1
Carmarthenshire							1			1
Avon									1	1
NA									4	4
Total	46	99	135	166	275	247	223	433	187	1811

Greek Orthodox Churches were also built and consecrated between the 1860s-70s to accommodate the branches of the community in both cities. This included the churches of the Annunciation, Manchester (1861) and St Nicholas, Toxteth, Liverpool (1870). The Church of the Annunciation at Salford, Manchester was consecrated in October 1861 by Archimandrite Morfinos of London, and resident priest Rev Dr B Moro (Basil Morus), and it was noted that “externally its style of architecture is Corinthian, while its internal style is Ionic...The service commenced by some relics, sent from Athens, being placed under

the table of the altar.”⁴⁹ Similarly, nine years later, in January 1870, the *Falkirk Herald* described St Nicholas, Toxteth:

A splendid church, built by the Greek community of Liverpool for the exercise of their own worship, was consecrated on Sunday by one of the most distinguished prelates of the Greek Church with all the gorgeous ceremonies by the Byzantine ritual. Many of the English clergy were present, including a representative of the Primate, the sacred duties of the day in their own Church preventing many more from attending.⁵⁰

Services were described by newspapers, such as Orthodox Christmas on 7 January in 1882 and 1885, attended by “most of the leading Greek merchants in Manchester and the neighbourhood, among whom was the Greek Consul, M. Athanasio Joannides.”⁵¹ Chiots were listed among the psalters, including J.H.N. Chaviara and P.J. Sagrandi, along with H. Nicolaides, and the priest was Ilarion Kanachi (Hilarion Canakis) of Constantinople. In 1870, Archbishop Alexander Lycurgus of Syros and Tinos visited the Manchester congregation and hosted a liturgy at the Annunciation which was supported financially by many of the Chiots in the community.⁵² While in Manchester, Lycurgus stayed at the house of Pantaleon Constantine (Pandely) Zervoudachi, a Chiot born in Syros.⁵³ This visit hinted at a maintained connection between the British Chiots and the Aegean world.

Today, both churches are still in use, with the Church of the Annunciation being the oldest extant purpose-built Greek Orthodox Church in England. The planting and financing of the churches by the Chiots ultimately displayed Liverpool and Manchester as being microcosms of the London community, rather than variations, with Liverpool’s port being a particularly important outpost for the London Chiot’s trade network, and Manchester being an important cotton manufacturing centre.

⁴⁹ ‘Consecration of a Greek Church at Manchester’, *Kentish Gazette*, Kent, 15 October 1861, 7.

⁵⁰ *Falkirk Herald*, Falkirk, Scotland, 20 January 1870, 2.

⁵¹ ‘The Greek Christmas in Manchester’, *Manchester Courier*, Manchester, 7 January 1885, 6; ‘The Greek Christmas Day in Manchester’, *Manchester Evening News*, Manchester, 6 January 1882, 2.

⁵² ‘Archbishop Lycurgus at Manchester’, *Manchester Weekly Times*, Manchester 12 February 1870, 8.

⁵³ ‘Pantaleon Constantine Zervoudachi’, I1826, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 19 December 2021 (last modified).

Greek Consul Generals in London

Historically, Greek Consul Generals in London were sourced from the Brotherhood. This included Pandias Ralli, who was appointed from 1836-53.⁵⁴ Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, most Consul Generals followed this trend (Table 3.4). Alexander C. Ionides, appointed Consul General in 1854, was a merchant born in Istanbul and had emigrated to London in either 1815 or 1827, with his parents and siblings. Although not directly from Chios, the Ionides family had many Chiot connections even prior to settling in London, including being related to members of the Argenti, Adamaki (Tzialik), and Petrocochino (via Tzikalotis) families by marriage.⁵⁵ Alexander's wife, Euterpe Sgouta, had Chiot descent, and their son, also named Alexander, served as Consul General from 1884-94. Later Consul Generals were similarly drawn from the diaspora: Michael Spartali, Consul General from 1867-82, was the son of a Smyrniot father and Chiot mother; and later, Ralli brothers staff member Sir John Stavridi, of Syriot and Smyrniot descent, held the position from 1903-20. Additionally, Stavridi's wife, Anna Olga Valieri, was the daughter of London Greek merchant and Ralli Bros board member Octavius Valieri.⁵⁶

As they were sourced from the diaspora, these Consuls acted as diplomats that bridged British officials, Greek officials, and the Chiot and wider Greek diaspora. This was seen during the Balkan Wars in 1912, when Consul General Stavridi made "an appeal for funds (from London's Greek community) to assist the sufferers by the war against the Turks, which his country was now engaged in, and to assist the work of the Greek Red Cross Society."⁵⁷ Stavridi was also an important go-between in discussions to cede Cyprus to Greece in 1912.⁵⁸ In 1916, the Greek Minister in London, John Gennadius, as well as

⁵⁴ 'Foreign Office, Jan, 26', *Globe*, London, 27 January 1836, 4; 'From the London Gazette: Foreign Office, Jan. 26', *Standard*, London, 27 January 1836, 1.

⁵⁵ Catsiyannis notes two members of the family being born in Chios – Alexandros Ionides in 1810 and Efterpi Ionides in 1817 – however, this appears to be an error: Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 145.

⁵⁶ See: Frances Bostock, 'Stavridi, Sir John John (1867-1948)', *ODNB*, 3 January 2008; Jack Vlasto, *Ralli Brothers Limited*, J. P McNulty & Co., London, 1951, 16; *Census of Great Britain*, 1881. Catsiyannis also gives Stavridi Constantinopolitan origins, although this contradicts records and current family trees: Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 712.

⁵⁷ 'Appeal for Assistance from Greece', *Kilkenny Moderator*, Kilkenny, UK, 26 October 1912, 6.

⁵⁸ Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*, 246-71.

Consul General Stavridi, Manchester Consul M. Casdaglis, and Liverpool Consul M. Malandrinos, all resigned due to Constantine I's armed confrontation with the allies between November-December 1916.⁵⁹ Stavridi was a Liberal supporter and friend of Lloyd George, and pro-Venizelos, which spurred his resignation.⁶⁰

The London Consulate itself was always based in or nearby Finsbury Circus. Initially, it was at 25 Finsbury Circus (the Ralli Bros' office) during Pandias Ralli's era (1835-53); following this, it was nearby at 25 Old Broad St when Spartali (1867-82), Lascaridi (1883-84), and J.D. Loverdo (1884) held the positions; 19 Great Winchester St during Alexander A. Ionides' (1884-94) and J.M. Joannides' (1895) service; and during Messinesi's service (1896-1903) it was at 19 Eastcheap, Central London.⁶¹ Even as late as WWI the consulate was in the same vicinity at 40 Old Broad St (the office of the Rodocanachi family), with Stavridi (1903-20) as Consul General. This was noted when Greeks resident in the UK born between 1884-97 were given 'marching orders' to join the Greek military as Greece entered the war on the side of the Entente.⁶² Presumably, these consulate addresses were either businesses or residences. Interestingly, most Consul Generals were never Greek citizens nor born to Greek citizens, as most originated in Chios or other parts of the Ottoman Empire.⁶³ However, the Consul Generals did allow the diaspora to maintain and foster strong connections with the Greek nation.

⁵⁹ 'M. Gennadius Resigns', *Evening Mail*, London, 6 December 1916, 1.

⁶⁰ Andrekos Varnava, 'British and Greek Liberalism and Imperialism in the Long Nineteenth Century', in Matthew Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Liberal Imperialism in Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Studies in Intellectual and Cultural History, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2012, 231-2.

⁶¹ Catsiannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 57; *The Australian handbook and almanac and shippers' and importers' directory*, Gordon & Gotch, London, 1872-79; *The Australian handbook (incorporating New Zealand, Fiji, and New Guinea) and shippers' and importers' directory*, Gordon & Gotch, London, 1880-1905.

⁶² 'Anglo-Greeks: Marching Orders Received in London', *Liverpool Echo*, Liverpool, 15 September 1917, 4; 'Calling up of Greeks in Britain', *Dundee Courier*, Dundee, 15 September 1917, 3; *The Australian handbook and almanac and shippers' and importers' directory*, Gordon & Gotch, London, 1872-79; *The Australian handbook (incorporating New Zealand, Fiji, and New Guinea) and shippers' and importers' directory*, Gordon & Gotch, London, 1880-1905; Catsiannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 215.

⁶³ This practice was also examinable elsewhere in the Chiot diaspora. In Liverpool, Michael Ralli held the position of Consul between 1887-92; and Stamatios Nicolas Frangopulo was Consul at Manchester from 1862. In Marseille, Georges Zizinia served as Consul General of Greece from 1836-68, alongside Paul Rodocanachi, who was Consul General of Tuscany in Marseille between the 1830s-60s; John Ralli was Consul General of USA in Odessa from 1832-59, while Paul Zizinia served as Greek Consul General in Odessa; Pandely E. Rodocanachi was Consul of Greece at Livorno during the nineteenth century; Leoni Prassacachi was Consul General in New York from 1852-57; Antonios Benachi was Consul at Boston in the early-twentieth century; Demosthenes Agelasto was Consul in Anvers, France from 1898; and Matthew Mavrogordato was Consul General at Taganrog and Rostov-on-Don.

The Consul Generals often spearheaded key elements of the community, including the previously discussed Greek Chapel at 9 Finsbury Circus, orchestrated by Consul General Pandias Ralli. Consul Generals were also noted for organising public events, including high-profile banquets (e.g. the one held for Charilaos Trikoupis in 1885), funeral and memorial services (e.g. for Queen Victoria in 1901), and royal visits (e.g. the visit of George I of Greece in 1863).⁶⁴ As Consul General, Pandias Ralli also organised and chaired the committee for Greek participation in the 1851 World Fair (Great Exhibition) hosted by Prince Albert.⁶⁵ The Greek display was divided into items from the Ottoman Empire, Greece, and the Ionian Islands (together with Malta and Gibraltar under 'Colonies and Dependencies'), and included mainly 'raw materials' and craft products, such as minerals, marble, honey, tobacco, figs, black currants, sponges, leather skins, silk embroideries, and woodcarvings, as well as some gold and silver jewellery, silk scarves, embroidered aprons, and olive wood products from the Ionian Islands.⁶⁶ The Greek display received prizes despite its 'modesty'.

The Consul Generals were also responsible for enabling diaspora Greeks to vote in Greek elections. In 1862, 139 members of the London Greek community participated in voting for the King of Greece in the head of state referendum, which in reality was a controversial plebiscite aimed at gaging Greek support for Prince Alfred, future Duke of Edinburgh and Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.⁶⁷ The overwhelming majority of Greeks (95%) voted for Prince Alfred, however, the British, French, and Russians had signed a treaty excluding members of their own royal families from the election.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 625, 655, & 450.

⁶⁵ 'Pandias 'Zeus' (Stephanos) Ralli', Christopher Long, 12 April 2006 (last modified); Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 391.

⁶⁶ Artemis Yagou, 'Facing the West: Greece in the Great Exhibition of 1851', *Design Issues*, 19(4), Autumn 2003, 82-90.

⁶⁷ 'Election of the King of Greece', *Bristol Daily Post*, Bristol, 29 December 1862, 4; Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 449.

⁶⁸ 'The Greek Election', *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, London, 22 December 1862, 8. See: Panteleimon Hionidis, 'Exporting a Prince, Ideas and Institutions to Greece, 1862-4: Mid-Victorian Perceptions of Britain's Stand and Mission in the World', *Britain and the World*, 10(2), 2017, 135-54; Haris Dajč, 'Greece as seen by British Contemporaries 1862-1863: The Beginning of the New Epoch in the Relations of Two Kingdoms', *Belgrade Historical Review*, 3, 2012, 179-95; Richard Clogg, *A Short History of Modern Greece*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, 82.

Table 3.4: Consul Generals of Greece in London, 1834-1920.⁶⁹

Consul General	Years Active
Adolph F. Schaethler (of Bavaria)	1834-1835
Pandias Ralli	1835-1853
Alexander C. Ionides	1853-1866
Michael M. Spartali	1867-1882
George Peter Lascaridi	1883-1884
J.D. Loverdo	Acting Consul 1884
Alexander A. Ionides	1884-1894
J.M. Joannides (I.M. Ioannides)	Acting Consul 1895 Consul & Secretary 1900-1905
Leon Messinesi (Messsinesis)	1896-1903
Sir John Stavridi (Stavridis/Stavrides)	1903-1916 & 1917-1920. ⁷⁰

Chiot Endogamy

Endogamy, the practice of marrying within one's own family or 'family-clan' became a prominent feature of Chiot long-term community building in Britain. During the nineteenth century, most British Chiots not only married within London's Greek community, but almost exclusively within London's Chiot circles, even as the century moved towards a close. Endogamy ultimately offered the Chiots a 'stable' sense of identity and community – it maintained culture, religion, language (to an extent), and most profoundly, wealth.

Endogamous practices amongst Chiots and other peoples from the Ottoman regions stems in many ways from Mediterranean clanship. Endogamy within clans became a way of ensuring the clan's survival and a method of maintaining wealth, especially for the merchant family-clans. Spiliotopoulou and Zei observed this among the

⁶⁹ *The Australian handbook and almanac and shippers' and importers' directory*, Gordon & Gotch, London, 1872-79; *The Australian handbook (incorporating New Zealand, Fiji, and New Guinea) and shippers' and importers' directory*, Gordon & Gotch, London, 1880-1905; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865: The Founder of the Greek Community in London*, self-published, London, 1986, 61-3 & 122-6.

⁷⁰ Stavridi spent 1916-1917 as Consul General for the State of Thessaloniki Provisional Government of National Defence, although it is unclear who replaced him (or if he was replaced) during this period: 'Imperial and Foreign News Items', *Mail*, London, 20 July 1917, 3; 'Imperial and Foreign News Items', *Evening Mail*, London, 20 July 1917, 3.

families of Santorini, which they categorised as a key ‘survival strategy’.⁷¹ Herzfeld, when examining Cretan clanship, noted that, “Clans are generally much larger entities than nuclear families. Where once they enabled shepherds to collaborate in managing larger flocks, clans are now the ideal unit for expanding control over the newly acquired urban and lowland properties”.⁷² This is likened to the large Chiot merchant families, who used relatives to expand their firm’s control over key shipping ports – such as the five Ralli brothers, each living in a different city. Minoglou and Ioannides have described cases like the Chiots as ‘market-embedded clans’, who were not as hierarchical as Western family firms, and acted more as a relation-based collective.⁷³

In doing this, the market-embedded clans usually only married relatives. Adam Kuper in his 2009 book *Incest and Influence*, discussed cousin marriages within aristocracies, and the financial gain it could bring, especially between cousins of the same surname and paternal line.⁷⁴ The rate of cousin marriages in Britain peaked during the nineteenth century, as the practice spread to the bourgeoisie, such as the merchant houses and banking families. He also noted that in the 1870s, George Darwin, son of Charles Darwin, “found that 4.5 percent of aristocratic marriages were between first cousins”, with no doubt a higher percentage among second and third cousins.⁷⁵

Bourgeois merchant families like the Rallis were a prime example of this, marrying mostly within their own family, for generations after settlement. For example, in 1850, the *Standard* noted the wedding of two Rallis: “On the 16th inst., in Hyde Park-square, the residence of the bride’s father, Pantaleon Ralli, Esq., youngest son of the late Constantine

⁷¹ Maria Spiliotopoulou & Eleftheria Zei, ‘New Perspectives in Local Societies During the Greek War of Independence: The Consular Experience in the Aegean’, in Yianni Cartledge & Andrekos Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence: Myths, Realities, Legacies and Reflections*, Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, Cham, Switzerland, 2022, 45-66.

⁷² Michael Herzfeld, ‘Seeing Like a Village: Contesting Hegemonic Modernity in Greece’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 38, 2020, 52.

⁷³ Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou & Stavros Ioannides, ‘Market-Embedded Clans in Theory and History: Greek Diaspora Trading Companies in the Nineteenth Century’, *Business and Economic History On-Line*, 2, 2004, 1-26.

⁷⁴ Adam Kuper, *Incest and Influence: The Private Life of Bourgeois England*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA & London, 2009, 22-3. See also: Nancy Fix Anderson, ‘Cousin marriage in Victorian England’, *Journal of Family History*, 11(3), 1986, 285-301; Mary Jean Corbett, *Family Likeness: Sex, Marriage and Incest from Jane Austen to Virginia Woolf*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2008; Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker Than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780-1920*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012.

⁷⁵ Kuper, *Incest and Influence*, 22-3.

Ralli, Esq., of Scio, to Chariclia, second daughter of E. Ralli, Esq.”⁷⁶ Similarly, the siblings Alexandra, Lionel, and Mabel Ralli, all born between 1896-99, descended from multiple branches of the Ralli family, with all four of their grandparents being Rallis (Image 3.6).⁷⁷ The siblings also descended three times from the Scaramanga family, and twice from the Mavrogordato family. Alexandra would later marry into the English peerage, marrying military intelligence officer Lt-Col. Neil Graham Stewart-Richardson, son of Sir James Thomas Stewart-Richardson, 14th Baronet, in 1924.⁷⁸ The Stewart-Richardson baronets are based in Pencaitland, Haddington, Scotland, and are a baronetage of Nova Scotia.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ ‘Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries: Marriages’, *Standard*, London, 18 May 1850.

⁷⁷ ‘Peter (Peter) Ralli’, Christopher Long, 10 October 2010 (last modified).

⁷⁸ ‘Lt-Col. Neil Graham (James) Stewart-Richardson DSO’, Christopher Long, 27 February 2012 (last modified).

⁷⁹ See: Charles Kidd & David Williamson (eds.), *Debrett’s Peerage and Baronetage*, St Martin’s Press, New York, 1990.

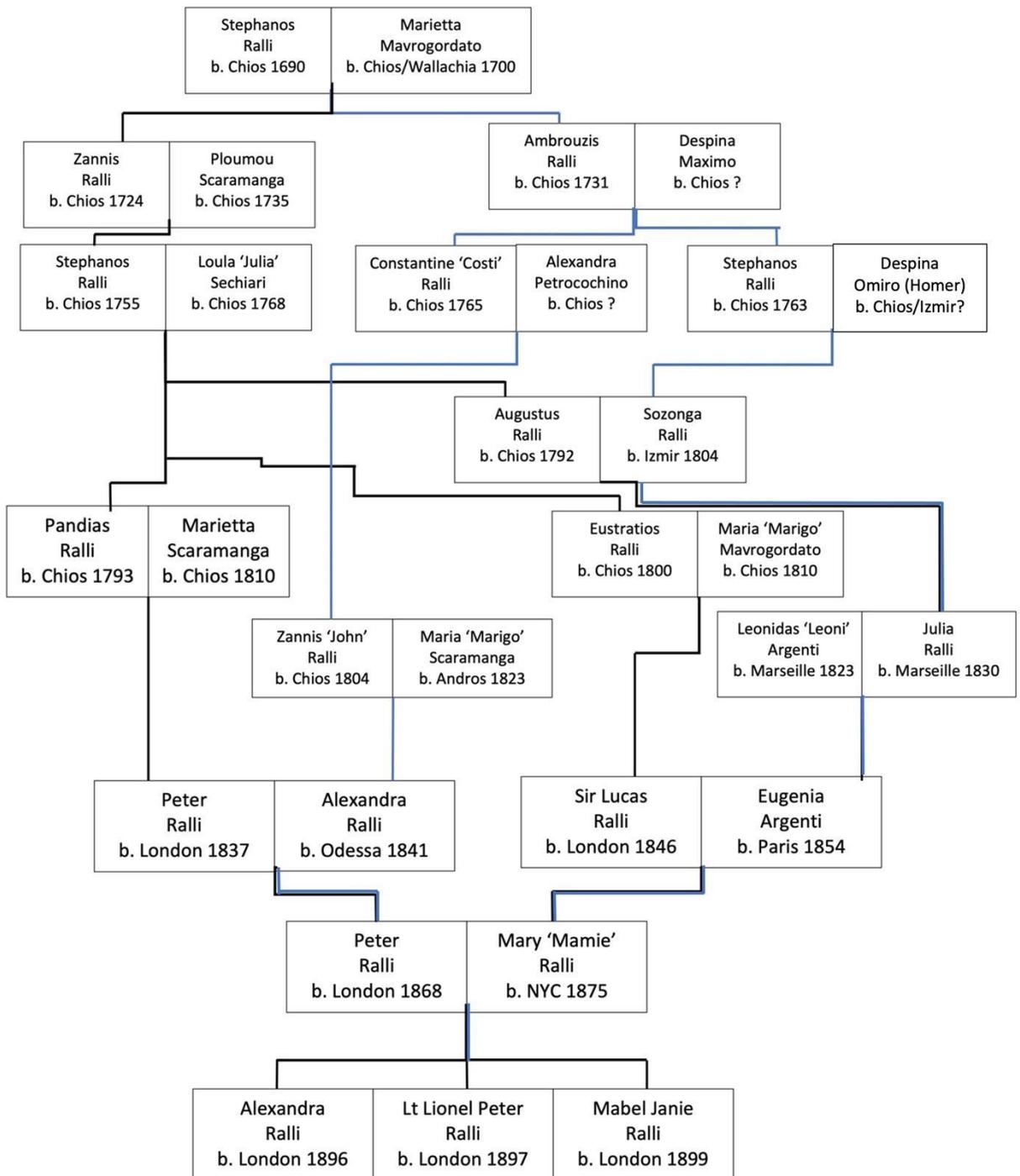


Image 3.6: Ancestors of Alexandra, Lionel & Mable Ralli. Black lines indicate descent from Zannis Ralli (1724) and blue lines indicate descent from Ambrouzis Ralli (1731).⁸⁰

Greek Ambassador to Britain John Gennadius, in his reflections on Stephen Ralli, echoed this: “According to the traditional custom of the Chiots, Stephen Ralli married,

⁸⁰ Family tree information taken from Christopher Long’s archive on 15.6.2021: <https://christopherlong.co.uk>

while still a young man, choosing as his bride, from within his own circle, Marietta, the daughter of Antony Ralli.”⁸¹ Calvocoressi gave a similar description of his own family, “On my mother's side my grandmother, both my great-grandmothers and two of my four great-great-grandmothers were born Ralli and married Rallis; and they were far from being the only ones to do so.”⁸²

However, non-Chiot merchant families also often married within their communities, such as the Constantinopolitans, who were the second largest Greek-speaking diaspora in London. For instance, members of the aforementioned Ionides family that had not married Chiots married other Constantinopolitans, such as Manchester-born Constantine Alexander Ionides who married his cousin Agathonike Fenerlis in 1860.⁸³ This was also evident in the unusual marriage of merchant Michael Zarifi and Fanny Kessisoglou, who were officially married in a London divorce court, after London's 1884 Greek Marriages Act which legalised “marriage entered into between members of the Greek community in London, and celebrated by Greek priests in accordance with the rites and ceremonies of the Greek Church.”⁸⁴ Until this point, it is presumed that unregistered Greek Orthodox marriages were not considered valid in Britain. The Greek Marriages Act had sparked discussion in the House of Lords, where the Greek Church of London Wall was mentioned, and it was noted by the Earl of Milltown: “In 1856 Greek residents became more permanently resident in this country, and a number of them acquired an English domicile.”⁸⁵

The London Chiots largely did not begin frequently marrying outside of their community until towards the latter part of the nineteenth century. Only a handful of cases were the exception, such as Vienna-born Chiot Nicholas John Chaviara and Mary Jane

⁸¹ John Gennadius (Ioannes Gennadios), *Stephen A. Ralli: A Biographical Memoir*, privately printed, London, 1902, 34.

⁸² Peter Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton: A Memoir of Eight Centuries’, *Encounter*, 57(6), 1 December 1981, 25.

⁸³ ‘Alexander Constantine (Constantine) Ionides’, Christopher Long, 9 April 2015 (last modified).

⁸⁴ ‘A Greek Marriage in London’, *Aberdeen Evening Express*, Aberdeen, 13 August 1885, 2; ‘Probate and Divorce Decision’, *London Evening Standard*, London, 13 August 1885, 2; ‘Married in the Divorce Court’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, Sheffield, 14 August 1885, 3.

⁸⁵ It appears that around 30 marriages before the year 1857 were unregistered. See: Hansard – ‘Greek Marriages Bill-(No 26.)/Second Reading’, House of Lords, vol. 285, cc1515-6, United Kingdom, 14 March 1884.

Choffin (of French Catholic descent) in 1866 at Liverpool.⁸⁶ As were the 'high-profile' marriages of Julia Ralli (daughter of Pandias Ralli) and Charles James Monk in London in 1853 (Monk became Liberal MP for Gloucester in 1859);⁸⁷ and Major Pandia John Zygomala to writer and illustrator Frances Hilda Keppel North CBE in 1889 at Norfolk.⁸⁸ The Monk-Ralli and Zygomala-North weddings were noted widely in newspapers.⁸⁹

After 1900 'mixed' marriages became more common, such as the unions of Lt Stephen Ralli and Ida Cecil Beck in 1907, Sir Eustratius Ralli and Louise Warrington Williams in 1915, and Dr Michel Vlasto and Christian Mitchell Croil in 1919.⁹⁰ The children of Major Antonio Stephen Ralli and Mina Scaramanga, both London-born Chiots, also married outside of their community: their Scottish-born daughter Maria-Heranthemi (Mary Primrose) Ralli married Englishman Richard Gurney Buxton in 1914; and their son, Major Stephen Andrew (Tommy) Ralli married Diana Underwood in 1923.⁹¹ Major Antonio died of enteric fever on active service in South Africa during the Boer War in 1900, and his wife Mina remarried Englishman Charles Derrick Seymour in 1903.⁹²

Most generations from this point onwards regularly married outside of the community. There are four reasons for this shift, which worked in combination with each other. Firstly, by the twentieth century, the Chiots had less of a need to 'preserve wealth' through marriage in the traditional sense, as their successes had provided enough 'stability' that their children and grandchildren could launch careers in their own rights. This is supported by the multitude of young Chiots studying and gaining degrees in the late-nineteenth century, which made up at least 11% of British Chiots (Graph 3.1). Secondly, society was also moving towards more contemporary views of love, marriage, and kinship, driven by women's emancipation and the growing notion of 'marrying for

⁸⁶ England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index, 1837-1915, 8b, Liverpool District, Lancashire, 1866, 406.

⁸⁷ 'Charles James (James) Monk MP', Christopher Long, 15 September 2007 (last modified).

⁸⁸ 'Major Pandia John 'Jack' (John) Zygomala Zygomala', Christopher Long, 11 September 2012 (last modified).

⁸⁹ 'Married', *Worcestershire Chronicle*, Worcester, 31 August 1853, 5; 'Married', *Bristol Mercury*, Bristol, 27 August 1853, 8; 'Society & Personal Notes', *Essex Standard*, Essex, 14 July 1888, 6; 'Marriages', *Suffolk & Essex Free Press*, Sudbury, Suffolk 30 January 1889, 8.

⁹⁰ 'Lieutenant Stephen (Stephen) Ralli', Christopher Long, 3 February 2006 (last modified); 'Sir Eustratius 'Strati' (Lucas) Ralli', Christopher Long, 4 January 2008 (last modified); 'Dr Michel Ernest Theodore Dimitri (Ernest) Vlasto', Christopher Long, 30 November 2020 (last modified).

⁹¹ 'Major Antonio Stephen 'Anthony' (Stephen) Ralli', Christopher Long, 11 January 2008 (last modified).

⁹² 'Charles Derrick (George) Seymour', Christopher Long, 25 August 2005 (last modified).

love'.⁹³ Thirdly, as they adopted these changing societal norms, marrying another Chiot implied marrying a cousin, which became seen as a social 'taboo', especially following WWI and in anti-eugenicist circles.⁹⁴ Davidoff emphasised both the legal changes around marrying close relatives in Britain starting from 1921, virtually outlawed the practice; which was coupled with the shrinkage of family units, which made marrying a cousin often unviable.⁹⁵ Finally, after being in Britain and the British Empire for nearly one-hundred years, the Chiots had integrated heavily into British society, thus regularly marrying non-Greeks was viewed as more socially acceptable. This integration also reinforced that the Chiots began adopting the changing ideas around marriage and endogamy.

Business & Contribution to Community

The Chiot community of Britain was ultimately driven strongest by the business world. Chiot mercantile businesses had been benefitting from Britain's global prominence, and capitalising on free trade agreements throughout the nineteenth century. The two most profound enterprises were the previously mentioned Ralli Bros and Baltic Exchange. During the second half of the nineteenth century, these business ventures expanded the community beyond Finsbury Circus and London (and even beyond Liverpool and Manchester). This enabled the Chiots to be able to contribute more significantly to the community, which came in the form of initiating and funding community projects, as well as legacy bequests.

After its establishment, Ralli Bros quickly became central to the Chiot community. They also swiftly integrated into British society, becoming synonymous with success and

⁹³ See: Alana Harris & Timothy Willem Jones (eds.), *Love and Romance in Britain, 1918-1970*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2015; Laura Schwartz, *Infidel Feminism: Secularism, Religion and Women's Emancipation, England 1830-1914*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2013; John R. Gillis, *For Better, for Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985; Leonore Davidoff, 'Close Marriage' in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Middle Strata', in Fatemeh Ebtehaj, Bridget Lindley & Martin Richards (eds.), *Kinship Matters*, Hart Publishing, Oxford & Portland, Oregon, 2006, 19-45.

⁹⁴ Kuper, *Incest and Influence*, 249.

⁹⁵ Davidoff, 'Close Marriage' in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Middle Strata', 37-9.

wealth. In 1902, an article titled ‘The Ralli Fortunes’ appeared in the *Evening Telegraph*, which noted that:

The Rallis are traditionally rich, and many of them have left large fortunes—a great part of which has gone to Greek churches and charities in this country and the land of their ancestors. For example, in 1865 Mr Pantia Ralli left £400,000; in 1868 the will of Mr P. P. Ralli was proved at half a million; Mr J. E. Ralli died in 1879 worth £350,000; and Mr Antonio A. Ralli in 1882, worth £437,000. Mr Eustratius Ralli left £611,000 in 1884; and Mrs M. J. Ralli died in 1900, leaving £508,000.⁹⁶

This exemplified not only the successes of the Rallis, but that large bequests out of their wills were acknowledged as integral to further financing the Greek community.

The Ralli family’s wills often contributed back to Chios and to wider London society. The 1882 will of Antonio Alexander Ralli attested to this, where £500 was left to the public school of Chios, £250 to Chios’ hospital, and £250 to Chios’ leprosy hospital.⁹⁷ The 1884 will of Eustratios Ralli similarly left £500 to both St Marys Hospital, Paddington and the Royal Hospital for Incurables, Putney, £500 to the Academy of Chios, £500 to the hospitals of Chios, £500 to repair the Metropolitan Church of St Victor, Chios, and £200 for the poor of the island.⁹⁸ These contributions were ultimately telling of their loyalty to Chios, and the areas they built community in London (e.g. Paddington, near Bayswater).

Most community funding from the Rallis came while they were alive, however. The previously discussed St Stephens Chapel was entirely funded by Stephanos and Marietta Ralli; St Sophia’s large interior mosaic was donated entirely by Marigo E. Ralli during the 1880s-90s; and Pandias Ralli had spearheaded fundraising efforts for the Greek Church of Our Saviour, London Wall, in the late-1840s.⁹⁹ In 1902, on reflecting on the life of Stephen Ralli, Gennadius noted that “On every national emergency, in every philanthropic work, the firm of Ralli Brothers took the lead in promptness and generosity: and that,

⁹⁶ ‘The Ralli Fortunes’, *Evening Telegraph*, London, 3 April 1902, 4.

⁹⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 2258 (LXXXI), London, 12 August 1882, 184.

⁹⁸ ‘Will of the Late Mr. Eustratios Ralli’, *Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser*, Manchester, 6 December 1884, 8.

⁹⁹ Zetta Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis, ‘The Hellenic Enclosure of the South Metropolitan (West Norwood) Cemetery’, in Kakavas (ed.), *Treasured Offerings*, 15-6; Konialidis, ‘The Construction and Early Decoration of Saint Sophia’, 42-3; Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*, 102-7.

after experiences discouraging.”¹⁰⁰ However, Gennadius did not give any examples of specific causes that the Rallis supported.

Ralli Bros was also a source of employment for many Chiots in Britain. Clerks were commonly sourced from the Ralli family, such as Ambrose, Theodore, Thomas, and Harry Ralli, who were all listed as clerks in 1871.¹⁰¹ Others were also employed for the position, including members of the Agelasto, Calvocoressi, Cavafy, Mavrogordato, Rodocanachi, Scaramanga, Schilizzi, Valieri, Vlasto, and Zizinia families.¹⁰² After analysing UK census records, it is evident that between 1841-1911, 208 Chiots (and their connections) worked as merchants, 49 worked as clerks, 37 worked as brokers, 35 on the stock exchange, 14 as bankers, 12 as agents, 9 in shipping, 3 as commercial travellers, and 1 as a cotton warehouseman. A further 81 were ‘independent’ or ‘living on their own means’, presumably from their time as merchants.

Comparatively, few Chiots were in professions outside of the merchant world, and even fewer were working-class. For instance, 17 were musicians, 13 were labourers (mostly of the Calvo family, of unclear origins), 12 were physicians or medical students, and 11 were servants. 6 were waiters, 6 were ice cream vendors, 4 were in agriculture (Stephen Ralli, John Rallis, Augustin Rallis, and George Schinas), 4 were actors, 2 were fishmongers and only 1 was a factory worker. Additionally, only 1 from this era, George Valeros of Syros, ran a café, which was noted at 4 Homfray St, Cardiff in 1911; and 1, Mose Schena (Schinas) ran a restaurant.¹⁰³ 3 were also ‘captains’, Hawmon Franghiadi, George B. Ionides, and Pandia John Zigomala.

Women were even less represented. 1 woman, Mary Constance Franghiadi, was listed as the matron of an asylum, and Marietta Negrofonte was a nurse. However, most were listed as either ‘domestics’ or ‘house keepers’ (or similar descriptions) or having no occupation. Women, along with children, also account for 49% having no listed profession on their census records (Graph 3.1).

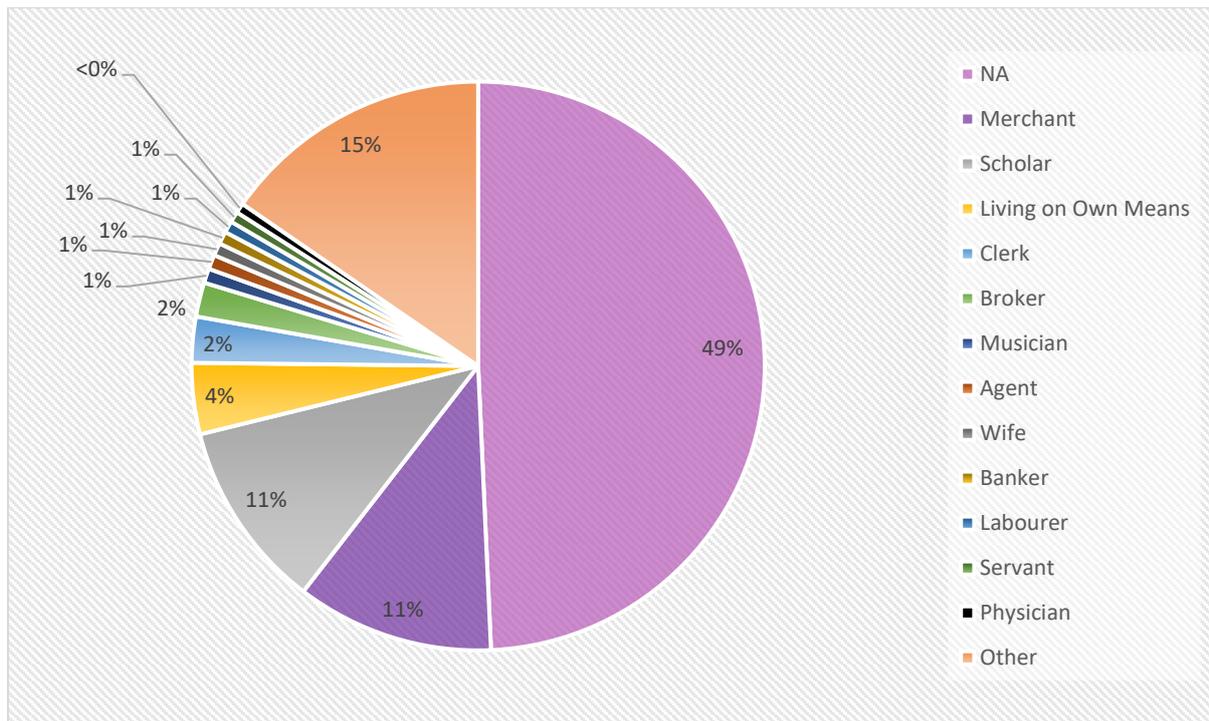
¹⁰⁰ Gennadius, *Stephen A. Ralli*, 32.

¹⁰¹ Census of Great Britain, 1871.

¹⁰² Census of Great Britain, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, & 1911.

¹⁰³ Census of Great Britain, 1911: Class: *RG14*; Piece: *32118*; Schedule Number: 37.

Graph 3.1: Professions of Chiots in UK by percentage of population, 1841-1911.



The Chiot firms did, however, employ some non-Greeks, although usually from the affluent classes. One man, John Edward Anglis, Esq., was noted as being “for many years confidential clerk to Messrs. Ralli and Mavrogordato” in 1850 when he married Penelope Cowan, daughter of Major Cowan (3 Bengal Native Infantry).¹⁰⁴

In their communications, they also maintained their relationship with the wider Chiot community. Letters sent from the Ralli Bros to other Chiots often began with ‘Dear cousin’, such as from the Ralli Bros to N.G. (or George N.) Paspatis between 1868-72. Paspatis and his son-in-law A. Cornelius were ultimately given an interest in the Ralli Bros’ profits. Others mentioned in correspondences were addressed similarly, such as ‘Cousin Pandely Ralli’. Communications were also sometimes written in Greek, where the more unusual phrase *φίλατε εξαδέρφε* (*filate exáderfe* – ‘Dearest cousin’) was used, as opposed to more standard letter greetings.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ ‘Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries: Married’, *Morning Chronicle*, London, 10 October 1850.

¹⁰⁵ Letters between Ralli Bros and N.G. Paspatis, London, 1868-72, LMA: CLC/B/186/MS23832.

As the business of the Ralli Bros grew, their presence slowly expanded both within London and outside London. On 30 October 1866, the Ralli Bros petitioned Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, arguing that:

...as I (the unnamed Ralli writer) am a natural born British subject, and the goods belong to my firm, I request your Lordship to be kind enough to write (to) H. Mr. Consul at Syra, instructing him to consider such goods and the debts arising and owed to my firm from the sale thereof as British property, and to protect (the) same accordingly in case of any emergency.¹⁰⁶

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Rallis dominated the silk trade from Persia and the grain trade from Russia to Britain.¹⁰⁷ They also had the monopoly on wheat, linseed, tallow and wool exports from Taganrog by the 1850s, with wheat and linseed more than doubling from 119,980 chetwerts (~24,308 tonnes) in 1851 to 260,500 chetwerts (~52,777 tonnes) in 1852.¹⁰⁸ In October 1882, plans were drawn for additions to the offices at 25 Finsbury Circus (Image 3.7). In 1892-93, Rallis were the biggest shippers of wheat, jowar, mutton, bones, and linseed into Liverpool and significant elsewhere, totalling 48.42% of the European market in a range of goods.¹⁰⁹ Vourkatioti noted that during the twentieth century, traditional family-owned merchant houses such as the Rallis began diversifying into shipping.¹¹⁰ She emphasised that:

Diversification was a strategy followed extensively by the British-based international merchant houses...*Ralli Bros* is an excellent example of one of these emerging groups, as it was a traditional merchant house which used both the

¹⁰⁶ Ralli Bros to Lord Stanley, London, 30 October 1866, LMA: CLC/B/186/MS23833.

¹⁰⁷ Katerina Vourkatioti, 'The House of Ralli Brothers (c. 1818-1961)', in Maria Christina Chatziioannou & Gelina Harlaftis (eds.), *Following the Nereids: Sea routes and maritime business, 16th -20th centuries*, Kerkyra Publications, Athens, May 2006, 102.

¹⁰⁸ Gelina Harlaftis, 'The Role of the Greeks in the Black Sea Trade, 1830-1900', in Lewis R. Fischer & Helge W. Nordvik (eds.), *Shipping and Trade, 1750-1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History*, Lofthouse Publications, Pontefract, West Yorkshire, 1990, 76.

1 chetwert = 5.75 bushel = 202.6 kgs = 0.2026 tonnes. See: William Tate, *The Modern Cambist: Forming a Manual of Foreign Exchange*, Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, London, 1868, 85.

¹⁰⁹ Ralli Brothers: Exports from Kurachee: Statement, 1894, LMA: CLC/B/207/CH03/01/09/118.

¹¹⁰ Katerina Vourkatioti, 'Business Groups' Diversification Strategy: The Case of *Ralli Bros* Diversifying in Shipping', in Katerina Galani & Andrea Papadopoulou, *Greek Maritime History: From the Periphery to the Centre*, Brill, Leiden & Boston, 2022, 256-75.

family- and origin-based networks, along with the structures of the empire in order to expand and prevail in global trade.¹¹¹

By 1900, the Rallis were the second largest shipper of Indian cotton into Liverpool, only behind Manchester-based HT Gaddum & Co. The same year, the Rallis were the largest cotton shipper in London, as well as in Trieste, Venice, Genoa, Marseilles, Naples, Dunkirk, and Hamburg, and the sole provider of cotton to Gothenburg.¹¹² They also became the largest European-wide shippers of Indian produce, such as linseed, sesame, castor seed, and mowra (mahua) seed, and the following year overtook all other companies in wheat, rapeseed, poppyseed, lentils, cottonseed, and ground nuts.¹¹³ In all, between 1899-1901, the Rallis controlled up to 26.76% of Europe's cotton trade, and up to 40.46% of the trade of Indian seeds, grains and other products.

¹¹¹ Vourkatioti, 'Business Groups' Diversification Strategy', 272.

¹¹² Ralli Brothers: Details of Shipments of Produce and Cotton to Europe, 1896-1901, LMA: CLC/B/207/CH03/01/09/117.

¹¹³ Ralli Brothers: Details of Shipments of Produce and Cotton to Europe, 1896-1901, LMA: CLC/B/207/CH03/01/09/117.

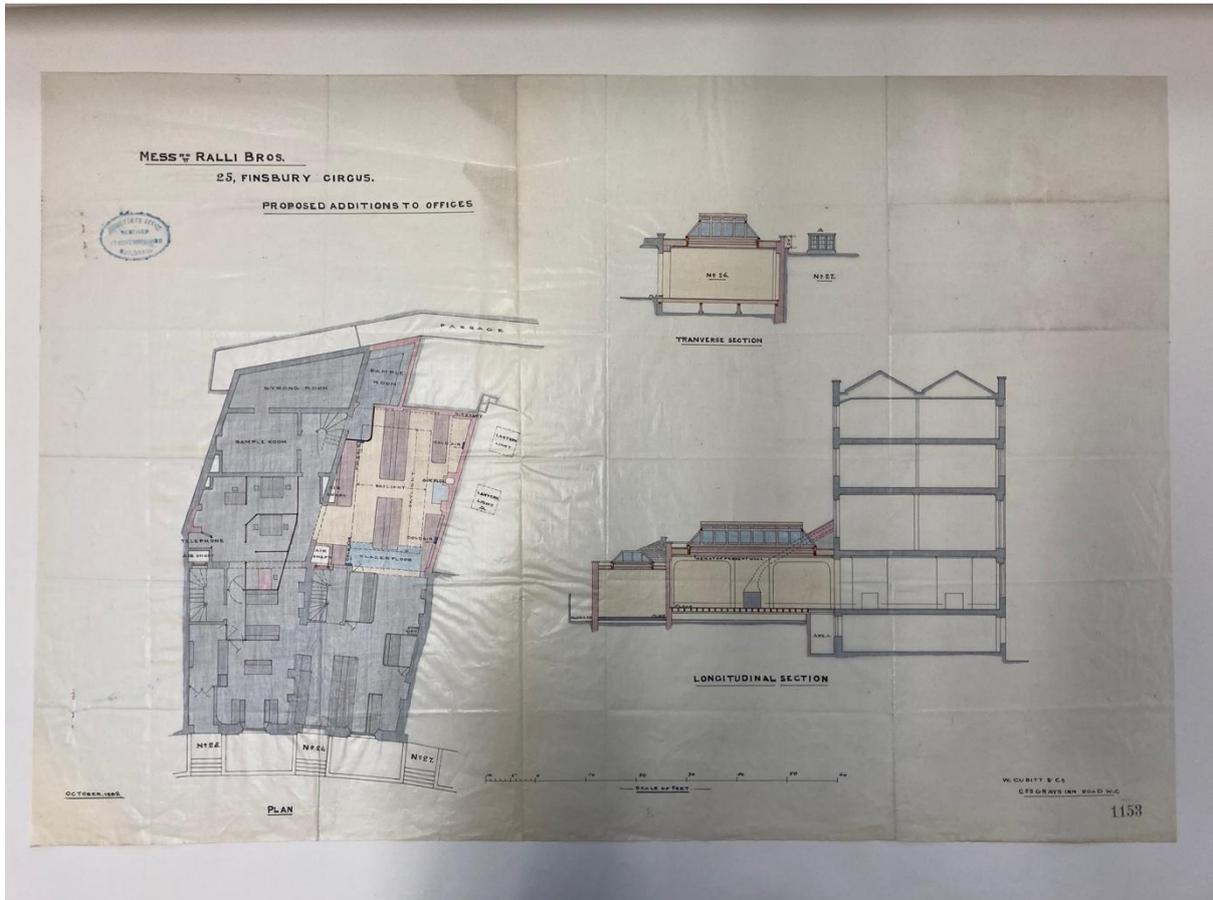


Image 3.7: Proposed additions to Ralli Bros offices 25 Finsbury Circus, October 1882. Design by W. Cubitt & Co., 258, Grays Inn Road, WC.¹¹⁴

By 1931, Ralli Bros had registered their capital at £4,200,000, a figure amounting to nearly £340,000,000 when adjusted for inflation in 2022.¹¹⁵ The 1931 executive committee still contained solely British Chiot descendants, including Sir Strati Ralli, 2nd Baronet (president), Anthony A. Vlasto, G. Eumorfopoulos, Augustus A. Vlasto, and G.C. Demetriadi.¹¹⁶ This was even true up until the late-1950s, when the executive consisted of president Jack A. Vlasto, vice-presidents G.V. Ralli and M. Tombazi, and directors J.A. Cronopulo, A. Metaxa, C.J. Damala, G. Demetriadi, and L.J. Ralli.¹¹⁷

Other Chiots similarly used their business success to contribute to the Greek community and to wider British society, especially through collections which were often

¹¹⁴ *Finsbury Circus (NO 25)*, October 1882, Corporation of London, LMA: COL/SVD/PL/01/1153.

¹¹⁵ 'Ralli Brothers: Registered Capital of £4,200,000', *Courier & Advertiser*, London, 6 August 1931, 2.

¹¹⁶ 'Ralli Brothers: Registered Capital of £4,200,000', *Courier & Advertiser*, London, 6 August 1931, 2.

¹¹⁷ Ralli Brothers Limited Annual Reports, London, 1954-59, Ralli Brothers Limited collection, LMA: CLC/B/186/MS29916 (NRA 33247).

purchased by museums or bequeathed. George Eumorfopoulos, a Chiot born in Liverpool, whose father was a member of Ralli Bros and the doyen of the Baltic Exchange, “formed one of the greatest private collections of Chinese art. [Which was] Acquired by the nation (British Museum) in 1935”.¹¹⁸ The most well-known bequest, however, was the prolific Constantine Alexander Ionides art collection, given to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1901.¹¹⁹

Comparative to Ralli Bros, in 1900, the Chiot-backed Baltic Exchange merged with the London Shipping Exchange. By 1912, the new conglomerate formed the ‘Baltic Mercantile and Shipping Exchange Benevolent Society’, a charity for “relieving the physical wants and necessities” of members and employees of the Baltic and member companies in ‘poor circumstances.’¹²⁰ The first committee consisted of Sir Lucas Ralli as president, F. Shadforth Watts as vice-president, and F.N. Garrard, Sir Edward Hain, W.M. Jamieson, Henry Obré, and E.J. Power, as board members – a committee that illustrated the diversity of the Baltic Exchange.¹²¹ Around the same time, Chiot-descendant and Ralli Bros banker Stephen Galatti (Galati) became one of the early leaders and ‘visionaries’ of the international humanitarian organisation AFS (American Field Service).¹²²

The Chiots actively cultivated, entrepreneurialised, and monetised the London Greek community and solidified it as significant and permanent within Britain. The community’s success was tied mainly to living proximity, the creation of establishments (including the Brotherhood and churches) and the consulate, and on the utilisation of the merchant class, who offered employment and funded key projects. Ultimately, however, long-term Chiot community building is best observable through their expansion into empire, and the extent of societal integration that was exhibited.

¹¹⁸ Helen Long, ‘The Unobtrusive Collector’, *The Antique Collector*, September 1991, 88-91.

¹¹⁹ Helen Long, ‘The Ionides Story’, *The Lady*, 9 April 1987, 706-7; Victoria & Albert Museum, ‘Constantine Ionides Bequest Study Guide’, London, 2016; Mark Evans, ‘Blake, Calvert – And Palmer? The Album of Alexander Constantine Ionides’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 144(1194), September 2002, 539-49; C.J.H., ‘The Constantine Ionides Bequest, Article I’, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 5(17), August 1904, 455-61.

¹²⁰ Papers of the Baltic and Mercantile Shipping Exchange Benevolent Society, London, 1912-50, LMA: CLC/B/021/MS39568; ‘Baltic Benevolent Society’, *Lloyd’s List*, London, 16 December 1912, 11.

¹²¹ ‘Baltic Benevolent Society’, *Lloyd’s List*, London, 16 December 1912, 11.

¹²² Nicole Milano, ‘Stephen Galatti: The AFS Visionary’, *AFS Janus*, Spring 2017, 4-8.

Imperial Networks

The British Chiot community quickly began traversing and utilising Britain's imperial networks, expanding beyond London and their outpost communities. This expansion was driven mostly by the Ralli Bros and other merchant houses. Although significant extensions of the community were formed in various places, such as in Egypt, Malta, and France, the most significant entrepreneurial migration was to India.

Like in London, the expansion into India began with the Ralli Bros, who had firms opened at Calcutta (Kolkata) in 1851 (in conjunction with the Mavrojani family), Bombay (Mumbai) in 1861, Karachi in 1861 (with John P. Negrofonte) and in 1882, Puducherry in 1903, and Madras (Chennai) in 1938. From India, the Ralli Bros exported Indian specialty goods, notably herbs, spices, and grains. They also exploited the lucrative cotton, dye, and fabric industries, as can be seen by their decorative Ralli Bros yarn tickets (Image 3.8). Fittingly, Spiridion H. Ralli was made Consul for Greece at Kolkata in 1857.¹²³ The Ralli & Mavrojani merchant firm at 11 Clive St, Kolkata, acted as the Consulate in India by 1875; while Kolkata-born Chiot Manoli Petrocochino later served as Consul General of Greece in Kolkata.¹²⁴

¹²³ Greece, recognition of Mr. M. S. H. Ralli as Consul for, & Ralli, M. Spiridion H., recognition of, as Consul for Greece at Calcutta, 1857, British Library: IOR/Z/E/4/30/G226-R261 & IOR/E/4/847.

¹²⁴ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 306.

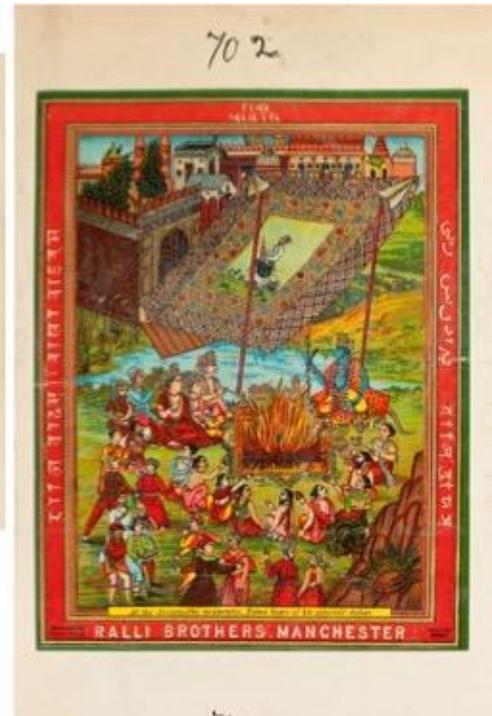


Image 3.8: Ralli Bros Yarn Tickets, 1880-1915. Science Museum Group: YA1973.16/MS0478/2.

Many British Chiotis migrated and settled in British India during the period, becoming part of the anglophone elite. Paul Byron Norris in his book *Ulysses in the Raj* noted the Chiotis as living in colonial quarters, such as the Grand and Continental Hotels, and that “the Calcutta Greeks mixed easily with their British counterparts while retaining a vigorous Greek social life.”¹²⁵ The Chiotis also maintained endogamous practices in India, marrying mostly Chiotis or other Greeks. Calvocoressi was born in Karachi in 1912, the son of Pantias Calvocoressi (born Nice, France, 1874), and Irene Ralli (born Kolkata, 1882). Calvocoressi’s ancestors were between three and five generations removed from Chios, with his many of his ancestors fleeing the massacre.¹²⁶ Ralli Bros member John Pandeli Sagrandi, born in Syros to Chiot parents, but long-term resident of Manchester, was successfully naturalised as a British subject in Kolkata in 1859, and swore to “be true and faithful to the East India Company.”¹²⁷ This is despite the East India Company’s

¹²⁵ Paul Byron Norris, *Ulysses in the Raj*, BACSA, Putney, London, 1992, 126-7.

¹²⁶ ‘W/Comdr Peter John Ambrose (Pantias) Calvocoressi’, Christopher Long, 4 August 2014 (last modified).

¹²⁷ Coll 30, Papers showing that the privileges of naturalisation had been conferred...upon John Pandeli Sagrandi, a Native of Syra in Greece, and a Member of the Firm of Ralli Brothers and Co, Merchants of Calcutta, May 1858 to August 1859, British Library: IOR/L/PJ/3/1074, 18, 1854-59.

possessions being nationalised the previous year.¹²⁸ Another Chiot, Michele Filippo Paspatti, born in Trieste and a member of the firm Schilizzi & Co., successfully applied for British naturalisation in 1860 to the Governor of Bengal while living in Kolkata with his wife and son.¹²⁹ J.C. Negroponte also took his oath of allegiance and was naturalised in India in 1856.¹³⁰

In 1914, Ralli Bros brought members of their London staff to India, including Panayotis Marcos who was a resident and assistant at the Ralli Bros firm, 25 Finsbury Circus, and John Pandia Rodocanachi, a business partner.¹³¹ That same year, the Foreigners (Ingress into India) Ordinance (1914) was instated, which restricted foreigners' movement into India just prior to WWI. In an effort to gain exemptions, the Rallis wrote to the Under Secretary of State for India, confirming that "Several of the members of our Indian Staff are "alien friends" – mostly Greek, and some of them are at present in Europe on furlough, being due to return to India on various dates from now until March next."¹³² It is unclear whether this letter was successful, but it did denote Ralli's self-perceptions as British.

Other Greek-speakers included Theodore Philip Stephanides, naturalist and poet, who was born in Mumbai in 1896, the son of Corfiot merchants. Stephanides' father had been a merchant with Ralli Bros in India and Marseille, displaying that the Chiots remained central to the Greek community of India.¹³³ In 1863, an article 'The Greeks in Bengal' was published in the *Bombay Gazette*, which noted a history of Greeks in India. The article claimed the first Greek to settle was Hadjee Alexios Argyree (Panagiotis Alexios Argyris) of Philippopolis (Plovdiv) in 1750, who arrived with British ship captain Thornhill. The article was published due to "One [Greek] firm [having] recently opened a

¹²⁸ Sagrandi likely completed his naturalisation paperwork before the nationalisation of the British East India Company (Government of India Act 1858), however, the forms were not ratified until after the act.

¹²⁹ Coll 23, Certificate of Naturalisation granted to Michele Filippo Paspatti, a member of the firm of Schilizzi and Co, dated 7th December 1859, British Library: IOR/L/PJ/3/1083, 133, January 1858-May 1860.

¹³⁰ Certificate of oath of allegiance taken by & Naturalization of Negroponte, J. C., 1856, British Library: IOR/Z/E/4/27/N106-7 & IOR/E/4/836-7.

¹³¹ Permits for landing at Bombay granted to Messrs Panayotis Marcos and I P Rodocanachi, (Greek subjects), 19-23 October 1914, British Library: IOR/L/PJ/6/1332, 4628.

¹³² Aliens restriction; enquiry from Messrs Ralli Bros. regarding admission into India of employees who are 'alien friends', 1-16 October 1914, British Library: IOR/L/PJ/6/1330, 4353.

¹³³ 'Stephanides, Theodore Philip, 1896-1983, naturalist and poet', *British Library Archives*.

branch in Bombay” – this being the Rallis in Mumbai, 1861.¹³⁴ Argyree had made steps towards establishing a Greek Orthodox Church in Kolkata, which was finished after his death in 1780-81 by his son Alexander Panioty. The church was named the ‘Transfiguration of the Saviour’ and had been built at 7 Amratollah St, which was in use up until the 1920s.¹³⁵

Norris detailed the extent of Greek-speaking merchant settlement in British India during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He ultimately identified two waves of settlement – the Chiots, and then the Corfiots (along with other Ionian islanders) – which followed the mode of Greek-speaking settlers in Britain.¹³⁶ Harlaftis also identified this, as confirmed by Moutafidou, who noted that there were “two phases of the Greek entrepreneurial network of the nineteenth century: the ‘Chiot’ phase [1830s-60s], and the ‘Ionian’ phase [1870s-1900].”¹³⁷ Both phases were essentially driven by the islanders’ utilisation and exploitation of empire, particularly Britain, which allowed them to expand their own pathways. Ultimately the Chiots were no longer part of the trade system cultivated under the Ottoman Empire, but rather were the orchestrators of their own network within the British imperial network. In this way, scholars, such as Freddy Foks, have reimagined Britain as an ‘emigration state’, which “turns the emigration of its citizens into an imperialist policy that connects metropolitan cores to settler peripheries.”¹³⁸

Royal & Political Attitudes

Moves towards societal integration were present in Britain’s Chiots and within the broader Greek community consciousness as early as the 1860s. This was seen through ‘loyalty’ and advocacy for the English throne. One key meeting was held on 2 December 1862 at the church wardens’ room, 4 Sandon Tce, Liverpool, which focussed on the

¹³⁴ ‘The Greeks in Bengal’, *Bombay Gazette*, Mumbai, 12 February 1863, 3.

¹³⁵ Norris, *Ulysses in the Raj*, 34-45. See also: Saugata Bhaduri, *Polycoloniality: European Transactions with Bengal from the 13th to the 19th Century*, Bloomsbury Academic, Vasant Kanj, India, 2020, 163-8.

¹³⁶ Norris, *Ulysses in the Raj*, 1992.

¹³⁷ Ariadni Moutafidou, ‘Greek merchant families perceiving the world: the case of Demetrius Vikelas’, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 23(2), 1 December 2008, 144.

¹³⁸ Freddy Foks, ‘Emigration State: Race, Citizenship and Settler Imperialism in Modern British History, c. 1850-1972’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 35, 2022, 171.

election of a king for the Greek throne. It was chaired by G.M. Papayanni, and attended by the Chiot merchant P.Z. Rodocanachi, as well as M.D.G. Giannacopulo (Greek Consul at Liverpool), and John Lydis. Rodocanachi suggested: "That it is the firm conviction of the present meeting that the elevation of Prince Alfred of England to the throne of Greece will be the surest guarantee for the future happiness of our country."¹³⁹ This resolution was carried with overwhelming support from the wider Greek community, and the identifying of Greece as 'our country' was telling of the Chiots' Greek nationalism and identity, despite Chios still being an Ottoman possession. Additionally, a Greek monarch with British loyalties was particularly important for the Chiots' mercantile and imperial endeavours, and their English party ties.

The idea of Alfred for the Greek throne was promulgated further in British newspapers, where it was noted by M.E. Mavrogordato in the *Globe* that "I feel called upon to communicate to you the general opinion of the Greek mercantile community in England respecting it...the Greek people had in view in offering the crown to Prince Alfred."¹⁴⁰ Although, it appears at this point they had 'settled' on Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, as an alternative. A quote from the *Morning Post* followed this, not believing Ernest would succeed to the Greek throne, and that "We believe, however, that within a few days a prince of high lineage, and of the Protestant faith, will be suggested to the Greeks as a fitting person to fill their vacant throne."¹⁴¹

After Alfred declined, another Briton was favoured for the throne, Lord Edward Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby, as a British noble was viewed as the next best alternative. By this point Stanley had served as the Secretary of State for the Colonies (1858), President of the Board of Control (1858), Secretary of State for India (1858-59), and had been a Conservative MP for King's Lynn since 1848.¹⁴² Stanley was never formerly offered the Greek crown (although the idea of offering him a Civil List was suggested), and he had

¹³⁹ 'Meeting of Greeks in Liverpool', *Dublin Evening Mail*, Dublin, 4 December 1862, 3; 'Prince Alfred for Greece', *Bedfordshire Mercury*, Bedfordshire, 6 December 1862, 3.

¹⁴⁰ 'The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and the Greek Throne', *Globe*, London, 26 January 1863, 2.

¹⁴¹ 'The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and the Greek Throne', *Globe*, London, 26 January 1863, 2.

¹⁴² David Steele, 'Stanley, Edward Henry, fifteenth earl of Derby (1826-1893)', *ODNB*, 23 September 2004; Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, 'Derby, Earls of', in Hugh Chisholm (ed.), *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8, Cambridge University Press, 1911, 68; Richard Shannon, 'The Diaries of Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby (1826-93) between 1878 and 1893 by Edward Henry Stanley and John Vincent', *English Historical Review*, 120(485), 2005, 164-8.

laughed at the idea.¹⁴³ However, it is evident that Britain's Greeks supported the choice, as it had been put forward by the 'Greek club', along with the idea that Gladstone could also be a candidate, which was noted by Stanley in his diaries.¹⁴⁴

The following year, after the inauguration of George I of Greece (from the Danish royal family), Emmanuel A. Mavrogordato, president of London's Greek Brotherhood, and speaking on behalf of the Greeks in London, Liverpool, and Manchester, published a letter to Lord Palmerston in London's *Morning Post*. It offered support and hope in George I to:

...inaugurate a new era of his adopted country, and seek his strength and glory in the love and prosperity of his people. We entertain a firm conviction that the expansion of commerce, the development of the industrial arts, and the diffusion of knowledge, will, under his enlightened reign, obey a new and powerful impulse in Greece.¹⁴⁵

It also thanked Queen Victoria for "that spontaneous magnanimity which induced her to cede to the Hellenic Crown the sister State of the Ionian Islands" and highlighted to Palmerston that "We (the Greek community) have the honour to be, my lord, your faithful humble servants". It was signed on 22 July 1863 by A.C. Ionides, D.P. Scaramanga, L.G. Ziffo, E.A. Mavrogordato, Sp. Mavrojani, M.E. Rodocanachi, P.P. Rodocanachi, Stefanos Xenos, Basil Melas, E.G. Franghiadi, M. Spartali, A.A. Ralli, John H.N. Chaviara, A. Ioannides, G. Papayanni, and A. Sechiari.¹⁴⁶ As a community, Britain's Greeks were usually royalists, as were most during the period.¹⁴⁷ This, however, also stemmed from the necessities of commerce, as the Chiotis benefited from utilising imperial networks.

An interest in Greece's national politics pursued among the Chiotis. It is evident that during the 1900s many of London's Greeks were Venizelists, due to the community's connection with Venizelos (who was married to a London Chiot), the liberal democratic

¹⁴³ Lord Edward Henry Stanley, diary entry 7 December 1862, in John Vincent (ed.), *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party: Journals and Memoirs of Edward Henry, Lord Stanley, 1849-1869*, Harvester Press, Sussex, 1978, 192.

¹⁴⁴ Lord Edward Henry Stanley, diary entry 7 December 1862, in Vincent (ed.), *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party*, 192.

¹⁴⁵ 'Address to Lord Palmerston by Greeks Resident in England', *Morning Post, London*, 23 July 1863, 2.

¹⁴⁶ 'Address to Lord Palmerston by Greeks Resident in England', *Morning Post, London*, 23 July 1863, 2; *Saunders's News-Letter & Daily Advertiser*, 37,889, Dublin, 24 July 1863.

¹⁴⁷ See: Panagiotis Dimitrakis, *Greece and the English: British Diplomacy and the Kings of Greece*, I.B. Tauris, London & New York, 2009.

values cultivated in Britain, and Britain's pro-Venizelos stance.¹⁴⁸ John Gennadius, Greek Ambassador in London and community figure, and Consul General Stavridi, also openly supported Venizelos.¹⁴⁹

Integration into British society was propelled by the entering of Chiots into British politics, as well as the ascendance of the Rallis into the peerage. On 9 February 1912, King George V gave Lucas Eustratio Ralli the title of Baronet, due to the family's notable role in British enterprise.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, Ambrouzis Ralli of Trieste had previously been granted the title of Baron by Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria on 15 April 1874.¹⁵¹ This was reminiscent of Jewish merchant Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild receiving the title of Baron in 1885; or of Soho-based Huguenot John Romilly, who was made Baron in 1865.¹⁵² The Ralli Baronetcy still exists, currently held by Sir David Charles Ralli, current director of Mid-Norfolk Farmers.¹⁵³ Baronetcies are not permitted to sit in the House of Lords, thus Ralli Baronets remained as directors and chairmen of Ralli Bros until its sale to Isaac Wolfson in 1961.¹⁵⁴

Some Rallis did venture into politics. Pandeli Ralli was a Liberal MP for Bridport (1875-80) and Wallingford (1880-85). When he ran for Wallingford in 1880, there were accusations of election bribery against Ralli and his agents, which the judge ultimately dismissed.¹⁵⁵ After Wallingford was abolished as a constituency in 1885, Ralli unsuccessfully ran as a Liberal for Wells.¹⁵⁶ Ralli again ran for a seat in 1892, this time as a Liberal Unionist for Newcastle-upon-Tyne against John Morley, but lost, with only 46.4% of the vote. He was invited to run again as a Liberal Unionist in 1892-93 for

¹⁴⁸ See: Dimitrakis, *Greece and the English*, 8-17.

¹⁴⁹ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 581; Varnava, 'British and Greek Liberalism and Imperialism in the Long Nineteenth Century', 231-2.

¹⁵⁰ 'Whitehall, February 9, 1912', *London Gazette*, 9 February 1912, 972-3. See: Yianni John Charles Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism', *Historical Research*, 93(259), February 2020, 60.

¹⁵¹ 'Baron Ambrouzis (Stephanos) Ralli', Christopher Long, 30 May 2005 (last modified).

¹⁵² 'Whitehall, July 2, 1885', *London Gazette*, 25,486, London, 3 July 1885, 3060; 'Whitehall, December 19, 1865', *London Gazette*, 23,050, London, 19 December 1865, 6736. See also: Yianni Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre and Chiot Emigration: A Coerced Diaspora', in Cartledge & Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence*, 234-5.

¹⁵³ 'Sir David Charles (Godfrey) Ralli 4th Baronet', Christopher Long, 21 March 2015 (last modified).

¹⁵⁴ Vourkatioti, 'Business Groups' Diversification Strategy', 260-1.

¹⁵⁵ 'The Petition Against Mr. Ralli', *Western Gazette*, Somerset, 29 October 1880, 3.

¹⁵⁶ 'Pandeli Ralli', *Members of Parliament after 1832*, 731, n.d.

Gateshead, and 1899 for Gloucester City, however, both without success.¹⁵⁷ His reason for switching to the Liberal Unionist party is unclear, however, it is likely that his pro-Empire views, and possibly an affinity with Joseph Chamberlain, saw him switch, like many other Liberals.¹⁵⁸ Evidently, Ralli Bros were supportive of him as a Liberal Unionist, and in 1891, I.A. Ralli wrote to Sir William MacKinnon, founder of the British India Steam Navigation Company, urging him to support Pandeli during his Newcastle campaign. I.A. Ralli asked MacKinnon to “send...letters of introduction in his (Pandeli Ralli’s) favour...he can be strongly recommended in every respect.”¹⁵⁹

As the Member for Bridport, Pandeli Ralli had active discussions in the House of Commons, showing a forthright and questioning attitude. In the House, he questioned the causes of the Great Famine in India (1876-78), asking the Under Secretary of State for India “Whether he can give the House any information as to the extent of the causes of the famine which was stated by the “Times” of India, as quoted in the “Observer” of Sunday last, to be existing now in Cashmere?”¹⁶⁰ Edward Stanhope shot down Ralli’s question, and it was not followed up further. This discontent with imperial policy perhaps led to his party switch. Ralli was also close with Lord Kitchener and was a benefactor and trustee of the British School at Athens.¹⁶¹

Ralli was also concerned with questions of fair taxation between rich and poor. In 1875, he was not in support of the Crosshill Burgh Extension Bill, which looked to extend the ‘wealthy’ Crosshill area, instead of incorporating the area into greater Glasgow, stating that:

I remember that within the last few years this House has passed measures of the greatest justice, which have forced the richer portions of cities to bear their fair proportion of the burdens of the poorer, and I hope the House will not say that the

¹⁵⁷ ‘Mr Pandelli Ralli’, *Sunderland Daily Echo*, Sunderland, 11 August 1899, 3; ‘Pandeli Ralli’, *Members of Parliament after 1832*, 731, n.d.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Mr. Pandeli Ralli: A Political and Social Figure’, *Times*, London, 23 August 1928, 14.

¹⁵⁹ I.A. Ralli to W.M., 27 January 1891, London University: SOAS, TNA: PP/MS/1/CORR/3/33.

¹⁶⁰ Hansard – ‘India–Famine in Cashmere–Question’, House of Commons, vol. 242, c865, United Kingdom, 1 August 1878.

¹⁶¹ Francis Mowat, Walter Leaf & G.A. Macmillan, ‘Annual Meeting of Subscribers’, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 6, 1899-1900, 129-39. See: Anne Samson, *Kitchener: The Man not the Myth*, Helion & Company, Warwick, 2020, 46, 72 & 83

richer inhabitants of Glasgow are to be allowed to share the benefits of the city, and then to shake off its burdens.¹⁶²

In 1878, Ralli supported an amendment which thanked Queen Victoria, and ratified the Cyprus Convention and Congress of Berlin, which included the occupation of Cyprus.¹⁶³ In 1879 he questioned the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wondering if they were planning to repeal the tax exemption of British subjects in Egypt.¹⁶⁴ In 1881, he also supported a peaceful resolution with the South African Boers in Transvaal during the First Boer War.¹⁶⁵

In 1910, another Chiot, former banker Constantine Scaramanga-Ralli JP, ran in the General Election as Liberal candidate for the Isle of Wight. Although unsuccessful, the margin was close, with 49.2% in favour of Scaramanga-Ralli, and 50.8% to the Conservative winner Douglas Bernard Hall. In 1911, Scaramanga-Ralli was considered as Liberal candidate for Ross and Cromarty (although the position was given to Ian Macpherson).¹⁶⁶ In 1913, Scaramanga-Ralli ran again, this time as a Progressive in the London County Council election for the City of London, and again, lost. Scaramanga-Ralli's main stance was being a supporter of compulsory military training. He was ultimately made Life Governor at the Royal Brompton Hospital and vice-president of the Allotments & Small Holdings Association.¹⁶⁷

The Chiots & the Arts

Britain's Chiot community also demonstrated integration through participation in the arts and wider 'high culture'. Some Chiots had a presence in the prestigious Royal Literary Fund (RLF). The RLF is a charity with the aim of supporting authors, with all of the RLF's

¹⁶² Hansard – 'Third Reading', House of Commons, vol. 224, cc1900-18, United Kingdom, 15 June 1875.

¹⁶³ Hansard – 'Adjourned Debate [Fourth Night]', House of Commons, vol. 242, cc998-1126, United Kingdom, 2 August 1878.

¹⁶⁴ Hansard – 'Egypt-Taxation-Question', House of Commons, vol. 245, c11, United Kingdom, 31 March 1879.

¹⁶⁵ Hansard – 'Transvaal Rising-Resolution', House of Commons, vol. 263, cc1756-880, United Kingdom, 25 July 1881.

¹⁶⁶ 'Scaramanga Ralli is expected to be Liberal Candidate for Ross and Cromarty', *Evening Telegraph & Post*, Dundee, 24 May 1911, 2.

¹⁶⁷ J.P. Hants, 'Scaramanga-Ralli, Constantine', *Who's Who: An Annual Biographical Dictionary*, Adam & Charles Black, 1 December 2007.

money coming from subscriptions, donations, and legacies.¹⁶⁸ At least five Chiot became connected with the RLF: historian John Mavrogordato;¹⁶⁹ Peter Ralli and Michel Emmanuel Rodocanachi, who acted as stewards at the RLF's 1862/63 anniversary dinners;¹⁷⁰ Pantia (Pandia) Ralli, who was invited as an honorary guest to dinner with the RLF's president and committee in 1850 and 1852-54;¹⁷¹ and Constantine Scaramanga-Ralli, who advocated for funding on behalf of Cpt Frederick William von Herbert, author of Ottoman-related literature, in 1912.¹⁷² It is unclear the depth of Chiot involvement in the RLF's innerworkings, however, they evidently used the group as both a social platform and a charitable cause for them to support.

Other members of the London Greek community supported the arts. Pandeli Ralli MP was a collector, and art dealer Sir William Agnew had gifted him a statuette created by sculptor Alfred Gilbert in 1896.¹⁷³ The mentioned Ionides family offered one of the most significant art collection bequests to the Victoria and Albert Museum. The family, particularly Constantine A. Ionides, were also actively supporting artists, including French sculptor Auguste Rodin.¹⁷⁴ Others included artist and historian Marietta Pallis (1882-1963), daughter of Alexander Pallis and Julia-Eliza Ralli; art historian Prof Ewan John Walford (1945-present), son of Diana Myrtle Ralli; and art historian Richard Calvocoressi (1951-present).¹⁷⁵ Egyptian-based relatives, including Despina Zervoudachi (née Draneht), were also renowned for their art collections, and the Egypt- and France-

¹⁶⁸ Janet Adam Smith, 'The Royal Literary Fund: A Short History', *Royal Literary Fund*, London, 2014, 1-3.

¹⁶⁹ John Mavrogordato to the Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund, 29 January 1943, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 1/3498/3.

¹⁷⁰ Peter Ralli to the Royal Literary Fund, 18 April 1862 or 1863, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 4/16/2; Michel Emmanuel Rodocanachi to the Royal Literary Fund, 3 May 1862 or 1863, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 4/16/2.

¹⁷¹ Honorary Invitations Accepted, April-May 1850, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 4/10/4-5; Pantia Ralli to the Royal Literary Fund, 22 April 1852, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 4/11/5; Pantia Ralli to the Royal Literary Fund, 2 March 1854, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 4/12/5; Pantia Ralli to the Royal Literary Fund, 19 April 1853, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 4/12/5.

¹⁷² Letters between Constantine Scaramanga-Ralli and the Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund, 16 August 1912, 14 October 1912, 17 February 1914, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 1/2881/3, 15 & 24.

¹⁷³ Pandeli Ralli to Sir William Agnew, 26 April 1896, National Gallery Research Centre: GB/345/NGA27/32/2/96.

¹⁷⁴ Andrew Watson, 'Constantine Alexander Ionides: Rodin's first important English patron', *Sculpture Journal*, 16(1), 2007, 23-38.

¹⁷⁵ 'Marietta (Alexander) Pallis', Christopher Long, 15 February 2012 (last modified); 'Richard Edward Ion (Ion) Calvocoressi', Christopher Long, 2 February 2012 (last modified); 'Prof. Ewan John (John) Walford', Christopher Long, 31 January 2006 (last modified).

based Théodore Ralli was a well-known orientalist painter.¹⁷⁶ According to British census records between 1841-1911, many Chiots and related families participated in the arts, such as painter Rosina Rodocanachi, and music hall performers Phil Rallis, Minnie Rallis, Phoebe Maud Ralli, and Richard Ralli, as well as musicians Alexandra Rodocanachi, Callisthance (Kallistheni) Sevastopoulos, Philip Joannides, Timoleon Methodios Joannides, Giuseppe Mavrogordato, Giuseppe Ralli, Guglio Ralli, Vera Irene Valieri, and five other members of the Valieri family who were street musicians.¹⁷⁷

Many also commissioned portraits from well-known artists during the period, many of which have been featured in Catsiyannis' books on the Greek community of London.¹⁷⁸ There were dozens of photographic portraits of British Chiots by photographer Camille Silvy, including at least 53 portraits of Ralli family members, among other families, such as Alexandra Mavrojani (née Vlasto) (Image 3.9). Silvy photographed thousands of other British aristocrats in London during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Others used specialised portrait painters, such as William Walter Oules, who painted Stephen Augustus Ralli in 1881 (Image 3.10); and Samuel Melton Fisher who painted Alexandra Rodocanachi (née Agelasto) in 1905 (Image 3.11).

Chiot integration into London ultimately hinged on the class that the merchants and their networks participated in. This is seen further through their pluralised and complex identities.

¹⁷⁶ 'Emmanuel (Constantine) Zervoudachi', Christopher Long, 17 January 2018 (last modified); See: Maria Katsanaki, 'Le peintre Théodore Ralli (1852-1909) et son œuvre', PhD thesis, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University, Paris, 2007.

¹⁷⁷ Census of Great Britain, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, & 1911.

¹⁷⁸ See: Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Schilizzi Family*, self-published, London, 1990; Catsiyannis, *Pandias Stephen Rallis, 1793-1865*; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *Constantine Ionidis-Ipliksis 1775-1852 and the Ionidi family*, self-published, London, 1988; Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Rodocanachis of London: A Pictorial History*, self-published, London, 1987.



Image 3.9: Photographic portrait of Alexandra Mavrojani (née Vlasto) by Camille Silvy, at 38 Porchester Tce, Bayswater, London, 1862.¹⁷⁹ Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, UK.

¹⁷⁹ Camille Silvy, *Alexandra Mavrojani (née Vlasto) (1843-1908), Wife of Alexander Mavrojani*, albumen print, 38 Porchester Terrace, Bayswater, London, 13 August 1862, in the *Camille Silvy Collection*, Album 9 (Daybook vol. 9), 1862, NPG Ax60962.



Image 3.10: Photographic print of a painting of Stephen Augustus Ralli by Walter William Oules, London, 1881, NPG D39193. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, UK.



Image 3.11: *Mrs Rodocanachi* by Samuel Melton Fisher, oil on canvas, London, 1905. Courtesy of Worthing Museum and Art Gallery.

Pluralistic Identities

Multiple identities were evident in the London Chiot. This section looks briefly at these identities in context – Chiot, Greek, and British – and how they intersected. It then ties them together by exploring the way identity was remembered and memorialised by descendants. Important questions of ‘whiteness’, ‘Britishness’, the ‘good migrant’, cosmopolitanism, insularity, memory of the massacre, and nationalism, as well as community practices, are touched upon to help paint a portrait of the overarching pluralistic identities.

Chiot, Greek, or British?

Chiot identity remained prevalent throughout much of the nineteenth century. Practices like living proximity (initially around Finsbury Circus and later Bayswater) and

endogamy acted as driving forces behind identity maintenance. The eventual move away from endogamy toward the end of the century sparked a shift in Chiot identity, with a more fluid idea of being 'Chiot' emerging. In essence, one did not have to be 'purely Chiot' to be a Chiot. On shifting immigrant identities in Britain, Holmes noted that "some migrants and refugees, as individuals, felt stranded as marginal people straddling two cultures and belonging fully to neither."¹⁸⁰ In many ways the Chiots demonstrated this, not being 'fully' Greek, British, or Chiot, but showing an allegiance to all three.

Pandeli Ralli MP exemplified this in his own individual identity in 1883 during a House of Commons discussion surrounding the Treaty of Berlin (Appendix 3.1). During 1883, Britain was being led by Gladstone's Liberal government. Ralli was advocating against the Ottoman Empire enforcing double taxation on Chios following the 1881 earthquake, the use of Turkish language in Chiot law courts, and "the suppression of all the printing presses in the Island". Ralli also called for the British government to support the restoration of "the autonomous Government of Scio as existing until 1866" along with a Christian governor for the island, instead of a Muslim.¹⁸¹ Ralli's strong requests reflected his own personal opinions as a British Chiot. This illustrated that being a Chiot was an integral part of his identity and world view, even to the point of advocating for the island in his public position. Additionally, his obituary in the *Times* reminisced on his Chiot heritage and how "his mother had fled before the Turks, barefooted, through the snow over the mountains."¹⁸² It also noted that Ralli "found himself at home in both the Greek and English Churches", illustrating his multiplicity.

Chiot identity was also examinable in the way Chiots were regarded, as Vassilis Kardasis further described, the:

Primacy of the Chiote merchants was commonplace. Everyone acknowledged their precedence within the merchant community. Indeed the distinction "Chiote/non-Chiote" prevailed, in which the characterization "non-Chiote" subsumed all the Greeks in London who did not originate in Chios. The capability

¹⁸⁰ Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration & British Society, 1871-1971*, Macmillan Education, Basingstoke, Hampshire & London, 1988, 293.

¹⁸¹ Hansard - 'Treaty of Berlin—Article XXIII—The Island off Chios', House of Commons, vol. 281, cc1508-9, United Kingdom, 16 July 1883.

¹⁸² 'Mr. Pandeli Ralli: A Political and Social Figure', *Times*, London, 23 August 1928, 14.

of imposing such a distinction in the final analysis indicates the social power of the Chiot element.¹⁸³

Having the 'Chiot' branding was ultimately a useful tool for the merchant descendants, as the term became equated with success. It also displayed the prominence of the Chiot identity over the Greek identity. Furthermore, the 'Chiotness' of the Ralli family was paraded in Dundee's *Evening Telegraph* in 1903, during Dimitrios Rallis' second stint as Prime Minister of Greece. Connections were made between the Athenian branch of the family, and Britain's own Rallis:

The Famous Ralli Family.

M. Ralli, it is said, is meeting with difficulties in his endeavours to form a Cabinet in Greece, as he considers that no financial programme having reference to the currant (sic) monopoly could be put forward before negotiations with the Powers interested are concluded. The family of Ralli is very well known in the financial world of Manchester, Liverpool, London, Dundee (where they have a branch), and elsewhere in Britain. The actual founder of the firm, Pandelli Ralli, was a man of quite exceptional talents. He came to London in 1818, and three years later, in 1821, the terrible massacre of Chio (the native island of the Rallis and the Mavrogordatos) took place. Within a few days 40,000 Greeks were then butchered in cold blood, for they were not allowed by the Sultan to bear arms, and 60,000 were made slaves. It was then that all the Rallis fled, after having seen their relations tortured. They went to Ancona and Trieste, and subsequently settled in London. Victor Hugo has immortalised "Chio" and its massacre in his "Les Orientales." There were five brothers who founded the famous firm.¹⁸⁴

A similar story was presented in the 1886 obituary of Chiot merchant John Copeland Zigomala, who was "born at Scio...and during the massacre at that place by the Turks in 1821 (sic), when he was a child of five years, he was sold as a slave by the Turks, and ultimately rescued by an American gentleman".¹⁸⁵ The obituary went on to describe

¹⁸³ Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea: The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775-1861*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford, 2001, 87.

¹⁸⁴ 'The Famous Ralli Family', *Evening Telegraph*, Dundee, Scotland, 17 July 1903, 3.

¹⁸⁵ 'Death of Mr. J. C. Zigomala - Mr. Zigomala', *Manchester Evening News*, 7 July 1886, 2.

his business successes in the US and Britain, as well as his connections to Chios, Greece, the Greek church, and Liberal politics.

The portrayal of the Rallis and Zigomala as both hard-working and 'exceptional' migrants, and victims of the massacre who survived struggles, was a key trope during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. It was promulgated as an example of the 'good migrant' in contrast to the growing anti-immigrant sentiments which led to the Aliens Act (1905), which restricted the movement of migrants into Britain – particularly Eastern European Jews.¹⁸⁶ Garrard discussed the idea of the 'good migrant' when analysing the successful 'idealised Jew' compared to their Gentile counterparts.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, the Rallis and other Chiots were, in essence, foreign migrants (but not 'too foreign') that had become successful British subjects.

Braber emphasised that between the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, there was also a shift in language away from 'foreigner' towards the term 'alien'. With this idea came negative connotations, as "Alien first became a byname for immigrant, then it turned into a term of abuse, a badge of dishonour and a mark of danger."¹⁸⁸ This perhaps

¹⁸⁶ Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain: 1815-1945*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1994, 42-3; Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 2014, 61-3. See also for the shift in Britain from an 'open door' policy to the Aliens Act (1905): Robert Winder, *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain*, Little, Brown, London, 2004, 112-9; Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana & Chicago, 2005, 27-9; John A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910*, Oxford University Press, London, New York & Toronto, 1971, 22-47. See also particularly on the Jewish case: Eitan Bar-Yosef & Nadia Valman (eds.), *The Jew in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: Between the East End and East Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009; Alison Bashford & Catie Gilchrist, 'The Colonial History of the 1905 Aliens Act', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40(3), September 2012, 409-37; Alison Bashford & Jane McAdam, 'The Right to Asylum: Britain's 1905 Aliens Act and the Evolution of Refugee Law', *Law and History Review*, 32(2), May 2014, 309-50; Jennifer Craig-Norton, Christhard Hoffmann & Tony Kushner (eds.), *Migrant Britain: Histories and Historiographies: Essays in Honour of Colin Holmes*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, & New York, 2019; Hannah Ewence, *The Alien Jew in the British Imagination, 1881-1905: Space, Mobility and Territoriality*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019; David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914*, University Press, New Haven, 1994; David Glover, *Literature, Immigration, and Diaspora in Fin-de-Siècle England: A Cultural History of the 1905 Aliens Act*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012; Krista Maglen, *The English System: Quarantine, Immigration and the Making of a Port Sanitary Zone*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2014; Lara Marks, *Model Mothers: Jewish Mothers and Maternity Provision in East London, 1870-1939*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994; Susan L. Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants in London, 1880-1939*, Routledge, New York, 2014.

¹⁸⁷ Garrard, *The English and Immigration, 1880-1910*, 99-102. See also: Daniel Renshaw, 'Old Prejudices and New Prejudices: State Surveillance and Harassment of Irish and Jewish Communities in London – 1800-1930', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 40, 2022, 79-105.

¹⁸⁸ Braber, *Changes in Attitudes to Immigrants in Britain, 1841-1921*, 91.

increased the Chiot's social need for assimilation and integration into British society. Furthermore, Long and Calvocoressi both noted religion as an important discriminative factor between the Greek and Jewish communities, with the 'Christian Greek' idea being considered 'safer' and 'inoffensive' in British society, compared to the more 'alien' Jews, who "could not...swear on the Bible".¹⁸⁹ This aided the Chiot's successful assimilation in Britain, but also linked their localised island identity to a broader 'Greek Orthodox' identity.

The question of 'whiteness' is also important to consider when examining Chiot identity. Lake and Reynolds when discussing "the dichotomy of white and non-white", noted that, "The British Empire drew a distinction between ruling and ruled races".¹⁹⁰ In many ways, the Chiot's appeared to inhabit a space in between – on one hand, they were the administrative merchant class, part of the cultivated elite, and exploiting imperial networks. On the other hand, they were insular, endogamous, non-English speaking, non-Protestant, 'Eastern' peoples, where occasionally 'swarthy' stereotypes and 'oriental' conceptions were evident. This accords with the observations of Piperoglou on Kastellorizians and other Greeks in Australia who existed on the borderline of 'white' and 'Asiatic',¹⁹¹ as well as the Cypriots and Ionian Islanders under British rule.¹⁹²

The Chiot's also appeared to balance a wider Greek national identity with their island identity, especially in relation to foreign policy, and to Greece and the wider Greek diaspora. They demonstrated this through their correspondences and deputations, and especially through the celebrations and memorials that they hosted, which were often spearheaded by the Greek Brotherhood. The Chiot's as a community were evidently both

¹⁸⁹ Helen Long, *Greek Fire: The Massacres of Chios*, Abson Books, Abson, Wick, Bristol, 1992, 126-7; Calvocoressi, 'From Byzantium to Eton', 25-6.

¹⁹⁰ Marilyn Lake & Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2008, 9. See also: David C. Atkinson, *The Burden of White Supremacy: Containing Asian Migration in the British Empire and the United States*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill NC, 2016.

¹⁹¹ Andonis Piperoglou, 'Greeks or Turks, "White" or "Asiatic": Historicising Castellorizian Racial-Consciousness, 1916-1920', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 40(4), 1 October 2016, 387-402.

¹⁹² Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1875-1915*, 152-201; Thomas Gallant, 'Peasant Ideology and Excommunication for Crime in a Colonial Context: The Ionian Islands (Greece), 1817-1864', *Journal of Social History*, 1990, 23(3), 485-51; Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, IN, 2002.

bound to and supporters of Greek nationalism – an ideology fostered likely due to their influential role in London, and the benefits of having close ties with the Greek state.

Expressions of Greek nationalism were seen by the community in their correspondences with high profile British figures. M.I. Negroponete (a Chiot living in Istanbul, but a relation of the London community) contacted Gladstone in 1877 (following up from a previous letter), seeking his opinions on the Eastern Question, especially on the Slavs and Ottomans, stating that “the question of the East is not a question of Christianity against [Islamism]. It is a question of the Christians against...the Ottomans”.¹⁹³ Gladstone replied the following day, noting that “it is a question, however, of Christianity against the Porte and the ruling Ottomans...and I cannot praise either the Greeks who refuse their moral support to the Slavs, nor the Slavs who refuse it to the Greeks.”¹⁹⁴ Contrastingly, in the twentieth century, John Mavrogordato petitioned the Royal Literary Fund for an award for Mr S. Beach Chester for his work *Life of Venizelos*, which he called “a work of considerable value”.¹⁹⁵ These correspondences illustrate a Greek national consciousness within the Chiot community.

The diaspora also often sympathised with ‘Orthodox’ nations, such as the memorial service for Tsar Alexander II of Russia. In 1879, the Principality of Bulgaria officially seceded from the Ottoman Empire following the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78), the Treaties of San Stefano (1878) and Berlin (1878), and a short period of Russian administration until May 1879.¹⁹⁶ London’s Greek Brotherhood offered public support for the new nation: “The Greek community of London have decided to present the Prince of Bulgaria with an address expressing good will for the welfare of the new state.”¹⁹⁷ While most Chiots likely supported the English Party in Greece (and later the New/Modernist Party led by Charilaos Trikoupis from 1873 and the Liberal Party under Venizelos from 1910), their connection and sympathies with Orthodox Eastern Europe also stemmed from ties with the Russian Party, possibly originating in an admiration for

¹⁹³ M. I. Negroponete to W.E. Gladstone, 8 January 1877, British Library: Add MS 44453, f. 20-1.

¹⁹⁴ W.E. Gladstone to J. Negroponete, 9 January 1877, British Library: Add MS 44455, f.106.

¹⁹⁵ John Mavrogordato to the Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund, 29 January 1943, British Library: Loan 96 RLF 1/3498/3.

¹⁹⁶ See: Mikhail S. Rekun, *How Russia Lost Bulgaria, 1878-1886: Empire Unguided*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Boulder, New York & London, 2019; Duncan M. Perry, *Stefan Stambolov and the Emergence of Modern Bulgaria, 1870-1895*, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 1993.

¹⁹⁷ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, Sheffield, 10 June 1879, 8.

Russian Party figures, such as Admiral Konstantinos Kanaris of Psara (who launched revenge attacks following the Chios Massacre), Ioannis Kapodistrias, Theodoros Kolokotronis, and Greek senator and Prime Minister Andreas Metaxas, who was related to many London Greeks through his mother Violetta Loverdo.¹⁹⁸ Metaxas' relations included J.D. Loverdo, the Acting Greek Consul General in 1884, and Jean Loverdo of Cephalonia, who married the Chiot Annette Schilizzi in 1865.¹⁹⁹ However, there were no overt official discussions from the community on the British occupation of Cyprus in 1878, or on *enosis* more broadly, possibly hinting at the community maintaining a careful balance between their Greek and British identities. One Chiot descendant, Alexander Mavrogordato, born in Istanbul in 1859, was employed around 1881 by the British Colonial Service as a police inspector and financial assistant to the British Government in Cyprus, a position he held for 43 years.²⁰⁰ He was particularly involved in locust destruction operations, forestry and agricultural management, and surveying.²⁰¹ He also conducted the 1901 and 1911 censuses of Cyprus.²⁰²

The community was evidently active in sending deputations to greet and maintain relations during key royal visits throughout the nineteenth century. In 1863, George I of Greece visited Britain, and was greeted by members of the Greek community from London, Liverpool, and Manchester, as organised by Consul General Ionides (Image 3.12).²⁰³ Other deputations included one led by Gennadius to Buckingham Palace to congratulate the visiting Empress Victoria, wife of German Emperor Frederick III, on the engagement of their daughter, Princess Sophia of Prussia, to the Duke of Sparta (future

¹⁹⁸ 'Andreas (Andrea) Metaxa', Christopher Long, 25 February 2004 (last modified).

¹⁹⁹ 'Jean Loverdo', Christopher Long, 19 October 2004 (last modified).

²⁰⁰ Hansard – 'Cyprus–Mr. Mavrogordato', House of Commons, vol. 313, cc487-8, United Kingdom, 5 April 1887; 'Alexander (Stephanos) Mavrogordato', Christopher Long, 23 November 2012 (last modified).

²⁰¹ W.H. Mercer & A.E. Collins, *The Colonial Office List for 1905*, Waterlow & Sons, London, 1905, 546.

²⁰² Alexander Mavrogordato, *Cyprus: Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1901, Taken on the 1st of April, 1901*, Government Printing Office, Nicosia, 1901; Alexander Mavrogordato, *Cyprus: Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1911, Taken on the 2nd of April, 1911*, Waterlow & Sons, London Wall, London, 1912. See also: Andrekos Varnava, 'Fighting Asses: British Procurement of Cypriot Mules and Their Condition and Treatment in Macedonia', *War in History*, 23(4), 2016, 502-3; Andrekos Varnava, 'The Politics and Imperialism of Colonial and Foreign Volunteer Legions during the Great War: Comparing Proposals for Cypriot, Armenian, and Jewish Legions', *War in History*, 22(3), 2015, 347-9.

²⁰³ 'Deputations to the King of Greece', *Cirencester Times & Cotswold Advertiser*, Cirencester, 19 October 1863, 2; 'Deputations to the King of the Greeks', *Congleton & Macclesfield Mercury, & Cheshire General Advertiser*, Cheshire, 17 October 1863, 6.

King Constantine I of Greece) in 1865;²⁰⁴ and another in 1876, consisting of Consul General Spartali, Alexander Ralli, and Eustratius Ralli, to Marlborough House to greet the Prince and Princess of Wales and their guests, George I of Greece and queen consort Olga Constantinovna.²⁰⁵



Image 3.12: Visit of King George I of Greece to the Greek Church of Our Saviour, London Wall, 1863.²⁰⁶

In 1888, the centenary of Lord Byron's birth was celebrated in full force by the Greek Brotherhood, further linking the community to Greek nationality and the Greek Revolution. The event included a 'solemn function' (possibly a *mnimósino* or 'memorial') at the Church of St Sophia, Bayswater.²⁰⁷ It was also in coordination with events in Greece

²⁰⁴ 'Arrangements for this day', *Morning Post*, London, 8 December 1888, 5; *Gloucester Citizen*, Gloucester, 9 December 1888, 1.

²⁰⁵ 'The Prince and Princess of Wales', *Illustrated London News*, London, 22 July 1876, 3; 'Arrival of the Queen of the Hellenes', *Morning Post*, London, 19 July 1876, 5.

²⁰⁶ His Majesty the King of Greece Attending Divine Worship at the Greek Church, London Wall, 1863, Special Collections, LMA: 1863, SC/PZ/CT/02/0325, from *Illustrated London News*, London, 24 October 1863, 412.

²⁰⁷ 'The Evening Post: Friday, January 20, 1888', *Nottingham Evening Post*, Nottingham, 20 January 1888, 2; *Western Daily Press*, Bristol, 21 January 1888, 3; *Morning Post*, London, 21 January 1888, 4.

and elsewhere in the diaspora, including an erection of a statue in Athens and a 'demonstration of some kind' in Vienna. The *Nottingham Evening Post* pondered if their city would "do honour to Lord Byron", as Nottinghamshire county was the ancestral home of the Byron family, and burial place of Lord Byron (in Hucknall Torkard).²⁰⁸ The event was publicised widely in papers around Britain, where it was stated that "The Archimandrite delivered a panegyric on the poet, who he said, did more for Greece than all her patriots, but, unfortunately, did not live to see the fruit of his works."²⁰⁹ In messianic language, London's *Times* and Ireland's *Drogheda Conservative* called Byron:

...the modern Tyrtæus, whom England lent [Greece] at a crisis of degradation and despair...He taught Greeks to respect themselves, and gave them back the tradition of their brilliant nationality. To seal his labours for them he died on their shores.²¹⁰

This celebration of Byron by the community stemmed from 1875, when a club was formed at the London Tavern by "distinguished members of the Greek community in London" to "commemorate the genius of Lord Byron, especially in relation to the poet's philanthropy toward the Greek nation" and "be a meeting place for the discussion of subjects affecting the moral progress of Greece."²¹¹ George P. Lascaridi of Bursa, who later become Greek Consul General between 1883-84, was noted as "an influential member", and it was intended to "assimilate [the club] as closely as possible to the Cobden Club", a British gentlemen's club and free-trade think-tank modelled after the ideas of Richard Cobden.²¹² Unnamed 'English Philhellenes' were also invited to join.²¹³ The Byron Club and admiration for Byron spoke to a hybrid Greek-British identity that the Chiots displayed externally to wider society.

²⁰⁸ 'The Evening Post: Friday, January 20, 1888', *Nottingham Evening Post*, Nottingham, 20 January 1888, 2; Jerome McGann, 'Byron, George Gordon Noel, sixth Baron Byron (1788-1824)', *ODNB*, 24 October 2019.

²⁰⁹ *Northampton Mercury*, Northampton, 28 January 1888, 11; 'The Byron Centenary', *Wells Journal*, Wells, Somerset, 26 January 1888, 2. See also: 'The Evening Post: Friday, January 20, 1888', *Nottingham Evening Post*, Nottingham, 20 January 1888, 2; *Western Daily Press*, Bristol, 21 January 1888, 3; *Morning Post*, London, 21 January 1888, 4.

²¹⁰ 'The Greeks and Byron [From the *Times*]', *Drogheda Conservative*, Drogheda, Ireland, 28 January 1888, 3.

²¹¹ 'Lord Byron and the Greeks in London', *Liverpool Mail*, Liverpool, 2 October 1875, 6.

²¹² 'Lord Byron and the Greeks in London', *Liverpool Mail*, Liverpool, 2 October 1875, 6. See: A.C. Howe, 'Cobden Club (act. 1866-1982)', *ODNB*, 22 September 2005; Varnava, 'British and Greek Liberalism and Imperialism in the Long Nineteenth Century', 219-40.

²¹³ 'Echoes of the Week', *Illustrated London News*, London, 2 October 1875, 18.

Similar events to Byron's centenary were hosted by the Greek Brotherhood, portraying a nationalistic Greek self-perception within the community. Regular anniversaries of Greek Independence were celebrated on 25 March, which were recorded by British newspapers. In 1873, the anniversary was held at the Freemason's Tavern, and the *Henley Advertiser* listed many notable Chiot members of the 120-strong event.²¹⁴ Similarly, in 1883, it was noted that:

The members of the Greek community in London, to the number of 130, recently held a banquet in the Marlborough Rooms, Regent-street, London, to celebrate the 62nd anniversary of the first outbreak of the Greek revolution...The dining-hall was appropriately decorated for the occasion with the flags of Greece and the former protecting Powers (presumably Britain, France, and Russia).²¹⁵

The event was chaired by Octavius Valieri, Sir Petros Vrailas Armenis, and Archimandrite Hieronymos Myriantheus; and many nationalistic toasts were given by community members, including Emmanuel A. Mavrogordato, and Prof Valettas, who "pronounced [Prime Minister] Mr. Gladstone to be the greatest Philhellene of the day."

In 1885, the community was characterised as tightknit, oriental, and somewhat 'mysterious', when discussing St Stephens Memorial Chapel in the Greek section of London's West Norwood Cemetery. The writer of the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* wrote:

Oriental communities are in many respects an example to ourselves, and to European nations generally, in the strength of their family ties, and the influence they have on their lives. Reverence for the memory of the dead is a characteristic of all Eastern people, and I was pleased to have had an opportunity of visiting an interesting memorial chapel the other day, built by the Greek friends to whom I owe my pleasant visit to the sunny south, not far from their London home, in an atmosphere far less balmy and poetic than that of Marseilles.²¹⁶

There was ultimately a sense of insulation within the London Greek diaspora, which especially can be seen in their living proximity to each other in Bayswater, and to the nearby Orthodox Church of St Sophia. Forming a small-scale 'ghetto', as mentioned by

²¹⁴ 'Hellenic Anniversary in London', *Henley Advertiser*, Henley-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, 12 April 1873, 7.

²¹⁵ 'Anniversary of Greek Independence', *Shipley Times & Express*, Shipley, Yorkshire, 14 April 1883, 7.

²¹⁶ 'A Greek Memorial Chapel', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, Dundee, 29 August 1885, 2.

Holmes,²¹⁷ or enclave, as described by Jack Mavrogordato,²¹⁸ London's Greek community behaved as a cultural diasporic minority, that was both self-sufficient due to their wealth, and had elements of 'clannishness'.²¹⁹ The inscription above the entrance to St Sophia read "The Greek Colony in this sea-girt isle built this Church far from dear county".²²⁰ This still identified their country as 'far away' and not Britain, while testifying to the community's self-perception as a 'Greek colony'. Additionally, outsiders certainly viewed the London Greek community as distinct and insular, as can be seen through the descriptions of Greek hosted events, rites, services, and buildings in various British newspapers and publications, who often portrayed them as 'oriental', a 'curiosity', or even as 'esteemed strangers'.²²¹

In Britain, the Chiots had become part of the administrative middle and upper classes. A British 'cultivated elite' identity was evident, especially following the Ralli Baronetcy and the successes in imperial networks. By becoming part of the peerage and imperial systems, they essentially behaved as typically aristocratic British, which in some ways conflicted with their diasporic, insulated 'London Greek' identities, although in other ways it complimented their 'cosmopolitan Chiot' mercantile practices.

As part of British elite society, the Chiots did not retain Greek spellings but opted to embrace anglicised pronunciations and keep italicised spellings of their surnames. This kept a link between them and the aristocratic Genoese families of Chios. The notable Greek '-s' ending and use of the letter 'k' were absent in more well-to-do Chiot family names (e.g., Argenti, Braggiotti, Calvocoressi, Petrocochino, Sagrandi, Ralli, Rodocanachi, etc.). Additionally, 'British' pronunciations were placed on these names – 'Ralli' became pronounced like 'rally'; 'Ionides' like 'eye-on-eye-ds'; and 'Argenti' pronounced 'Arjenty'. Few Greek first names were preserved, and if they were, they remained within familiar British or French spellings or equivalents – 'Eustratius' instead of 'Efstratios', 'Pandely/Pandeli' instead of 'Pantelis', 'John' instead of 'Zannis' or 'Ioannis', and 'Jenny'

²¹⁷ Holmes, 'Introduction', in Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, 18.

²¹⁸ Mavrogordato, *Behind the Scenes*, 11.

²¹⁹ Panayi, *Migrant City*, 28-9 & 50.

²²⁰ Dowling & Fletcher, *Hellenism in England*, 93-4.

²²¹ 'A Greek Memorial Chapel', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, Dundee, 29 August 1885, 2; Maria Christina Chatziioannou, 'Mediterranean Pathways of Greek Merchants to Victorian England', *The Historical Review/Le Revue Historique*, VII, 2010, 220; J. Timbs, 'Greek Church', *Curiosities of London*, London, 1855, LMA: SC/PZ/CT/01/0751; 'Echoes of the Week', *Illustrated London News*, London, 2 October 1875, 18.

or 'Eugenia' instead of 'Evgenia'. The anglicisation exemplified the Chiots' British integration and 'assimilation'.

Over the course of the century, elitist British sports, hobbies, and pastimes became observable amongst the Chiots. Lake noted that racket games like tennis stemmed from games played by sixteenth-century European nobility and royalty. Tennis later "emerged as a genteel garden-party pastime exclusive to the English upper and upper-middle classes in the early 1870s" and remained mostly exclusive until the turn of the twentieth century.²²² Many members of Britain's Greek community became professional tennis players, notably the merchant Theodore Mavrogordato and his niece Sonia Mavrogordato who both competed at Wimbledon – Theodore yearly from 1904-14 and 1919-28, and Sonia between 1932-39, and later as doubles in 1946.²²³ Theodore also competed for Britain in the 1912 Olympics and 1914 and 1919 Davis Cups. George Caridia, born in Calcutta in 1869 to Chiot parents, competed at Wimbledon from 1902-06, 1908-09, 1911, and 1913-14, and for Britain in the 1908 and 1912 Olympics. Many British Chiots, however, despite being born or naturalised in Britain, represented Greece in tennis at the inaugural 1896 Olympics. This number included Dimitrios Petrokokkinos (Petrocochino), born in London in 1878; his cousin Konstantinos Paspatis (Paspatis), born in Liverpool in 1878; Evangelos Rallis (Ralli); and Dimitrios (or Dionysios) Kasdaglis (Casdagli), born in Salford, Manchester, in 1872 (of Greek-Egyptian descent).²²⁴

Britain's Greek community also participated in 'bourgeois' sports in social settings. Lancashire-born tennis player Lady Domini Crosfield (née Elliadi), of Smyrniot descent, together with her husband Sir Arthur Crosfield, would host a tennis tournament

²²² Robert J. Lake, 'Introduction to the history and historiography of tennis', in Robert J. Lake (ed.) & Carol A. Osborne (assistant ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Tennis: History, Culture and Politics*, Routledge, London & New York, 2019, 1-3.

²²³ Mavrogordato, *Behind the Scenes*, 43.

²²⁴ All information on tennis players drawn from: John Grasso, *Historical Dictionary of Tennis*, The Scarecrow Press, Lanham, Toronto & Plymouth, UK, 2011, 235 & 379-80; Nikolaos Grivas, 'The First Olympic Tennis Event: Organization, Conduct, Essence', in Keven B. Wamsley (ed.), *Bridging Three Centuries: Intellectual Crossroads and the Modern Olympic Movement*, Fifth International Symposium for Olympic Research, Centre for Olympic Studies, University of Western Ontario, London 2000, 241-8; and the Sports Reference LLC Database, accessed 03.05.2020 (now closed and reopened as 'Olympedia'). For the Casdagli family, see: George Vassiadis, 'Alexis T. Casdagli: A Greek from Salford', preface to A.T. Casdagli, *Loyal to the Hill: My School, My Diary, My Harrow*, Cylix Press, London, 2021, xii-xiii.

after Wimbledon each year.²²⁵ Domini's mother Maria Homer had been the *koumbára* (bridesmaid) at the wedding of Helena Schilizzi (born in London of Chiot origins) and Greek PM Eleftherios Venizelos, and many Chiot, Greek, and British socialites would attend the tournament.²²⁶ In fact, Venizelos and Schilizzi's wedding took place at the Crosfield's residence.²²⁷

Similarly, members of London's Chiot community practiced other sports and hobbies of the elite, such as P.A. Ralli, who participated in both hunting and yachting.²²⁸ Pandeli Ralli was also noted as a yachter.²²⁹ The Baltic Exchange also hosted a charity football (rugby) match at Blackheath on 18 February 1905, between the 'Baltic Team' and the 'Stock Exchange Team', with both teams consisting of former professional and international players (Image 3.13).²³⁰ The Stock Exchange Team won 1 try (3 points) – Nil. It is unclear if this event was regular, and if the Chiot community remained involved.

²²⁵ Andrekos Varnava, 'The failure of the *enosis* policy in Cyprus after the Great War: between liberal philhellenism and imperialism', in Romain Fathi, Margaret Hutchison, Andrekos Varnava & Michael J.K. Walsh (eds.), *Exiting War: The British Empire and the 1918-20 Moment*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2022, 143.

²²⁶ Catsiyannis, *The Schilizzi Family*, 49-55.

²²⁷ 'Eleftherios (Kyriakos) Venizelos', I2638, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, 3 November 2010 (last modified).

²²⁸ 'Mr. P. A. Ralli and his hunting quarters', *Birmingham Daily Post*, Birmingham, 27 January 1890, 7.

²²⁹ 'Mr. Pandeli Ralli: A Political and Social Figure', *Times*, London, 23 August 1928, 14.

²³⁰ Stock Exchange versus Baltic: Charity Football Match, Played at Blackheath, Saturday, February 18, 1905, Supplement to the *Financial Times*, 21 February 1905, LMA: CLC/B/021/MS39619; See also: 'Stock Exchange versus Baltic Charity Football Match', *The Tatler*, 192, London, 1 March 1905.



Image 3.13: Baltic Exchange charity football (rugby) team, 18 February 1905.²³¹

Questions of ‘Britishness’ and British nationality are important when analysing the extent of the Chiots’ British identity and the ways in which it developed. Anthias and Yuval-Davis discussed the notion of ethnicity and the problematic nature of ethnic identities within the nation state, which the British Chiots encountered.²³² For the Chiots, their British identity did come into question occasionally, especially through ‘swarthy’ and ‘exotic’ stereotypes. Although in most instances, they were seen as the archetype of the ‘successful migrant’ and ‘inoffensive’ to British national identity. This stemmed from three key developments: firstly, that the Chiots were an affluent diaspora, bringing pre-existing wealth with them and also growing up wealthy in Britain; secondly, that Philhellenism was at its peak in Britain during the nineteenth century, especially during the Greek Revolution and the period of Greek nation-building that followed, and during

²³¹ Stock Exchange versus Baltic: Charity Football Match, Played at Blackheath, Saturday, February 18, 1905, Supplement to the *Financial Times*, 21 February 1905, LMA: CLC/B/021/MS39619.

²³² Floya Anthias & Nina Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries: Race, nation, gender, colour and class and the anti-racist struggles*, Harriet Cain (in association), Routledge, London & New York, 1993, 1-60. See also: Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, Routledge, London & New York, 1996.

Gladstone's height in the second half of the century; and thirdly, that there were generally favourable views propagated regarding Greeks during the era – the Chiot were both exotic Orientals, and the ancestors of the West – becoming 'exotic' occidentals.²³³ Lower-class Chiot received less favour than their wealthier counterparts, however, they also benefited from the safety net formed by the merchant community and the era's pro-Greek public perceptions.

Identity & Memory

To continue to examine the nature and development of the multifaceted British Chiot identity, a look at identity as memorialised by British Chiot descendants is further demonstrated.

On 25 April 1948, a Cypriot Church, All Saints, was consecrated in Pratt Street, Camden Town. Terezopoulos revealed that the Cypriots created it because they rejected Greek national celebrations in services and the smaller and older Greek community 'looked down' on them.²³⁴

This disconnect between the Cypriot community of London, and the older Chiot community, more than 130 years after their initial migration and settlement, is interesting. As quoted in the beginning of this thesis, in 1953, the Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, Athenagoras Kavadas, criticised the British Chiot, claiming that they had "neglected to give their children Greek education" and that most had "been Anglicized and cannot speak their mother tongue."²³⁵ Ultimately, these analyses evoke questions of Chiot diasporic identity and memory, portraying a distinctness, and divide, between the Chiot's descendants and later Greek-speaking migrants to the UK, such as the Cypriots, who came in large numbers from about 1930 and especially after WWII. Notable descendants have pondered the extent of the Chiot identity within the diaspora, and

²³³ See: Yianni John Charles Cartledge, 'From Classical to Christian: The Chios Massacre (1822) and its effect on British attitudes towards the Greeks during the Greek War of Independence', thesis, Flinders University, South Australia, October 2018; Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism', 52-72.

²³⁴ Varnava, 'Border Control and Monitoring "Undesirable" Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1945-1959', 146. See: C0537/4042, Terezopoulos to CSC, 29 April 1948; See also FC0141/2611.

²³⁵ FC0141/3348B, secret, Terezopoulos to Administrative Secretary, 6 February 1956.

whether the Chiot (and to a lesser extent Greek) identities remained, or whether the British identity took the forefront after integration – or something in between. This section explores these ideas using existing memoirs and reminiscences, as well as other available evidence (including oral histories).

In 1982, author, barrister, and falconer Jack Mavrogordato reminisced on his Chiot ancestry:

I was born in 1905, on the ‘wrong side’ of the Park, of Greek parents, who were members of a Greek enclave centred round the Greek Orthodox church on Moscow Road. These Greeks were mostly well-to-do business and professional families, the most snobbish of which claimed to be ‘Chiots’, descendants of immigrants who had fled from the Turkish pogrom on the Aegean island of Chios in the early nineteenth century...On a recent visit to Chios, I was surprised to find that my name was still well-known in the island.²³⁶

Mavrogordato, who acknowledged his Greek ethnicity, displayed his family’s own disconnect from the wider contemporary Chiot community: “We are often asked if someone of the same name...is a relative. My brother, on principle, says ‘No’, though it may turn out to be his own father. I generally say ‘A cousin’, leaving to his imagination by how many degrees the supposed relative may be removed.”²³⁷ While at the same time, Mavrogordato linked himself to his ancestor: “Prince Alexander Mavrocordato, the friend of Shelly and Byron, who played a leading role in the liberation of Greece...and drafted the first Greek constitution in 1822. I was following in his footsteps when I drafted the Sudanese Self-Government Constitution over a century later.”²³⁸ Mavrogordato had previously served as Advocate-General and Legal Advisor to the Governor-General in Sudan during the 1940s-50s.²³⁹

A similar disconnect was felt by Sir Godfrey Ralli, the 3rd Ralli Baronet, who lived between 1915-2010, and held the title from 1964. He described that: “although of Chian descent, I felt that I knew so little about the subject. It was something that was just not

²³⁶ Mavrogordato, *Behind the Scenes*, 11.

²³⁷ Mavrogordato, *Behind the Scenes*, 11.

²³⁸ Mavrogordato, *Behind the Scenes*, 12.

²³⁹ See: Papers of J.G. Mavrogordato, 1935-80, Durham University Library, Archives & Special Collections: GB/0033/SAD.

discussed in our family.”²⁴⁰ This displayed a sense being Chiot, although confined within Ralli’s own British identity. Claire Brisby, when discussing the relatively ‘unknown’ family branch of Angelia Calvocoressi, placed the massacre, and furthermore the coerced migration experience itself, at the centre of the disconnect: “This reconstructed history of four generations of the Calvocoressi family charting a passage from Constantinople to London presents patterns of displacement and social engagement which schematically illustrate the effect of migration and identify agents of integration.”²⁴¹ Brisby further described the migration and its memory as a ‘social disruption’, that propelled the community towards adopting cosmopolitan practices.²⁴²

Others, like Leoni Calvocoressi, remained linked to their Chiot and broader Greek identities. Leoni was born in Kolkata, India, in 1884, and in 1902 wrote *Ιστορία του Παππού: 1822* [*Grandfather’s Story: 1822*] about his grandfather, Leonidas Calvocoressi, and the 1822 massacre. The short book was written in *Katharévousa* Greek and described the trials and tribulations his grandfather and extended family faced – reminiscing on the massacre as a family ‘origin story’.²⁴³ Calvocoressi likely learned *Katharévousa* via a Greek language school offered by the church in India, via private tuition, or from his parents. Later Calvocoressi ‘return migrated’ to Chios in the 1910s, likely around Chios’ 1912 *enosis*, where he was elected a Member of Parliament for Chios from 1915-20 as part of Venizelos’ Liberal Party, became Mayor of Chios from 1929-44, and was one of the benefactors of the Koraes Library.²⁴⁴

British Chiot descendant Christopher Long similarly remained linked to his Chiot ancestry. Long noted that:

I have a well-developed sense of being the descendant of refugees. All four of my grandparents had their roots in well-known refugee diasporas. My Chiot and Phanariot roots through my maternal grandfather (Vlasto, Zarifi, Mavrogordato,

²⁴⁰ Sir Godfrey Ralli, ‘Foreword’, Sandwich, Kent, 1992, in Long, *Greek Fire*, 1992.

²⁴¹ Claire Brisby, ‘Angelia Calvocoressi 1840-1829: a Cosmopolitan Life’, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 30(2), 2004, 108.

²⁴² Brisby, ‘Angelia Calvocoressi 1840-1829’, 98.

²⁴³ Leoni M. Calvocoressi, *Ιστορία του Παππού: 1822* [*Grandfather’s Tale: 1822*], ΤΥΡ. Ν. ΧΙΟΥ, Chios, 1902.

²⁴⁴ ‘Leonis (Miltiades) Calvocoressi’, *Agelastos Family Genealogy Pages*, I2183, 3 July 2019 (last modified); Stefanos Kavnadas, *Ο Λεωνής Καλβοκορέσης ένας Χίος ευπατρίδης* [*Leonis Calvocoressi, a Chios nobleman*], Ekdoseis Idiotiki, Chios, 1965.

Rodocanachi, etc), are those to which I have an especially developed attachment.²⁴⁵

This sentiment was shared by Stamos Ganiaris, born in India to Chiot parents from mercantile families. Ganiaris stated that, “While we might not be participating in the Chian Association events, our father instilled in us a pride in our Chian heritage. We have visited Chios and I hope to go there next year.”²⁴⁶

Long memory of the massacre as the ‘origin story’ of the Chiots was also an apparent feature common among descendants. Nicolas Argenti presented the memory of the massacre as part of an ethnographic examination, arguing it caused a split in Chiot society “that divided the island into an emigrant diaspora and a local population”.²⁴⁷ Of his own Chiot identity, in 2019 Argenti emphasised that it was instilled to him by his childhood Chiot relatives, friends, and acquaintances, and that a feeling of connectedness to former generations was evident, especially through naming practices and links with Chiot persecution:

The sense...was heightened by the Greek tradition of revolving names, according to which children inherit the Christian (first and middle) names of their forefathers. Thus, my elder brother was named after our paternal grandfather—who was named in turn after our great-great-grandfather, named after his grandfather, who was hanged in Constantinople in 1821—while the middle names given to all three of us reincarnated the memory of Leonidas Pandely...[who was] imprisoned and hanged in Chios in 1822.²⁴⁸

Philip Argenti also made this case, calling the migration following the massacre “the most important permanent result”, and illustrating the cosmopolitan nature of the community by describing Chiot aristocrats settling in various cities around the Mediterranean, Black Sea, and Atlantic (including London).²⁴⁹ However, Argenti also reminisced on the insular nature of the Chiot diaspora, naming them ‘colonies’: “In all

²⁴⁵ Interview with Christopher Long of Pont-Farcy, France, conducted via email 23 August 2023.

²⁴⁶ Interview with Stamos Ganiaris of Daw Park SA, conducted via email 9 October 2023.

²⁴⁷ Nicolas Argenti, *Remembering Absence: The Sense of Life in Island Greece*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 2019, ix.

²⁴⁸ Argenti, *Remembering Absence*, xxvii-xxviii.

²⁴⁹ Philip P. Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios: Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports*, The Bodley Head, London, 1932, xxxiii-xxxiv.

these centres they formed colonies, which, owing to the innate Chian aptitude for commerce, were shortly destined to flourish and to become centres of Greek culture.”²⁵⁰ Christopher Long echoed these ideas, although mentioned the taboos around the massacre:

...the massacre was indeed an ‘origin’ of sorts. It was scarcely ever mentioned by the generations that survived it... The subject of the massacres was still taboo until then (1980s)...My generation was almost certainly the first to be able to face those facts and their consequences, free of any sense of shame or humiliation – 150 years removed from profound familial trauma.²⁵¹

Long also argued that the massacre “...was tragic in much the same way as were those of the Armenians and Huguenots or the victimised and obliterated by Hitler or Stalin. But I’m fairly sure that the Chian diaspora would have occurred anyway, without the impulse of the massacres.”²⁵²

Not only was there a long-term familial memory of the massacre and migration, but many families also maintained Byzantine links in their reflections. The Rallis often claimed descent from the Byzantine Raoul family, despite this being questioned by Calvocoressi and Gennadius.²⁵³ In 1983, Christina Stephen Agelasto noted that the Agelasto family “are an ancient Byzantine family...[that] possessed a large feudal fortune, especially in the Great harbour of Smyrna” and that after the Ottoman conquests between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, “the Agelastos chose to retreat to near-by Chios.”²⁵⁴ Luke Ionides similarly remembered that his great-great grandmother, ‘Miss Comnene’, was “a descendant of the old Emperors of Constantinople.”²⁵⁵ Ionides further claimed that

²⁵⁰ Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xxxiv.

²⁵¹ Interview with Christopher Long of Pont-Farcy, France, conducted via email 23 August 2023.

²⁵² Interview with Christopher Long of Pont-Farcy, France, conducted via email 23 August 2023.

²⁵³ Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton’, 23; Gennadius, *Stephen A. Ralli*, 21. See: Alexander Pantia Ralli & Alexander Antonio Ralli, *A Pedigree of the Rallis of Scio, 1700-1892*, London, 1896.

²⁵⁴ Christina Stephen Agelasto, ‘The Agelastos of Chios’, Stamati Michael Agelasto, (trans.), Corfu, 1 December 1983, reviewed by George L. Agelastos, January 2007.

²⁵⁵ Luke Ionides, *Memories*, Dog Rose Press, Ludlow, 1996, 31. See also: Alexander C. Ionides, *Ion: A Grandfather’s Tale*, The Cuala Press, Dublin, 1927, 1-3.

Sevastopol, Crimea, was named after his great-great uncle 'Sevastopolo' (Sevastopoulos), although this has been rebutted.²⁵⁶

Continued 'Greek' (and Chiot) identity spurred diaspora Chiot to play a role in reforming the Greek language to its demotic form well into the twentieth century, as Mavrogordato, Warner, and Ricks, have all acknowledged.²⁵⁷ Chiot academic Ioannis Psycharis and Alexander Pallis of Liverpool (who was not a Chiot but had married Julia-Eliza Ralli) had both published translations of key literature into demotic Greek, including Pallis' *Iliad* and controversial *New Testament* – which contributed to the 'Gospel Riots' in Athens in 1901, leading to eight deaths.²⁵⁸ Kolkata-born and Liverpool-based Ralli Bros director, Peter Vlasto, also attempted to codify demotic Modern Greek during the early-twentieth century.²⁵⁹ Finally, the committee of the demotic movement, *Ekpedeftikós Ómilos*, 1910-24, was organised by Chiot D.P. Petrocochino, among others.²⁶⁰ This 'love' for the Greek language ultimately illustrated a lingering 'Greek' identity, as language was used as a vessel for transmitting culture and identity from one generation to the next. This transmission was done mostly through Greek language schools run by St Sophia Church, Bayswater, which were initially funded through community subscriptions, and have been active since the Church's opening in the 1880s and were preceded by earlier Greek schools in London.²⁶¹ On the London Chiot's connections between language and culture, Calvocoressi wrote:

A curious transitional feature of the London Greeks of the early 20th century was their speech. Some of them habitually spoke Greek among themselves and

²⁵⁶ Ionides, *Memories*, 31. Sevastopol, meaning 'august city', was in reality named in honour of Queen Catherine II of Russia.

²⁵⁷ See: Mavrogordato, *Modern Greece*, 206-7; Rex Warner, 'Introduction', & John Mavrogordato, 'Translator's Note', in Cavafy, *Poems by C. P. Cavafy*, 1-12; David B. Ricks, 'English Influences on Intellectuals of the Diaspora: C.P. Cavafy and Alexander Pallis', in John M. Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times: Volume II: From 1453 to Modern Times*, Gieben, Amsterdam, 1991, 427-32.

²⁵⁸ Mavrogordato, *Modern Greece*, 206-7; 'Alexander (Alexander) Pallis JP', Christopher Long, 28 September 2012 (last modified); Philip Carabott, 'Politics, Orthodoxy and the Language Question in Greece: The Gospel Riots of November 1901', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 3(1), 1993, 117-38. See Pallis' son's collection: Papers of Alexandre Anastasius Pallis, 5 June 1945, Royal Asiatic Society (RAS): GB/891/AAP.

²⁵⁹ Mavrogordato, *Modern Greece*, 207; 'Peter Theodore (Theodore) Vlasto', Christopher Long, 15 February 2012 (last modified).

²⁶⁰ Mavrogordato, *Modern Greece*, 206-7.

²⁶¹ Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 618.

although fluent in English spoke it with a discernibly foreign accent. But others never learnt to speak Greek at all and barely understood it. More than anything else this bisection showed how the Chiot of the Diaspora had become semi-Westernised but no more in the first hundred years after the massacre of 1822.²⁶²

Helen Long (née Vlasto), who was born in Bayswater in 1920, reminisced on her time growing up in the Greek community of London. Long mentioned the interconnectedness of the community, seen through using Greek words such as *kombolói* ('worry beads'), *glykó tou koutaliou* ('sweet of the spoon'), *koulourákia* ('biscuits'), *loukoumi* ('Turkish delight'), and the wearing of *flouriá* ('decorative coins') and *tsarouhía* ('traditional Greek shoes').²⁶³ This vivid Greek- and Ottoman-influenced imagery was evident despite there being more than a 100-year gap since first settlement. Long also mentioned a phrase her London-born *yiayía* ('grandmother') would often say: "*Brávo Eléni mou!*" ('Well done my Helen!').²⁶⁴ Additionally, there was also some Ottoman Turkish influence, such as the use of *Yenidje* tobacco.²⁶⁵

Long discussed the use of the ethnonym 'Chiot', stating that, unlike other descendants "as a child I never heard those words mentioned [Chiot and Chian] and grew up unaware of the traumatic exodus which must have left a tragic mark upon my forbears."²⁶⁶ Additionally, she kept a list of the members of the Greek community of London known to her during her childhood (Appendix 3.2). These lists were kept by her mother between 1932-48, and used for Christmas, children's parties, cocktail parties, and wedding invites. Most surnames included on the list were familiar Chiot families and their connections, while others were less familiar, but likely related through marriage or connected through business. They were all distinct from the wider Greek community of the 1930s-40s and had migratory roots in the Chiot-dominated nineteenth century. On this distinction, her son Christopher interestingly pondered: "But how Greek were the Chiot?"²⁶⁷

²⁶² Calvocoressi, 'From Byzantium to Eton', 25.

²⁶³ Long, *Greek Fire*, 128-9.

²⁶⁴ Long, *Greek Fire*, 20.

²⁶⁵ Long, *Greek Fire*, 130.

²⁶⁶ Long, *Greek Fire*, 17.

²⁶⁷ Interview with Christopher Long of Pont-Farcy, France, conducted via email 23 August 2023.

A unique and dominant Chiot identity persisted for more than 100 years following the initial emigration and settlement of Chiots in Britain. The Chiot identity essentially trumped the community's Greek identity, especially as Chiots were the majority. The British Chiots did on occasion identify with Greece and were perceived as Greek (despite Chios not joining Greece until nearly 100 years after their settlement), although their Greek identity was only at the forefront when needed. British identity remained second to Chiot identity but eventually came to dominate the community, especially as it was desired for acceptance and integration. This also caused the creation of the 'British Chiot' identity.

Chiot identity persisted beyond Britain and into the Empire as descendants moved further abroad. However, there were layers of nuance based on personal experience – most felt 'Chiot', 'British', or 'British Chiot', while some also felt 'Greek'. Memory of the massacre was also profound and drove the community's 'origin story' for those that spoke about it openly. Ultimately it appears that there were two conflicting qualities of the Chiot diasporic identity that were present in the descendants that have left memoirs – both cosmopolitanism and insularity. Calvocoressi summed this up well when reminiscing on his own origins: "The London Greeks were in many ways like the more successful Jews, distinct, self-sufficient as a community and proud...some of them performed a third migration, away from the Greek community and into the mainstream English life. Chios became a memory".²⁶⁸

Conclusion

Chiot long term community building was evident in Britain, hinging on the merchant diaspora in London as the nexus and key organisational segment of the population. Through the Greek Brotherhood and churches (especially at St Sophia), the community prospered, remained intertwined, and Chiot identity was reinforced. The Chiot identity was the key to this community, and despite the presence of other Greek speakers, including the significant Constantinopolitans, and eventual intermarriage with non-Greeks, the Chiots remained at the community's core. The longevity of the Chiot identity

²⁶⁸ Calvocoressi, 'From Byzantium to Eton', 26.

is evidence of this. This can also be seen through the endogamy that was present; their practice of residing nearby to each other (such as at Bayswater); and their continued reliance on family and community structures through the nineteenth century and into the early-twentieth century, even in business circles, such as Ralli Bros. In fact, Chiot businesses became a financial enabling factor for the community, and charitable donations and bequests were used to propel community projects. All these practices also persisted outside London in other major centres such as Liverpool and Manchester.

Ultimately, the Chiots integrated into British society. This was most notably seen by their entrance into Britain's 'cultivated elite', the peerage, and politics, and through their expansion into and utilisation of British imperial networks. However, a diverse identity remained at the core of the diaspora and continued through its descendants. Later generations navigated a multiplicity of identities, notably British, Chiot, and to a lesser extent, Greek. Unfortunately, little record is left of the less visible and less numerous working-class Chiots, however, they mostly benefited from the affluent merchant community and relied on them for community support and often employment, and therefore likely followed the integration and identity patterns of their wealthier compatriots.

Overall, the Chiots are a fascinating case study for exploring a diaspora that was driven by both economic factors and violent coercion. Despite the differing contexts (socio-economic, political, identity, era), the Chiots are in many ways comparable in diasporic practices to this dissertation's second case study, the Ikarians of South Australia.

Part II

Ikarians in South Australia

Chapter 4: Ikarian Emigration until the 1910s

In their navigation of the British Empire, the British Chiots found their way to Australia. Although, the first arrival was not there for business. In 1850-51, Timoleon Vlasto was sentenced to 7 years transportation to Tasmania for theft of rare coins from the British Museum. Some notable Greek gentlemen (London Chiots, such as the Vlastos, Rallis, and Mavrogordatos) appealed for his release on bail, yet Vlasto served some time in Tasmania (less than a year) before absconding.¹ Vlasto was not the only Chiot in trouble with coins. In 1858, Antonio Calvocoressi was charged with counterfeiting large quantities of Turkish piastres in Birmingham.²

The most notable nineteenth-century Chiot that ended up in Australia, however, was Stephen Stanley Ralli, born in London in 1863. Ralli was a horse breeder, sheep flock owner, landowner, and pastoralist, and noted in the *Port Pirie Recorder* as “the son of a wealthy Greek merchant.”³ His father was Stephen Augustus Ralli, born in Marseille in 1829, of the Marseille and Izmir Ralli branches. His mother was Marietta Antoniou Theodorou Ralli, born in Trieste in 1838, of the Trieste and London Ralli branches. Three of Stephen’s four grandparents were Rallis, and one (his maternal grandmother) was a Mavrogordato.⁴

Stephen first arrived in Australia sometime around 1880 (aged 17), which was probably the first of many trips.⁵ Initially, he worked as a jackaroo in Queensland on the Nockatunga station owned by Herbert Bristow Hughes.⁶ In May 1886, Ralli purchased 15,200 acres in Balaklava, South Australia, where he proceeded to raise racehorses and Shropshire sheep, which were noted for their quality, including his experimental frozen

¹ Peter Prineas, *Wild Colonial Greeks*, Arcadia, North Melbourne, 2020, 66-70.

² ‘The Charge of Coining Turkish Piastres’, *Worcestershire Chronicle*, Worcester, 13 October 1858, 2.

³ ‘Personal Reminiscences: Associations with Werocata Station’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 31 May 1943, 3.

⁴ ‘Lieutenant Stephen (Stephen) Ralli’, Christopher Long, 3 February 2006 (last modified).

⁵ ‘Obituary: Mr. Stephen Ralli’, *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 31 March 1941, 11.

⁶ Balaklava Centenary Book Committee, *Balaklava – Change and Challenge: A History of Balaklava and Surrounding Districts*, Griffin Press, Netley, SA, 1977, 13.

lamb shipments.⁷ He also displayed innovative practices, and registered patents can be found for a joint invention with Arthur Dawson described as “An improved coupling for the shafts and poles of buggies and other vehicles.”⁸

Ralli did find himself on the end of minor court proceedings in 1902, when he imported convict made mustard oil, where he received a fine.⁹ In 1906, the Balaklava local government repurchased the land for closer settlement and resold it as lots to individual purchasers, although it is evident Ralli retained some land and officially named the area ‘Werocata’, deriving from the Indigenous *wirukutj* meaning ‘the place of cuckoos’ – however, this name had been in use for the area from before Ralli’s time.¹⁰ Ralli employed around forty men, including two Chinese gardeners (Image 4.1).¹¹

By 1907, Stephen Ralli had returned to England and married Ida Cecil Beck, of Canterbury, Kent, in Folkestone, Kent. South Australian connections remained, as Ida’s father, Charles Edward Beck, was born in Walkerville, SA, in 1852. Ida’s brother, Edward Archibald Beck DSO, born 1880 in India, married Emily Mary Wakefield of Kent, the daughter of Henry Russell Wakefield, Bishop of Birmingham.¹² Stephen and Ida’s eldest child, Charles Stephen Ralli, was born in London in 1907. By 1909, the family was in Adelaide, where Edward John Ralli was born, however, they again returned to England. In 1911, Stephen and Ida, along with their sons, returned more permanently to Australia, arriving at Fremantle on the *Mooltan*.¹³ This was around the same time that many Ikarians began arriving in SA. Their third son Alexander Frederick Ralli was born in Adelaide two years later, in 1913.¹⁴ In Australia, Ralli continued to raise racehorses and

⁷ ‘Mr. S. Ralli’s Shropshires’, *Australasian*, Melbourne, 29 December 1894, 8; G.S. Kempe, *The Shropshire Sheep: With a description of Mr. Stephen S. Ralli’s Flock at Werocata, S.A.*, J.H. Sherring & Co., Adelaide, 1897; ‘The Manhattan’s Horses’, *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 15 May 1900, 3.

⁸ NAA: A13128, 5811, 7548742, 1899; NAA: AP476/1, 5811, 12152588, 1878-1904.

⁹ ‘Customs Prosecution: Stephen Ralli Defendant’, *Register*, Adelaide, 19 July 1902, 4; ‘Mr. Ralli’s Mustard Oil’, *Register*, Adelaide, 23 July 1902, 4.

¹⁰ Geoffrey H. Manning, *The place names of our land: a South Australian anthology*, Gould Genealogy & History, Modbury, SA, held by SLSA, 2010-12; Balaklava Centenary Book Committee, *Balaklava – Change and Challenge*, 13-5.

¹¹ Manning, *The place names of our land*.

¹² Information taken from ancestry.com records.

¹³ ‘Incoming passenger list to Fremantle “Mooltan” arrived 11 April 1911’, NAA: K269, 11 APR 1911 MOOLTAN, 9870132, 1911.

¹⁴ ‘Lieutenant Stephen (Stephen) Ralli’, Christopher Long, 3 February 2006 (last modified).

Shropshire sheep, which were noted of “such excellence that they would rank with the finest studs in Britain.”¹⁵

In WWI, Ralli served in the Remount Service as a lieutenant. However, by the 1930s, the family’s detour to Australia had ended and they were permanently back in England.¹⁶ After his death in 1941, Adelaide’s *Chronicle* reminisced that “During his sojourn in Australia he was one of the largest shippers of horses to India for the army, and his team of coltbreakers and rough riders were known far and wide. Among them were some of the finest rough riders in Australia.”¹⁷ During his time in SA, Ralli’s Greek ethnicity was rarely mentioned, and appears only once in one of his many obituaries.¹⁸ Therefore, it is interesting to ponder if Ralli’s own identity had become foremostly ‘British’, and if he had any connections with the nearby growing Port Pirie Greek community – many of whom had followed similar migration and mobility patterns to Ralli and the London Chiots, albeit in different contexts.



Image 4.1: Employees of Ralli at Werocata ~1900. Ralli is seated in the front row holding a pup. Courtesy of the Balaklava Centenary Book Committee.¹⁹

¹⁵ ‘Mr. S. Ralli’s Shropshires’, *Australasian*, Melbourne, 29 December 1894, 8; Vox, ‘Stephen Ralli’, *Chronicle*, Adelaide, 10 April 1941, 46.

¹⁶ ‘Lieutenant Stephen (Stephen) Ralli’, Christopher Long, 3 February 2006 (last modified).

¹⁷ Vox, ‘More About Stephen Ralli’, *Chronicle*, Adelaide, 10 April 1941, 46.

¹⁸ ‘Personal Reminiscences: Associations with Werocata Station’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 31 May 1943, 3.

¹⁹ Balaklava Centenary Book Committee, *Balaklava – Change and Challenge*, 2-3.

This chapter establishes the basis for this dissertation's second case study, the Ikarians of South Australia, by exploring and contextualising the world they existed in prior to emigrating. In doing so, the ways in which that world triggered the significant emigration of the early-twentieth century are also exemplified. To do this, firstly a historical sketch of Ikaria's place within the nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Aegean is needed. The island's political crossroads, between the Ottoman Empire, the Kingdom of Greece, and the short-lived Free State of Ikaria, are simultaneously established, helping to understand how Ikarians were perceived by external forces and how Ikarian identity developed.

By investigating this historical background, push and pull factors and the global systems at play can be explored. These are also realised through earlier emigrations of the Ikarians, that mobilised the islanders to other locations in the Aegean and the Ottoman Empire, such as Chios, Samos, Crete, the Peloponnese, Izmir, Istanbul, and Egypt, as well as abroad to Britain and, most notably, the US. Comparative cases of other Aegean islanders and Ottoman subjects that were mobile during this period are also discussed, helping to further contextualise the Ikarian case. Finally, the ways in which Ikarians emigrated to Australia, including the methods, policies, and procedures they navigated, closes the chapter. This sets the scene for further discussion of Ikarian settlement, community building, and integration into SA in the following chapters.

A Historical Sketch of Ikaria

Ikaria, often called 'Nikaria', as well as historically 'Makris', 'Dolichi', 'Ichthyoessa', and 'Kariot', is positioned in the north Aegean Sea (Map 1.1). Although a large island geographically, its population, usually between 3,000-10,000, has consistently been relatively small in comparison to its larger neighbouring islands of Samos and Chios.²⁰ Ikaria and its closest neighbour, the Fournoi Korseon archipelago, share a long history, with Fournian emigrants often forming part of Ikarian diaspora communities.²¹

²⁰ John Chrysochoos, *Ikaria: Paradise in Peril*, RoseDog Books, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 2010, 2 & 4; Anthony J. Papalas, *Ancient Icaria*, Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Wauconda, Illinois, 1992, 17; Anthony J. Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals: Icaria 1600-2000*, Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Wauconda, Illinois, 2005, 7; 'Island of Icaria Taken', *The Express & Telegraph*, Adelaide, 19 November 1912, 1. Ikaria's population in the 1881/82-93 Ottoman census was 8,222, with 8,195 listed as Greeks. See: Ottoman Census, 1881/82-1893: Karyot kazası, Sancak: Sakız, Vilayet: Cezair-i Bahr-ı Sefid.

²¹ Nicholas H. Batouyios, 'The Early Ikarians of the United States and the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of America "Icaros"', *Ikaria*, 24, 2002, 12.

Following Pungetti's interrogation of island landscapes, Ikaria can be seen as an ideal 'laboratory' for study.²² This is due to what Richards described as 'simple forces' and localised history, which are noted as the result of Ikaria's positioning and parochial culture, including its historical isolation, lack of natural harbours, lack of transition to steamships, use of village common areas, the idea of villages as 'kinship clusters' and fellow islanders as extended families, and its centuries of self-governance.²³ This isolation can be traced as far back as antiquity, where Homer noted Ikaria's turbulent seas and the difficulty navigating them in the *Iliad*.²⁴

Ikaria was, however, historically touched by outside forces and Mediterranean powers, albeit not as profoundly as its neighbouring islands. These notable forces included the Byzantine Empire, the Venetian and Genoese republics, the Knights Hospitaller, and the Ottoman Empire, all of which left their marks between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁵ Like Chios, the Genoese *maonesi* Giustiniani family also ruled as 'Earls' between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although they did not leave a significant mark on the 'cultural lore' as with the Chiots.²⁶ Throughout these periods, however, Ikaria's lifestyle remained isolated, with most inhabitants living in the island's interior, where they tended the land while avoiding altercations with their occupiers and with pirates.²⁷ Ikaria was ceded to the Ottoman Empire in the late-sixteenth century, where they were increasingly exposed to a growing system of mobility and trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.²⁸ However, despite the system's profoundness, the Ikarians still practiced autonomy. Taking these factors into consideration, the force of modern

²² Gloria Pungetti, 'Islands, culture, landscape and seascape', *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, 1(2), December 2012, 53.

²³ Eric Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750-1900*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2018, 20; Maria G. Bareli, 'Facets of Crisis in a Greek Island: The Ikarian Case', *Practicing Anthropology*, 36(1), Winter 2014, 21-2; Papalas, *Ancient Icaria*, 9-11; Maria Bareli-Gaglia, 'Voyaging in the Sea of Ikarian Commons and Beyond', in David Bollier & Silke Helfrich (eds.), *Patterns of Commoning*, The Commons Strategies Group & Off the Common Press, 2015.

²⁴ Homer, *The Iliad*, 2:142-50, E.V. Rieu (trans.), Penguin Books, London, 2003, 25.

²⁵ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 4-7; Papalas, *Ancient Icaria*, 161-74. For a summary of the fortifications built on the island by imperial occupiers see: Ioannis Zelepos, 'Τα Κάστρα της Ικαρίας', in Kavvadia & Damoulos (eds.), *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου «Η Οχυρωματική Αρχιτεκτονική στο Αιγαίο και ο Μεσαιωνικός Οικισμός Αναβάτου Χίου»*, 26-28 Σεπτεμβρίου 2008, Chios, 2012, 171-82.

²⁶ Ioannis Melas, 'Η ιστορία της Ικαρίας: Η μακραίωνη πορεία του νησιού από τη νεολιθική εποχή έως σήμερα', *Επτά Ημέρες – Η Καθημερινή*, 21 June 1998, 4; Zelepos, 'Τα Κάστρα της Ικαρίας', 182.

²⁷ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 6-7.

²⁸ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 7-8.

emigration likely produced stronger links with the outside world than at any time in Ikaria's previous history, as sociologist Maria Bareli emphasised.²⁹

Bareli also noted that Ikaria's egalitarian and communal nature was ignited into communist fervour in the early-twentieth century:

During the first decades of the twentieth century, state claims articulated in terms of imposed taxes were not felt to be historically and socially founded and were represented as "attacks" of the nation-state...Among the reoccurring components of local discourse of that period has been the marginalization of the island in terms of state interest. The island's marginalization is often ascribed to conditions such as the poverty of the state, its distance from new urban centers, and its residents' communist orientation...Ikaria is still referred to as the "red island" or more recently, "Aegean's Cuba," due to the endorsement of the communist ideology by the vast majority of its inhabitants.³⁰

Communist ideology, which became entwined in Ikarian identity, translated into Ikarian emigrants and communities.³¹ Even today, Ikaria is still a stronghold for leftist ideology, with more than 70% voting for leftist parties in both 2019 and 2023.³² The independent and egalitarian nature of the island, along with the myth of Icarus, were possible inspirations for the French-American utopian 'Icarian' movement, originating with socialist philosopher Etienne Cabet and his 1839 fictional work, *Voyage en Icarie*.³³ With

²⁹ Bareli, 'Facets of Crisis in a Greek Island', 22; Bareli-Gaglia, 'Voyaging in the Sea of Ikarian Commons and Beyond'.

³⁰ Bareli, 'Facets of Crisis in a Greek Island', 22-3.

³¹ See: Antonis Kalamogias (Antonios Kalambogias), *Ικαρία – Ο «Κόκκινος Βράχος»*: Χρονικό, Sygchroni Epochi Ekdotiki, Athens, 2016; Giorgos Pel. Lomvardas, *Αντιστασιακή Προοδευτική Ικαρία*, 2nd edn., Ekdoseis Alfeios, Athens, 2014; Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 139-43 & 227-80; Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 135-6; George Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities: Their Struggles for Social Justice and Cultural Rights: The Role of Greek-Australians*, Common Ground, Australia, 2009, 183-91; Christos N. Fifis, 'Michael Tsounis, The Ikarian Greek Australian Historian', *Greek Community Tribune*, issue 41244, 2012, 6; Terina Armenakis, *A Greek Folk Journey: Travel, Culture & Gastronomy*, revised edn., Wakefield Press, Mile End, SA, 2019, 223.

³² Ministry of Interior, Municipality of Ikaria, National Elections, July 2019; Ministry of Interior, Municipality of Ikaria, National Elections, June 2023.

³³ Robert Sutton, 'Introduction', in Etienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie/Travels in Icaria*, Leslie J. Roberts (trans.), translated from the 1842 edn., Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 2003, xi-xii. See also: Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie/Travels in Icaria*; Albert Shaw, *Icaria: A Chapter in the History of Communism*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, New York & London, 1884; William H. Brackney, *Historical Dictionary of Radical Christianity*, The Scarecrow Press, Lanham, Maryland, Toronto & Plymouth, Devon, 2012, 157-8. See also for a later incarnation (1879-1899): 'The New Icaria Society', *Herald*, Melbourne, 1 June 1892, 4; 'The End of Icaria', *Evening News*, Sydney, 7 January 1899, 2. For Marx's and Engels' criticism of the movement see: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, from the 1888 edn., The Floating Press, 2008, 63.

this cultivation of ideologies on the island, Ikaria experienced the ‘long nineteenth century’, where revolutionary forces were pronounced and economies and social structures shifted.³⁴

The Autonomous Nineteenth Century & the Ikarian Revolution

On 16 July 1912, a small armed force of fifty men on the island of Ikaria, under command of ‘general’ Dr Ioannis Malachias and Georgios Fountoulis, seized the Turkish garrison in the town of Evdilos, marking the beginning of the short battle for Ikarian independence.³⁵ The next day, a Turkish resistance of nine soldiers, dispatched by the Greek-Ottoman civil servant Thucydides Efendis, marched toward Evdilos. However, they were swiftly outflanked by the Ikarian revolutionary force near the village of Chrysostomos.³⁶ The revolutionaries then stormed the island’s capital of Agios Kirykos, knowing that the Ottoman garrison would be reduced. The Ottomans, who had barred themselves inside the administrative building, quickly ran out of ammunition and surrendered. 17 July 1912 thus marked the beginning of the four-month ‘Free State of Ikaria’ – *Ελευθέρα Πολιτεία Ικαρίας* (*Elefthéra Politeía Ikarías*) – under the presidency of Malachias, and the battles became known as the Ikarian Revolution.³⁷ The nearby Fournoi Korseon archipelago, which the Sultan had leased to an entrepreneur during this period, joined the Free State.³⁸ During the Free State, Ikaria boasted their own armed forces, national anthem, and stamps (Image 4.2). The anthem, *The Hymn of Ikaria*, was attributed to Ionian Island poet Freiderikos Carrer (brother of Pavlos Carrer) and set to music by the Anatolian composer Konstantinos Psachos (Appendix 4.1).³⁹

³⁴ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1987, ebook edn., Orion Books, London, 2010, 41; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1962, ebook edn., Orion Books, London, 2010, 15-18.

³⁵ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 104; Ioannis Zelepos, ‘Die Insel Ikaria vom Juli bis November 1912’, in Vassis, Henrich & Reinsch (eds.), *Lesarten: Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis*, Walter De Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 1998, 338-50; Theologos Binikos, ‘Η Ικαριακή Επανάσταση του 1912’, *Επτά Ημέρες – Η Καθημερινή*, 21 June 1998, 12.

³⁶ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 98 & 104.

³⁷ Nikoloas P. Soilentakis, *Η Ελευθέρα Πολιτεία της Ικαρίας: 17 Ιουλίου-5 Νοεμβρίου 1912*, Haralambos Chrysanthakis (prologue), Ekdoseis Kalligrafos, Athens, 2012, 18-25; Lomvardas, *Αντιστασιακή Προοδευτική Ικαρία*, 26-9; Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 105-6; Binikos, ‘Η Ικαριακή Επανάσταση του 1912’, 12; Sophia Stamouli, *Λαογραφικές Συνθήκες Δημογεροντίας Φαναρίου (Δήμου Αγίου Κηρύκου) Ικαρίας*, Ekdoseis Grigori, Athens, 2005, 11-22.

³⁸ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 108.

³⁹ Ioannis Melas, *Ιστορία της Νήσου Ικαρίας από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι της εποχής μας: Τόμος Α, Ikarion*, Athens, 1955, 237.



Image 4.2: Stamps of the Free State of Ikaria, 1912. Yianni Cartledge collection.

News of independence reached as far as Australian newspapers, where the island was connected to the myth of Icarus and labelled as 'Where the First Flying Man Fell'.⁴⁰ The *Kalgoorlie Miner* (Image 4.3), which was circulated among migrant labourers, read in bold uppercase:

⁴⁰ 'Independence of Ikaria', *The Telegraph*, Brisbane, 5 August 1912, 7; 'Independent Icarians', *The Maitland Daily Mercury*, Maitland, New South Wales, 5 August 1912, 5; 'Independence of Ikaria', *The Queensland Times*, Ipswich, Queensland, 6 August 1912, 5; 'Where the First Flying Man Fell', *Herald*, Melbourne, 9 November 1912, 5; 'Where the First Flying Man Fell', *The Muswellbrook Chronicle*, New South Wales, 28 December 1912, 3.

**IKARIA ISLANDERS.
RISE IN DESPERATION.
OFFICIALS AND GENDARMES.
SEIZED AND IMPRISONED.
INDEPENDENCE PROCLAIMED.**

Athens, Aug. 5.

The inhabitants of Ikaria, driven to desperation by the repressive measures adopted for their government, rose and imprisoned the Turkish officials and gendarmes. The islanders then proclaimed their independence.

Image 4.3: The *Kalgoorlie Miner*, Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, 6 August 1912, 5.⁴¹

Some newspapers, however, criticised the uprising, believing that “The secession of Icaria has about the same political significance for Turkey as a revolt of Eel Pie Island would have for the British Empire.”⁴² The revolution had only one casualty, Georgios Spanos, who was likely killed by friendly fire.⁴³ A bust of Malachias can be seen in the main square of Ikaria’s capital, Agios Kirykos (Image 4.4). A monument to Spanos was erected in the town of Chrysostomos, commemorating his death nearby.

⁴¹ ‘Ikaria Islanders’, *Kalgoorlie Miner*, Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, 6 August 1912, 5.

⁴² ‘Where the First Flying Man Fell’, *Herald*, 5; ‘Where the First Flying Man Fell’, *Muswellbrook Chronicle*, 3.

⁴³ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 105.



Image 4.4: Bust of Dr Ioannis Malachias in Agios Kirykos, Ikaria, adorned with a commemorative wreath.⁴⁴

The Free State of Ikaria was part of a long-term sense of autonomy and self-determination on the island, which dated back to at least the seventeenth century. Upon visiting Ikaria, Joseph Georgirenes, the seventeenth-century Archbishop of Samos, noted a strong local identity, where the Ikarians saw themselves as distinct from all other islanders, and refused to marry outside of their circles.⁴⁵ Georgirenes also described a local rumour attributed as the origins of Ikarian autonomy under the Ottomans, which included the killing of an Ottoman ‘Caddee’ (*Kadi*), or ‘official’, around 1669. When answering for the crime, Ikaria’s male population took collective responsibility, “So that the *Turkish* Officers looking upon their beggerly Cloaths (sic), thought there was neither gain nor glory in punishing such Miscreants, and that in Justice, they must punish all, or

⁴⁴ Photograph of the Dr Ioannis Malachias bust taken at Agios Kirykos, Ikaria, Greece. Captured by Robert Cartledge and Yianni Cartledge, July 2013.

⁴⁵ Joseph Georgirenes, *A Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos and Mount Athos*, translated by ‘one that knew the Author in Constantinople’, W. Jane, London, 14 July 1677, 66.

none, dismiss'd them untouch'd (sic)."⁴⁶ This episode was likely a type of protest in reaction to both Ottoman taxation and the taking of boys to be janissaries. The event gave rise to the Ikarian 'catchphrase' *ούλοι εμείς εφέντη* (*oúloi emeís efénti* – 'all of us, sir'), supposedly the answer prominent Ikarians gave when an Ottoman investigative expedition inquired about who was to blame for killing of the *Kadı*.⁴⁷ Georgirenes eventually emigrated to London, and played a key part in the building of Britain's first Orthodox church in Soho in 1677, as discussed in Chapter 1.⁴⁸ After Georgirenes' era, however, there were no definitive travel diaries or descriptions of Ikaria until the nineteenth century.⁴⁹

From at least 1835, under Sultan Mahmud II, Ikaria held an autonomous status within the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁰ That same year, British captain Thomas Graves surveyed the island aboard the *HMS Mastiff*, and the *HMS Meteor* the following year, as part of his commission in the Aegean archipelago (Image 4.5).⁵¹ British-Australian surveyor Owen Stanley, a friend of Graves, also surveyed the archipelago in the mid-1830s, firstly aboard the *HMS Belvidera* and later on a series of smaller ships, including the *HMS Mastiff* with Graves.⁵² Stanley's drawings portrayed Ikaria as an archaic and difficult terrain (Images 4.6-4.7). Ikaria's autonomy continued throughout the *Tanzimat* period of reforms (1839-

⁴⁶ Georgirenes, *A Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos and Mount Athos*, 67-8.

⁴⁷ Papalás, *Rebels and Radicals*, 13. Note: The phrase *ούλοι εμείς εφέντη* can be transliterated as *oúloi emeís eféndi*.

⁴⁸ See: John Penrose Barron, *From Samos to Soho: The Unorthodox Life of Joseph Georgirenes, a Greek Archbishop*, Peter Lang, Oxford & Bern, 2017, 153-82.

⁴⁹ Ikaria was described briefly elsewhere at least twice during the seventeenth century, see: Jean de Thévenot, *Voyages De Mr. De Thevenot Tant en Europe qu'en Asie & en Afrique*, Angot, Paris, 1689, 347-54; Bernard Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago (or Arches): Sea of Constantinople, and Gulph of Smyrna; With the Islands of Candia, and Rhodes*, John Venn, Theater, Oxford, 1687, 53-4.

⁵⁰ Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 117; Melas, 'Η ιστορία της Ικαρίας', 5. See also: C.D. Booth & Isabelle Bridge Booth, *Italy's Aegean Possessions*, Arrowsmith, London, 1928, 32-3.

⁵¹ On Graves' commission to survey the Mediterranean see: Leonara Navari, 'Περιηγητές και χαρτογράφοι', *Επτά Ημέρες – Η Καθημερινή*, 21 June 1998, 10-1; 'GRAVES (Captain, 1846.)', in William R. O'Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary: Comprising the Life and Services of Every Living Officer in Her Majesty's Navy*, 1, John Murray, London, 1849, 424. Note: The *HMS Meteor's* alias was the *Beacon*. For Graves' only published written work on the Mediterranean see: Thomas Graves, 'The Isle of Skyros', *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 19, 1849, 152-60.

⁵² Adelaide Lubbock, *Owen Stanley R.N, 1811-1850: Captain of the 'Rattlesnake'*, Heinemann, Melbourne & London, 1868, 31; Adelaide Lubbock, 'Owen Stanley in the Pacific', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 3, 1968, 47-63; Francis West, 'Stanley, Owen (1811-1850)', *ADB*, 2, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra, 1967; 'STANLEY, F.R.S, F.R.A.S (Captain, 1844. F-P, 19; H-P, 4.)', in William R. O'Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary: Comprising the Life and Services of Every Living Officer in Her Majesty's Navy*, 3, John Murray, London, 1849, 1109; Ann Moyal, 'Owen Stanley and the Rattlesnake', *The National Library Magazine*, June 2012, 8-11; Papers of the Stanley Family (as filmed by AJCP), NLA: M463, 1832-93; Jordan Goodman, *The Rattlesnake: A Voyage of Discovery to the Coral Sea*, Faber & Faber, London, 2005; Yianni Cartledge, 'Owen Stanley in the Mediterranean', *Academia Letters*, 3107, August 2021, 1-6.

76) and was reiterated around the end of the 1860s, when Ottoman officials altogether ceased their involvement in local Ikarian matters.⁵³

Due to an Ottoman warship encroaching near the Dodecanese island of Symi, likely spurred on by the Cretan revolt (1866-69), British Foreign Secretary Lord Stanley sought to confirm the autonomy of islands within the Ottoman Archipelago in 1867.⁵⁴ The *Inverness Courier* recorded in August 1867 that the British government had decided that:

England has made up her mind about the necessity of maintaining the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, so long as they can be maintained consistently with the good government of the peoples inhabiting it.⁵⁵

Tsar Alexander II of Russia also urged the Sultan to maintain the islands' autonomy:

You must be convinced that the object of my policy has always been to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and to reconcile the interests of the Christian populations, of which I am the natural protector.⁵⁶

However, these attempts were not fully realised among all the Archipelago islands, and in September 1867 an insurrection arose on Chios in reaction to the Ottoman governor "having attempted to deprive the communes of their local self-government, which had been secured to the inhabitants by treaties".⁵⁷ A delegation from Chios was then sent to Constantinople to negotiate the terms of the region's autonomy. This period of

⁵³ Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013, 26.

⁵⁴ 'Greece and Turkey', *York Herald*, York, England, issue 4910, 5 January 1867, 8; Douglas Dakin, *The Unification of Greece: 1770-1923*, Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1972, 107-20; Nicholas Doumanis, 'Occupiers and Occupied in the Dodecanese, 1912-1947: Italian Colonialism and Greek Popular Memory', PhD thesis, School of History, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1994, 41, footnote 73; Nicholas Doumanis, *Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean: Remembering Fascism's Empire*, Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, Hampshire & London, St Martin's Press, New York, 1997, 28-9 & 209, footnote 73; Papalás, *Rebels and Radicals*, 56-7; Zelepos, 'Die Insel Ikaria vom Juli bis November 1912', 340. For discussions in the House of Commons by Lord Stanley on Christian Ottoman autonomy see: Hansard – 'Address For Papers', House of Commons, vol. 185, United Kingdom, 15 February 1867; Hansard – 'Consular Courts in Turkey And Egypt-Observations', House of Commons, vol. 193, United Kingdom, 10 July 1868; Hansard – 'Motion For An Address', House of Commons, vol. 191, United Kingdom, 24 April 1868.

⁵⁵ 'The Sultan's Travels', *Inverness Courier*, Inverness, Scotland, XLVIII, issue 2594, 1 August 1867, 3.

⁵⁶ 'Russia and Turkey', *Daily News*, London, issue 6673, 23 September 1867, 5.

⁵⁷ 'Foreign Intelligence', *Wrexham Weekly Advertiser*, Wrexham, Wales, 14, issue 753, 21 September 1867, 7; 'Epitome of Foreign and General News', *Lloyd's Illustrated Newspaper*, London, issue 1296, 22 September 1867, 2.

reconfirmed autonomy earned Ikaria a name among the twelve 'Privileged Islands' of the Dodecanese, despite not being a part of the island chain geographically.⁵⁸

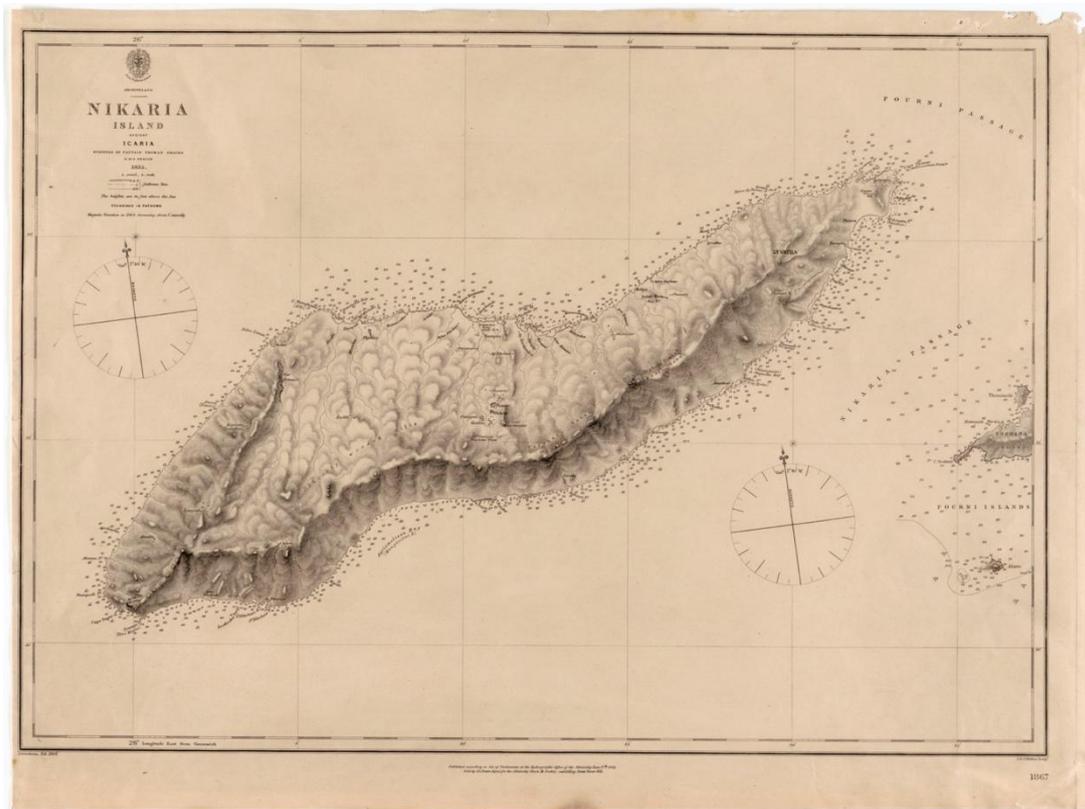


Image 4.5: Thomas Graves' survey of Ikaria (Nikaria), first drawn 1835, corrections made February 1864.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Doumanis, 'Occupiers and Occupied in the Dodecanese, 1912-1947', 22, footnote 2, & 40-1; Doumanis, *Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean*, 15-20; Giannis Giannopoulos, 'Δωδεκάνησος, η γένεση ενός ονόματος και η αντιμετώπιση του από τους Ιταλούς/Dodecanese, the genesis of a name and the Italian approach', *Eoa kai Esperia*, 6, 2006, 275-96; Michael D. Volonakis, *The Island of Roses and Her Eleven Sisters*, Macmillan and Co., London, 1922, 46 & 297; Athena Macris De Fabo, 'The Aegean Island question and Greece a diplomatic history 1911-1914', PhD thesis, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1981, 1-2.

⁵⁹ Thomas Graves, *Nikaria Island*, first drawn 1835, corrections February 1864, published 1867, held at West Sussex Record Office (WSRO subsequently), Add Mss 15561, by courtesy of the County Archivist, West Sussex Record Office.



Image 4.6: Owen Stanley's depiction of the difficulties in disembarking at Ikaria, drawn 1834.⁶⁰



Image 4.7: Owen Stanley's drawing of the ancient Drakano tower, Ikaria, August 1835.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Owen Stanley, 'Attack of the Greek launches, Nikaria', *Scenes of Turkey, Malta, Cyclades, 1834*, NLA: PIC R4662 LOC1119-A, nla.obj-138512134, 1834.

⁶¹ Owen Stanley, 'Ruined tower Nikaria, Mount Querki, Samos, August 1835', *Scenes of Turkey, Malta, Cyclades, 1834*, NLA: PIC R4661 LOC1118-H, nla.obj-138512127, 1835.

Carbon Cariot

Ikaria developed a blossoming charcoal industry during its autonomous nineteenth century, which drove the local economy and made autonomy viable.⁶² This industry, under the backdrop of late-Ottoman Empire economic pressures, was seen as a mode of survival for Ikarians, and forced many to become mobile when exporting and selling their product. Profits from Ikarian charcoal were concentrated in a handful of merchant families, including the Kratsas, Loukatsos, Pamphilis, Vassilaros, and Malachias clans, the former of which even shipped to England.⁶³ These Ikarian merchant families often buried their money rather than investing or banking like the wealthier Aegean islanders (such as the Chiots), and thus could never secure loans to expand their enterprises or procure more ships, keeping their businesses limited and localised.⁶⁴ Despite this, however, many Ikarians benefited from the industry, and Ikarian charcoal became well-known and reputable in the Mediterranean, as Tsounis noted, “In 1903 street vendors in Alexandria were reported calling out “Carbon Cariot”, Icarian charcoal.”⁶⁵ Young male Ikarians were even employed on British ships in the 1910s, where they worked as coal trimmers possibly due to their expertise and familiarity with charcoal, such as 19-year-old Vassili Zacaria who worked aboard the *Saidieh* and the *El Kahira* in 1915, or 29-year-old Dimitri Yacomidis who worked aboard the *Huntsfall* that same year.⁶⁶

Other local industries flourished in Ikaria and became common exports. Wine production had been associated with Ikaria since ancient times, where an Ikarian city-state, Oenoe, was named after the commodity, and its exports became popular from the fourth and fifth centuries BCE.⁶⁷ In the seventeenth century, wine was again a prosperous industry, with vineyards being left as inheritances in wills. Papalas noted that wills were only kept by the wealthy in this period, speaking to the value of wine exports.⁶⁸ This

⁶² Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 119-20.

⁶³ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 60 & 65.

⁶⁴ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 65.

⁶⁵ Michalis Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, self-published, Adelaide, Winter 1991, 6.

⁶⁶ Ship: *Saidich*; Official number: 76844, London, 1915, TNA: BT 99/3089/41; Ship: *El Kahira*; Official number: 110140, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3584/11C; Ship: *Huntsfall*; Official number: 136827, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/4007/1; Ship: *Huntsfall*; Official number: 136827, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/4007/2. Note: Name is listed as Vassilion Zacaria and Vassili Zacaria. The latter spelling has been used.

⁶⁷ Themistoklis Katsaros, ‘Η Ικαρία στην αρχαιότητα: Οινόη, Θέρμες, Δράκανο: αρχαιολογικοί χώροι και ευρήματα’, *Επτά Ημέρες – Η Καθημερινή*, 21 June 1998, 8; Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 3; Papalas, *Ancient Ikaria*, 57-8.

⁶⁸ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 17.

continued until the nineteenth century, where a combination of the booming charcoal industry, new viticultural methods, and a phylloxera plague that missed Ikaria, but struck elsewhere in Greece and the Ottoman Empire, spurred the Ikarian wine industry forward.

This boom era, coupled with Ikaria's autonomy under the Ottomans, cultivated two other large industries: the export of raisins, developed from new grape varieties; and tobacco – albeit illegally.⁶⁹ Bakalis noted that Ikaria's raisin exports were particularly advantageous, being shipped locally around the Aegean and as far as the Black Sea and the Balkans.⁷⁰ Tobacco production in the Ottoman Empire became virtually state-controlled after the Ottoman Public Debt Administration had granted the *Régie* company a tobacco production monopoly in 1883.⁷¹ The company, jointly formed by the Ottoman Bank, Creditanstalt, and the Bleichröder banking group, had their own security force, the *kolcu*, making the business risky for small-time growers looking to export their product, such as the Ikarians.⁷² Nevertheless, illegal exports of Ikarian tobacco remained lucrative and Aegean and Black Sea ports likely received much of Ikaria's tobacco via smugglers.⁷³

This era's economic growth was not always measurable in literal wealth, but in a population boom which saw the island's population double between 1841-93.⁷⁴ This doubling was in step with the Aegean region, which also grew by 100,000 people between 1885-1906.⁷⁵ These surges in population and economic prosperity certainly contributed to an increase in Ikarian mobility.

The 'Eastern Question' & Union with Greece

During the late-nineteenth century, the Aegean found itself in the midst of various political crises and armed conflicts, all within the overarching guise of the 'Eastern

⁶⁹ Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 121-3; Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 94-5.

⁷⁰ Christos Bakalis, 'Tobacco Networks in the Aegean Islands', *Advances in Historical Studies*, 5(2), 2016, 66.

⁷¹ Can Nacar, 'The Régie Monopoly and Tobacco Workers in Late Ottoman Istanbul', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 34(1), 2014, 206-19.

⁷² Nacar, 'The Régie Monopoly and Tobacco Workers in Late Ottoman Istanbul', 207-8. See also: Mustafa Batman, *Tobacco smuggling in the Black-Sea region of the Ottoman Empire 1883-1914*, Libra, Istanbul, 2016; Ebru Boyar, 'Public Good and Private Exploitation: Criticism of the Tobacco Régie in 1909', *Oriente Moderno*, 86(1), 2006, 193-200.

⁷³ See: Batman, *Tobacco smuggling in the Black-Sea region of the Ottoman Empire 1883-1914*.

⁷⁴ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 60-1.

⁷⁵ Stanford J. Shaw, 'The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 9(3), October 1978, 338.

Question'.⁷⁶ Nazan Çiçek noted that "Between 1876 and 1885 nearly five hundred articles exploring the different aspects of this subject [the Eastern Question] appeared in the ten most widely circulated monthly journals in Great Britain alone."⁷⁷ Çiçek also pondered whether this was "Europe's 'Eastern Question' or the Turks' 'Western Question'?"⁷⁸ A component of this, called the 'Cretan Question', as was the name of an 1897 British House of Commons debate, caused European powers to discuss the fate of the vastly autonomous island of Crete.⁷⁹ Other questions of autonomy had been springing up throughout the Aegean during the century, such as the Principality of Samos (1834-1912) and the aforementioned 'Privileged Islands' of the Dodecanese, including Ikaria.⁸⁰

In 1897, the Cretan Question came to a head with the outbreak of the Greco-Turkish War, provoked by Cretan independence insurgents and Greek irredentist forces.⁸¹ The Ottoman forces quickly subdued the unprepared Greek army, leading to the

⁷⁶ See: M.S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question: 1774-1923*, Macmillan, London, Melbourne & Toronto, St Martin's Press, New York, 1966, 178-260; M.S. Anderson (ed.), *The Great Powers and the Near East, 1774-1923*, Edward Arnold, London, 1970, 113-31; Mihail F. Laskaris, *To Ανατολικόν Ζήτημα: 1800-1923*, P. Pournara, Thessaloniki, 1978; Dimitris Stamatopoulos, *The Eastern Question or Balkan Nationalism(s): Balkan History Reconsidered*, Maria A. Stassinopoulou (ed.), Vienna University Press, V & R unipress GmbH, Göttingen, Germany, 2018; Lucien J. Frary & Mara Kozelsky (eds.), *Russian-Ottoman Borderlands: The Eastern Question Reconsidered*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 2014.

⁷⁷ Nazan Çiçek, *The Young Ottomans: Turkish Critics of the Eastern Question in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Tauris Academic Studies, London & New York, 2010, 1.

⁷⁸ Çiçek, *The Young Ottomans*, 1.

⁷⁹ Theodore P. Ion, 'The Cretan Question', *The American Journal of International Law*, 4(2), April 1910, 276-84; Theodore George Tatsios, 'The Cretan Problem and the Eastern Question: A Study of Greek Irredentism, 1866-1898', PhD thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., February 1967; Alexis Heraclides, *The Greek-Turkish Conflict in the Aegean: Imagined Enemies*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2010, 52; Theodore George Tatsios, 'The Megali Idea and the Greek-Turkish War of 1897: The Impact of the Cretan Problem on Greek Irredentism, 1866-1897', PhD thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1972. Selected notable parliamentary discussions in Britain in date order (1830-1897): Hansard – 'Settlement Of Greece', House of Commons, vol. 22, United Kingdom, 16 February 1830; Hansard – 'Candia And Greece', House of Lords, vol. 22, United Kingdom, 18 February 1830; Hansard – 'Candia', House of Commons, vol. 58, United Kingdom, 4 June 1841; Hansard – 'Turkey and Crete-Question', House of Lords, vol. 186, United Kingdom, 28 March 1867; Hansard – 'Motion For An Address', House of Lords, vol 191, United Kingdom, 3 April 1868; Hansard – 'Motion For An Address', House of Commons, vol. 191, United Kingdom, 24 April 1868; Hansard – 'Cretan Insurrection-Question', House of Commons, vol. 193, United Kingdom, 24 July 1868; Hansard – 'Question Observations', House of Lords, vol. 237, United Kingdom, 5 February 1878; Hansard – 'Turkey-Crete And Mitylene', House of Commons, vol. 241, United Kingdom, 8 July 1878; Hansard – 'Turkey-Crete-Reported Disturbances', House of Lords, vol. 246, United Kingdom, 29 May 1879; Hansard – 'Outrage in Crete', House of Commons, vol. 344, United Kingdom, 19 May 1890; Hansard – 'Cretan Question (Declaration Of Policy)', House of Commons, vol. 46, United Kingdom, 2 March 1897; Hansard – 'Crete', House of Commons, vol. 48, United Kingdom, 12 April 1897; Hansard – 'Foreign Office Vote', House of Commons, vol. 51, United Kingdom, 19 July 1897.

⁸⁰ Dakin, *The Unification of Greece, 1770-1923*, 46, 109 & 150-1; Doumanis, *Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean*, 15-20; C.M. Woodhouse, *Modern Greece: A Short History*, 4th edn., Faber and Faber, London & Boston, 1986, 156.

⁸¹ Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 262-3; H.P. Willmott, *The Last Century of Sea Power, Volume 1: From Port Arthur to Chanak, 1894-1922*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana, 2009,

signing of the Treaty of Constantinople on December 1897, which promised future Cretan autonomy.⁸² During the war, Greece sent agents to provoke an anti-Ottoman uprising on Ikaria, however, both Ikarian leaders and locals refused, maintaining a neutrality.⁸³ In the war's aftermath, France, Britain, Italy, Russia, Germany, and Austria divided Crete into occupied zones aiming to achieve Cretan self-governance. During this 'autonomy building' period, in 1898, there was an uprising of Cretan Muslims, "which resulted in the death of at least 500 Christians and fourteen British marines, including the British Vice Consul (Lysimachos Kalokairinos)."⁸⁴ Following this, Britain demanded the withdrawal of Ottoman troops from Crete, which transpired on 15 November 1898, marking the beginning of the autonomous Cretan State, which lasted until 1913.⁸⁵

This period's focus on the 'Eastern Question' likely spurred on a resurgence in interest for Mediterranean-themed literature and culture in the West. Ikaria and the myth of Icarus, from where the island obtained its name, became the subject of multiple publications – some of which discussed the myth, whereas others used it as an analogy for flight, journeying, or hubris.⁸⁶ The British navy also launched the 950 ton sloop *HMS*

31-6; Tatsios, 'The Megali Idea and the Greek-Turkish War of 1897', 153-93; George Kaloudis, *Modern Greece: A Partner or Still a Client?*, University Press of America, Lanham, New York & Oxford, 2002, 24-6.

⁸² Préliminaires de Paix & Traité Définitif de Paix, la Turquie et la Grèce, Constantinople, September-December 1897, appendix V in Tatsios, 'The Megali Idea and the Greek-Turkish War of 1897', 294-314. See also: Tatsios, 'The Megali Idea and the Greek-Turkish War of 1897', 225-45; Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Empire*, Norman Stone (intro.), The Folio Society, London, 2003, 570-1; Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, I.B. Tauris, London & New York, 2004, 83-4; Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 1966, 262-3; Margaret M. Jefferson, 'Lord Salisbury and the Eastern Question, 1890-1898', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 39(92), December 1960, 57-60.

⁸³ Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 122-3; Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 91-2. See for Syros, the Cyclades, and general Aegean neutrality during this time: Tatsios, 'The Megali Idea and the Greek-Turkish War of 1897', 65-71.

⁸⁴ Tatsios, 'The Cretan Problem and the Eastern Question', 281-7; Woodhouse, *Modern Greece*, 182-3. See also: Ion, 'The Cretan Question', 278. Kalokairinos is also transliterated as Calocherino and Calocherinos, see: Sinclair Hood, 'An Early British Interest in Knossos', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 82, 1987, 86 & 88.

⁸⁵ Tatsios, 'The Cretan Problem and the Eastern Question', 288; Tatsios, 'The Megali Idea and the Greek-Turkish War of 1897', 245-57.

⁸⁶ See also: Francisco Camba, *Los Nietos de Ícaro: Novela*, 2nd edn., Renacimiento, San Marcos, Madrid, 1930, 1st edn. 1911; Herbert Eulenberg, *Ikarus und Daedalus*, Ersnt Rowohlt Verlag, Leipzig, 1912; Robert Iphys Everett, 'Icarus', in Hermann Sudermann, *Poet Lore Plays: Saint John's Fire*, Charlotte Porter & H.C. Porter (trans.), XV(IV), Winter, 1904, 71; Jay Robin, *The Flight of Icarus: An Idyl of Printing-House Square*, F. Tennyson Neely, London & New York, 1898; Leslie Reiser, *The Super-Icarus*, The Roxburgh Publishing Company, Boston, 1920; Arthur K. Sabin, *The Death of Icarus: And Other Poems*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1906; Susan Marr Spalding, *The Wings of Icarus*, Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1892; Laurence Alma Tadema, *The Wings of Icarus: Being the Life of One Emilia Fletcher*, Macmillan and Company, New York & London, 1894. On the etymology of Ikaria there are two schools of thought. The general narrative is that it originated with the myth of Icarus, however, Chrysochoos and Papalas contest this, claiming the myth was associated later, and it actually originated from the Anatolian Carian settlers, or from another non-Greek Anatolian language, see: Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 4-5; Papalas, *Ancient Icaria*, 17.

Icarus in July 1885.⁸⁷ In an 1894 publication, accompanied by a map, German cartographer Dr L. Bürchner named Ikaria ‘the forgotten Island of the Greek Archipelago’, attesting to its historical isolation as well as new garnered interest.⁸⁸ Classicist painter Herbert James Draper followed this, painting *The Lament for Icarus* in 1898, a large lifelike 180cm by 150cm oil on canvas piece.⁸⁹ A copy of Draper’s piece is currently displayed at the Ikaros Hall, Unley, South Australia (Image 4.8).



Image 4.8: A copy of Donald Draper’s *The Lament for Icarus*, displayed at the Ikaros Hall, Unley, South Australia.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ J.J. Colledge & Ben Warlow, *Ships of the Royal Navy: The Complete Records of all Fighting Ships of the Royal Navy from the 15th Century to the Present*, Chatham Publishing, London, 2006, 167.

⁸⁸ Dr L. Bürchner, ‘Ikaros-Nikariá, eine vergessene Insel des Griechischen Archipels’, in Dr. A. Supan (ed.), *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes Geographischer Anstalt*, 40 band, Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1894, 256-61 & tafel 18.

⁸⁹ Herbert James Draper, *The Lament for Icarus*, oil on canvas, 1898, held at Tate Britain, London.

⁹⁰ Photograph of a copy of Donald Draper’s *The Lament for Icarus* taken at the Ikaros Hall, Unley, South Australia. Captured by Yianni Cartledge, October 2020. Photograph taken with permission of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia ‘Ikaros’ Inc.

The early-twentieth century saw Ikaria touched by the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. Ernest Ramsaur traced the Young Turk's origins to the reign of Sultan Abdul Aziz (1861-76) and the growing reforms, liberalisation, and Westernisation that was occurring in the Empire, especially following the Crimean War and the increasing dialogue on the 'Eastern Question'.⁹¹ For the Aegean islands, this revolution promised a maintenance and even increase in the privileges they received.⁹² However, when citizenship, voting, and military rights for Christians came under question in 1909, a slow tightening of privileges began that saw further tensions build between Orthodox and Muslim Ottomans.⁹³ This tightening also included a crackdown on Ikaria's and other Aegean islands' unlicensed tobacco industries, which curbed production and raised taxes on the product.⁹⁴ In addition to the tobacco restrictions, Ikarian vineyards were ruined through an epidemic of phylloxera around 1910, which had missed Ikaria in the previous century, contributing to economic pressure on the island.⁹⁵ During the 1910s, an outbreak of the bubonic plague on the neighbouring island of Chios, one of the region's economic centres, also stifled the Ikarian economy.⁹⁶ These social and economic tensions certainly attributed to Aegean emigration, which became most pronounced during this period, as well influenced revolutionary ideas in Ikaria.

The Ikarian Revolution took place three months before the start of the First Balkan War in 1912. It is possible that the revolutionary fervour in Ikaria was inspired partly by the success of the autonomous Aegean islands of Crete and Samos, which may have been seen as archetypes for Ikarian independence. As the First Balkan War broke out in October 1912, Ikaria was an independent state, and along with its neighbour Samos, did not play an active role in the war.⁹⁷ Prior to the war, Italian forces had considered the

⁹¹ Ernest Edmondson Ramsaur Jr, *The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of 1908*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1957, 3-5.

⁹² Booth & Booth, *Italy's Aegean Possessions*, 33; Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities: Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, Jews, and Arabs, 1908-1918*, The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2014, 42-3.

⁹³ Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities*, 43-5. See also: Erik J. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, I.B. Tauris, London & New York, 2010, 213-35.

⁹⁴ Papalás, *Rebels and Radicals*, 95-7; Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 123.

⁹⁵ Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 122.

⁹⁶ Quarantine. Notice issued by the Government of Malta stating that the Island of Scio was no longer infected with bubonic plague, London, 1914, TNA: MT 10/1756/11.

⁹⁷ Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War*, Routledge, London & New York, 2000, 64-5; Papalás, *Rebels and Radicals*, 116.

island as an important staging point to Chios and in turn contemplated including Ikaria as part of the Italian Dodecanese, however, due to international opposition, and Ikaria's lack of ports and arable land, the plan did not come to fruition.⁹⁸

Ikaria joined Greece in November 1912, due in part to the turmoil the First Balkan War had on the region, including an island-wide famine. The union marked the end of the island's autonomy, and in turn the end of Ikaria's 'long nineteenth century'.⁹⁹ The union with Greece, however, was seen as a Greek occupation in Western papers, rather than the islanders' own decision, with headings reading: 'Island of Icaria Taken', 'Fleet in the Aegean: Occupies an Island', and 'Icaria Occupied'.¹⁰⁰ The union was also in line with Malachias' long-term *enosis* plan, which had been envisioned from as early as 1908 when he befriended Cypriot scholar Konstantinos Myrianthopoulos, who gave an *enosis*-themed speaking tour on Ikaria. Myrianthopoulos, who was the nephew of *enosis*-supporter Archbishop Kyrillos II of Cyprus, reported his provocations back to Greek Foreign Minister and long-term friend Stefanos Dragoumis, as well as to Prime Minister Dimitrios Rallis.¹⁰¹ The Balkan Wars ultimately marked the end of many autonomous Aegean islands. Samos and Chios came into union with Greece in November 1912, the same month as Ikaria, and Crete joined the following year.¹⁰² This shift coincided with the large emigration abroad that this dissertation explores.

⁹⁸ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 110-1; Macris De Fabo, 'The Aegean Island question and Greece a diplomatic history 1911-1914', 1-2.

⁹⁹ Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 27.

¹⁰⁰ 'Island of Icaria Taken', *The Express & Telegraph*, 1; 'Fleet in the Aegean: Occupies an Island', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, 20 November 1912, 5; 'Icaria Occupied', *Northern Star*, Lismore, New South Wales, 20 November 1912, 5.

¹⁰¹ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 99-100; Petros Papapoliviou, 'Ένας Κύπριος στην Ικαρία του 1912', *Ικαριακή Ραδιοφωνία 92.8 FM*, 10 September 2012; Binikos, 'Η Ικαριακή Επανάσταση του 1912', 12; Soilentakis, *Η Ελευθέρη Πολιτεία της Ικαρίας*, 24-8; Aristeidis L. Koudounaris, 'ΜΥΡΙΑΝΘΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ Κωνσταντίνος του 'Ιωάννου 1874-1962', in *Βιογραφικόν Λεξικόν Κυπρίων 1800-1920*, Nicosia, 2001, 247-8; Dr Stanton Tripodis (secretary), 'Minutes of the 2004 Supreme Convention of the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of America "Icaros", Sheraton Chicago Hotel, Chicago, Ill, September 3-6, 2004', *Ikaria*, 27(109), Fall 2004, 20; Ioannis D. Stefanidis, *Stirring the Greek Nation: Political Culture, Irredentism and Anti-Americanism in Post-War Greece, 1945-1967*, Ashgate, Aldershot, Hampshire, 2007, 126-7; Andrekos Varnava & Irene Pophaides, 'Kyrillos II, 1909-16: The First Greek Nationalist and *Enosis*', in Andrekos Varnava & Michalis Michael (eds.), *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2013, 148-76.

¹⁰² John Mavrogordato, *Modern Greece: A Chronicle and a Survey, 1800-1931*, Macmillan, London, 1931, 90-1; John S. Koliopoulos & Thanos M. Veremis, *Modern Greece: A History since 1821*, Blackwell, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, West Sussex, 2010, 73; Woodhouse, *Modern Greece*, 193; Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, 81-3; Nicholas Doumanis, *A History of Greece*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2010, 191-2; Antonis Liakos & Nicholas Doumanis, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 20th and Early 21st Centuries: Global Perspectives*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2023, 30-2.

Initial Ikarian Emigrations

It is often difficult to find Ikarrians in the historical record, because of Ikaria's history as a relatively autonomous Christian enclave in the Ottoman Empire, few local records were preserved. This status led registers to often not record Ikarian immigrants as being from 'Ikaria', but rather opting to note them as simply being from 'Greece', 'Turkey', or a nearby larger island, such as 'Samos'. This reflects the German cartographer Bürchner, who described Ikaria as the 'forgotten island' in 1894.¹⁰³ Many also fell into the 'ship jumping' system of illegal migration where documentation of movement was limited. Kitroeff argued that Greeks had participated in undocumented migration from the early-nineteenth century, as "Greek captains have been ignoring maritime blockades and embargos since the Napoleonic wars."¹⁰⁴ Kitroeff paralleled both early and later Greek migrants to contemporary Mexican and Central American immigrants to the US, who navigate often discriminatory borders and policy spaces in seeking a better life.¹⁰⁵ The lack of records contrasts Ikarrians from their Chiot neighbours, who have a plethora of extant genealogies and movement records, especially of their merchant class, due to both their regional and international affluence and their links to the well-documented Phanariots.¹⁰⁶ However, there are enough footprints left to piece together a sketch of the initial Ikarian emigrations during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

The Aegean & Ottoman Regions

Ikarrians began emigrating within their home region and abroad as early as the seventeenth century, however, the pace of emigration rose notably during the nineteenth

¹⁰³ Bürchner, 'Ikaros-Nikariá, eine vergessene Insel des Griechischen Archipels', 256.

¹⁰⁴ Alexander Kitroeff, 'Ship Jumpers: An Unspoken Chapter of Greek Immigration to the United States', *Pappas Post*, 16 April 2020. See also: Nedim İpek & K. Tuncer Çağlayan, 'The Emigration from the Ottoman Empire to America', in A. Deniz Balgamiş & Kemal H. Karpat (eds.), *Turkish Migration to the United States: From Ottoman Times to the Present*, The Centre for Turkish Studies at the University of Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 2008, 35.

¹⁰⁵ Kitroeff, 'Ship Jumpers'.

¹⁰⁶ See: Philip P. Argenti, *Libro D'Oro de la Noblesse de Chio*, 1, Oxford University Press, London, 1955; Mihail Dimitri Sturdza, *Dictionnaire Historique et Généalogique des Grandes Familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*, self-published, Paris, 1983; Christopher Long, *christopherlong.co.uk*; 'Index of Surnames', in Abraham Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs de Rhodes, Chio, Cos, etc.*, Société anonyme de Papeterie et d'Imprimerie, Istanbul, 1935.

century, as it did elsewhere in the world.¹⁰⁷ Bareli noted that the nineteenth century saw Ikaria go through Polanyi's 'Great Transformation', spurring on a shift to agricultural and industrial capitalism as well as the rise of the nation-state.¹⁰⁸ This pushed Ikaria to slowly move from a localised economy to being part of a regional, and eventually global, network. Ikaria was part of the Aegean island trade network that the Chiots also navigated, which expanded to Samos, Chios, Izmir, the Black Sea, and the Balkans, and onwards to places like Italy, Egypt, Germany, and Romania.¹⁰⁹

Chios, Samos, Crete, and the Peloponnese were some of the earliest ports of call for the Ikarians.¹¹⁰ There is evidence of persisting migrations between Chios and Ikaria from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.¹¹¹ Ikarian mathematician Ioannis Tselepis migrated to Chios as a young child and made his career there in the late-eighteenth century.¹¹² Following many of the Chiots of the period, Tselepis eventually moved to study at the University of Pisa on a scholarship from the Greek community of Livorno, many of whom were likely of Chiot origins, including his referee Lukkas Rallis.¹¹³ Tselepis ultimately settled in Chios and helped two orphaned Ikarian relatives to also settle on the island in 1814, while also having his own family.¹¹⁴ Tselepis and his family died during the tragic 1822 Chios Massacre.¹¹⁵ Ikarian migration to Chios continued through the nineteenth century, including Ikarian elder Xenos Xenakis and his wife, who were pictured in Chios at the turn of the century (Image 4.9). This shared history gave rise to

¹⁰⁷ Philip Payton, 'Maritime history and the emigration trade: the case of mid-nineteenth-century Cornwall', *History in focus*, Issue 9: The Sea, Autumn 2005.

¹⁰⁸ Bareli, 'Facets of Crisis in a Greek Island', 22. See also: Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, Beacon Press, Boston, Massachusetts, 2001.

¹⁰⁹ Bakalis, 'Tobacco Networks in the Aegean Islands', 66.

¹¹⁰ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 28.

¹¹¹ Note: For example, Papalas refers to the family of Xenos Makkas, who settled in Chios and sold his Ikarian property in 1650, as well as to the Chiot monk Nephon settling in Ikaria in the mid-eighteenth century. Christophorus Castanis also refers to an Ikarian servant who worked for the wealthy merchant Mr. Cavuras in Chios during the 1820s. See: Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 28-30; Christophorus Plato Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., Philadelphia, 1851, 34.

¹¹² Note: Tselepis' name has also been translated as Tzelipis and Zelepos. See: Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 28-30; Valentini Tselika, 'Πνευματικοί άνθρωποι: Οι φωτεινές των Ζελεπού, Μαυρογιώργη, Λομβαρδά και Φουτριδίη', *Επτά Ημέρες - Η Καθημερινή*, 21 June 1998, 18-9.

¹¹³ Iason Kastanis & Nikos Kastanis, 'The Transmission of Mathematics into Greek education, 1800-1840: From Individual Initiatives to Institutionalization', *Paedagogica Historica*, 42 (4-5), August 2006, 523; Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 29.

¹¹⁴ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 29-30.

¹¹⁵ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 29.

the phrase *ίντα Χιώτης, ίντα Καριώτης* (*ίντα Chiótis, ίντα Kariótis*), meaning ‘what’s a Chiot, is what’s an Ikarian’, in the local North Aegean dialect.¹¹⁶



Image 4.9: Xenos Xenakis and his wife in Chios around 1900.¹¹⁷

Crete and the Peloponnese also received Ikarian immigrants, due to the success of Ikarian charcoal trade during the nineteenth century. These movements, however, were usually work-related, temporary, and seasonal.¹¹⁸ Other Aegean islands similarly received impermanent Ikarrians, often as part of a staggered migration. One example, Ikarian scholar Georgios Lomvardas, emigrated to Syros during the 1880s, and then onto

¹¹⁶ An example of how this phrase is used to highlight the connection between the islands can be seen from a contemporary *Ράδιο Ικαρία 87.6* (Radio Icaria 87.6) article: Yiannis Makridakis, ‘Άμεση κι απευθείας σύνδεση Ευδήλου Ικαρίας με Χίο με ταξίδι μιάμιση ώρες’, *Ράδιο Ικαρία 87.6*, 10 June 2020. The phrase *ίντα Χιώτης, ίντα Καριώτης* can be transliterated as *ίντα Hiótis, ίντα Kariótis*. For the Ikarian dialect, see: Georgios N. Hatzidakis, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά*, A, 1st edn. published by P.D. Sakellarios, Athens, 1905, this edn. published by Adolf M. Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1989, 168; Georgios N. Hatzidakis, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά*, B, 1st edn. published by P.D. Sakellarios, Athens, 1907, this edn. published by Adolf M. Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1990, 398-460; Armenakis, *A Greek Folk Journey*, 223.

¹¹⁷ Themis P. Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, Icaria Festival, Fotolio & Typicon Printing House, United States, 2013, 20, image 9.

¹¹⁸ Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, 6.

Athens, following a similar migration trend to his Chiot neighbours who were numerous in Syros at the time, using it as a staging point to larger urban centres in Europe.¹¹⁹

Ikaria's neighbouring island, Samos, was also an accessible location for those seeking work and moving further beyond.¹²⁰ Papalas emphasised that part of the attraction to Samos was that a wealthy 'high society' developed on the island, where: "there were balls where well-dressed Samians danced the waltz and polka. But in Icaria there was no blossoming bourgeoisie craving for European goods and customs."¹²¹ This modernising society was attractive, flourishing, and seemingly accessible to Ikarians, who were only a short boat ride to the nearest Samian port.

Many Ikarians also opted to use 'Samos' as their place of origin. This was due to three possible factors, including Samos being: their first port of call before leaving the Aegean; their place of passport registration (as after 1912 Samos was Ikaria's administrative centre); or their place of abode prior to leaving. This was especially evident among those in the US, attesting to Samos being considered a more 'convenient' birthplace description due to its size and administrative role. One man, Sideris George Karas, aged 21, arrived at Boston on 25 August 1914, listing "Village Oxe Island Ikaria Samos Greece" as his birthplace.¹²² Another man, Nick Costi Lackides, listed his birthplace as "Icaria-Samos, Greece" on his WWII US Army conscription record.¹²³

Following the initial flow to other Aegean islands, major urban centres within the Ottoman region became popular destinations for Ikarians and other Ottoman subjects. The Ottoman Empire itself offered a mobile system within the Eastern Mediterranean that catered to a diverse range of migrants. Lafi categorised these migrants as: nomads, marginals, displaced populations, seasonal workers, urban proletariats, and merchants.¹²⁴ This system was centred around the busy emerging Ottoman urban

¹¹⁹ Tselika, 'Πνευματικοί άνθρωποι', 18; Apostolos Delis, 'Modern Greece's first industry? The shipbuilding center of sailing merchant marine of Syros, 1830-70', *European Review of Economic History*, 19(3), 2015, 257-60.

¹²⁰ Speis' compilation includes images of Ikarians in Samos c. 1915. See: Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, 40, image 37.

¹²¹ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 62.

¹²² 'Declaration of Intention: Sideris George Karas', Federal Naturalization Records, 1795-1931, Pennsylvania, no. 80679, March-June 1922, 179.

¹²³ 'Nick Costi Lackides', World War II Draft Cards Young Men, 1940-1947, East Chicago, Indiana, United States, no. 630, 16 February 1942.

¹²⁴ Nora Lafi, 'The Ottoman urban governance of migrations and the stakes of modernity', in Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhrmann, Nora Lafi & Florian Riedler (eds.), *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2011, 16-9.

centres, located between the Balkans, Anatolia, the Caucasus, the Middle East, and North Africa.¹²⁵ These urban centres offered higher scales of employment and wider opportunities than even the busiest of Aegean islands. Tsounis summarised these movements:

Emigration was the only way out for many Icarians. In the nineteenth century a few moved to seek their fortune in Turkey, or Asia Minor as it was generally called, either as charcoal burners or labourers in Psili or as servants to rich Greeks in Smyrna (Izmir), places which were only a day or two away by boat. Yet others went to Egypt, especially Alexandria.¹²⁶

Additionally, the rise of nationalism in former Ottoman territories, such as in Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria, triggered the gradual dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁷ This created a 'demographic problem' that propelled migration from Ottoman peripheries to the Ottoman mainland. The economic depression of 1873-96 under Abdul Hamid II also pushed rural Ottomans to seek stable employment in these centres.¹²⁸ These demographic and economic flows made urban centres balloon in population, bringing peripheral dwellers closer to the core, including those minimally affected by nationalist movements, such as the Ikarians.

Izmir, possibly the closest urban centre to Ikaria, was a popular and prominent port of call for Ikarians and other Aegean islanders. The city itself was a cosmopolitan nexus, becoming commonly referred to by the Eurocentric title of 'Paris of the East'.¹²⁹ Doumanis highlighted the nineteenth-century shift in the city's demographics:

In Smyrna (Izmir), where the Romioi (Orthodox Ottomans) represented a mere 20 per cent of the population in 1800, they had come to form a slight majority by 1900. A large proportion of the city's burgeoning Greek Orthodox community was

¹²⁵ Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhrmann, Nora Lafi & Florian Riedler, 'Migration and the making of urban modernity in the Ottoman Empire and beyond', in Freitag, Fuhrmann, Lafi & Riedler (eds.), *The City in the Ottoman Empire*, 1-7.

¹²⁶ Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, 6.

¹²⁷ Başak Kale, 'Transforming an Empire: The Ottoman Empire's Immigration and Settlement Policies in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 50(2), 2014, 257-8 & 260.

¹²⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton & Oxford, 2008, 135-8.

¹²⁹ Maureen Jackson, "'Cosmopolitan" Smyrna: Illuminating or Obscuring Cultural Histories?', *Geographical Review*, 102(3), 2012, 341.

from the islands, while other had descended from Anatolian villages, and from as far as Konya and Kayseri.¹³⁰

The aforementioned raisin and tobacco industries were a driving force in bringing islanders to and from Izmir, making the port-city a key link in the Aegean economic system.¹³¹ Izmir also boasted the earliest established Ottoman railway network running northward and eastward, connecting the port-city with the Marmara Sea's coast and with fertile valleys in the Menderes.¹³² Speis, in his compilation, included three photographs of Ikarians in Izmir during the turn of the twentieth century, when its Aegean islander population would have been at its peak (Image 4.10).



Image 4.10: Ikarians in Izmir during the early 1900s. Left: Ioannis Douris (Diakoyiannis) of Evidilos, Ikaria, who had been in Izmir from before 1900. Middle: The four Kohilas sisters in Izmir in early 1900. Right: Two Ikarian girls from Katafigi, Ikaria in Izmir during the 1900s.¹³³

It is likely that some Ikarians also found themselves in the Ottoman capital of Istanbul, especially those of the few merchant families. In 1885, 54.6% of Istanbul's population was born outside of the city, and most the city's working population participated in commerce, trade, and related industries.¹³⁴ Nearly 153,000 of its residents

¹³⁰ Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 30.

¹³¹ Bakalis, 'Tobacco Networks in the Aegean Islands', 66 & 70.

¹³² Zürcher, *Turkey*, 77; Jackson, "'Cosmopolitan' Smyrna', 341-2. See also: Onur Inal, 'The Making of an Eastern Mediterranean Gateway City: Izmir in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Urban History*, 45(5), 2019, 891-907; William R. Stanley, 'Review of Turkish Asiatic Railways to 1918: Some Political-Military Considerations', *The Journal of Transport History*, VII(4), November 1966, 189-204.

¹³³ Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, 18, image 5, 21, image 11, & 35, image 29.

¹³⁴ Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1985, 105.

were Greek Orthodox, and the majority had emigrated to the city. One Ikarian, Dr Ioannis Pamphilis, travelled to Istanbul at the end of the nineteenth century attempting to cultivate connections and rapport so that the Sultan would grant tobacco-growing permissions to Ikaria, which had otherwise been illegal.¹³⁵ Other families, like members of the Glaros family, may have also established themselves in Istanbul, however, the record remains uncertain.¹³⁶ Istanbul was a long-established cosmopolitan city, with various diasporas from within the Ottoman region, such as Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Bulgarians, as well as Western Europeans who were often businesspeople, notably from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Britain, and France.¹³⁷

However, as Dinçer discussed, from 1792 Ottoman officials in Istanbul began surveying and inspecting migrants and their businesses, in an attempt to curb the number in the city.¹³⁸ Orders were also given during the eighteenth century to prevent the entrance of migrant families and those with “no real business in Istanbul”, keeping the city tailored towards enterprising merchant migrants.¹³⁹ In the 1820s, domestic passports were introduced which further controlled the flow of migrants in and out of the city.¹⁴⁰ These systems, which most Ikarrians would not have had the means nor the mercantile reasons to navigate, likely limited the extent of Ikarian settlement in the capital to only the merchant elite.

Out of all the Ottoman centres, Ikarian settlement became most prominent in Egypt, which during the late-nineteenth century was experiencing a booming Suez Canal-driven economy. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 coincided with economic recession within the Ottoman and Aegean regions, largely due to a phylloxera plague and the collapse of the silk industry, making Egypt and beyond attractive new frontiers.¹⁴¹ From 1882 onwards Egypt also existed in an unusual space of occupation, where, still

¹³⁵ Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 123-4.

¹³⁶ Georgia Xenophou, *Greek Women in South Australian Society: 1923-1993*, Greek Women's Society of S.A., Adelaide, 1994, 35-40.

¹³⁷ Christoph Herzog & Richard Wittmann (eds.), *Istanbul – Kushta – Constantinople: Narratives of Identity in the Ottoman Capital, 1830-1930*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2019, 1-6; Aytuğ Arslan & Hasan Ali Polat, 'Travel from Europe to Istanbul in the 19th century and the Quarantine of Çanakkale', *Journal of Transport and Health*, 4, 2017, 10-7.

¹³⁸ Sinan Dinçer, 'From Community Registers to Domestic Passports: The Migration Regime in Ottoman Istanbul', in Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter (eds.), *Migration Policies and Materialities of Identification in European Cities: Papers and Gates, 1500-1930s*, Routledge, New York & London, 2019, 123.

¹³⁹ Dinçer, 'From Community Registers to Domestic Passports', 123-4.

¹⁴⁰ Dinçer, 'From Community Registers to Domestic Passports', 125-6.

¹⁴¹ Kemal H. Karpat, 'The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17(2), May 1985, 178.

considered Ottoman territory under the Khedive, the British maintained fiscal control.¹⁴² The Anglo-Turkish Convention regarding Egypt of 1887 organised this pluralistic system.¹⁴³

Many families found work and opportunities in Egypt that they could not have possibly had in Ikaria.¹⁴⁴ Some also used Egypt as a staging point to the US, and later Australia.¹⁴⁵ Zohry called this 'Phase 1' of Modern Egypt's migration history, where "Egypt was a land of immigrants rather than emigrants."¹⁴⁶ This hub of movement acted as a springboard for many families, as it offered them the chance to migrate further beyond the Ottoman region.¹⁴⁷ This was the case of the classical philologist Aristides E. Phoutrides, who had migrated from Ikaria to Egypt with his family, and then settled in the US, by 1905.¹⁴⁸

The Ikarian community in Alexandria was prominent enough that as early as 1898 they had formed an Ikarian 'Brotherhood' – the term usually used by Ikarians and other

¹⁴² Valeska Huber, *Channelling Mobilities: Migration and Globalisation in the Suez Canal Region and Beyond, 1869-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013, 74; Robert L. Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1966, 3-24; John S. Galbraith & Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot, 'The British Occupation of Egypt: Another View', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 9(4), November 1978, 471-88; Arthur Goldschmidt Jr & Robert Johnson, *Historical Dictionary of Egypt*, 3rd edn., The Scarecrow Press, Lanham, Maryland & Oxford, 2003, 8-9; Peter Mansfield, *The British in Egypt*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1971, 81-95; Gabrielle Sexton, 'The British in Egypt: A Study of the Occupation between 1882 and 1914', thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, 2014, 2-7; William M. Welch Jr, *No Country for a Gentleman: British Rule in Egypt, 1883-1907*, Greenwood Press, New York, Westport, Connecticut & London, 1988, 48-60; Nejla M. Abu Izzeddin, *Nasser of the Arabs: An Arab Assessment*, Third World Centre, London, 1981, 2-4.

¹⁴³ 'The Anglo-Turkish Convention regarding Egypt, 22 May 1887', articles IV & V, VIII(4) in Anderson (ed.), *The Great Powers and the Near East*, 117-9.

¹⁴⁴ See: Philip Chrysopoulos, 'The Poor Greek Boy Who Became the Youngest Harvard Professor', *Greek Reporter*, 10 February 2018; Nicholas D. Diamantides, 'Aristides E. Phoutrides: Harvard's Schizocardiac Scholar', in Theofanis G. Stavrou (ed.), *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 8, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1992, 77.

¹⁴⁵ Diamantides, 'Aristides E. Phoutrides', 77.

¹⁴⁶ Ayman Zohry, 'The Place of Egypt in the regional migration system as a receiving country', *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 19(3), 2003, 130. See also: Gideon M. Kressel & Reuven Aharoni, *Egyptian Émigrés in the Levant of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Jerusalem, 2013; Alexander Kitroeff, 'Greeks in the Middle East', in Philip Mattar (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa*, 2, 2nd edn., Macmillan Reference USA, New York, 2004, 938-9; Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks and the Making of Modern Egypt*, The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo & New York, 2019; Ayman Zohry, 'Egyptian irregular migration to Europe', *Migration Letters*, 4(1), April 2007, 53-63.

¹⁴⁷ Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks in Egypt 1919-1937: Ethnicity and Class*, Ithaca Press, London, 1989, 11-31; Alexander Kitroeff, 'Greek Americans & Greeks in Egypt: Parallel Lives', *The Pappas Post*, 13 November 2019; Alexander Kitroeff, 'The Greeks of Egypt in the United States', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 35(2), 2009, 117-30.

¹⁴⁸ 'Prof. A. E. Phoutrides', *Cambridge Tribune*, XLVI(27), 1 September 1923, 7; Diamantides, 'Aristides E. Phoutrides', 75-93.

migrants to describe their fraternity and community organisations.¹⁴⁹ By 1908, the Brotherhood had grown significantly and became a centre point in the Ikarian diaspora. Correspondence between the Alexandria Brotherhood, members of the Ikarian Brotherhood at Pittsburgh, PA, Greek ministers in Athens, and nobles in Chios, is recorded in the *Pittsburgh Press* when news out of Ikaria was under suspicion of being censored:

N. D. Vassilaros, of No. 549 Sixth avenue, and other local members of the Ikarian Brotherhood [of Pittsburgh], sent a cablegram today to the Greek minister of affairs at Athens, asking for news of the situation in Ikaria. Two cablegrams of a similar nature were sent yesterday, one to the president of the brotherhood at Alexandria, Egypt, and the other to Kanelas, a Greek nobleman on the island of Chios.¹⁵⁰

The Alexandrian community also donated a ship to Ikaria, the *Cleopatra*, for use in the 1912 Revolution.¹⁵¹

Cairo was also a major centre for Ikarians, with an official Cairo Ikarian community, the 'Ikarians in Egypt Brotherhood', having formed by 1903 (Images 4.11-4.12).¹⁵² Binikos noted that the organisation grew to prominence by 1912, as lawyer and 'Ikarians in Egypt' representative Haralambos Pamphilis, after hearing about the Ikarian Revolution, raised the idea of an independent Aegean state combining the Ottoman and

¹⁴⁹ Stylianos I. Simakis, *EKATO XPONIA IKAPIAKHΣ EΞOTEPIKHΣ METANASTEYΣHΣ, 1892-1991 [One-Hundred Years of Ikarian Overseas Migration, 1892-1991]*, Dekalogos, Athens, 2015, 25-6. For various Egypt-based brotherhoods see: Marios Papakyriacou, 'Region and Nation in the Eastern Mediterranean: The "Egyptian Greeks" Case-Study', in Sibylle Baumbach (ed.), *Regions of Culture – Regions of Identity/Kulturregionen – Identitätsregionen*, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, Trier, 2010, 36 & 39-44; Najat Abdulhaq, *Jewish and Greek Communities in Egypt: Entrepreneurship and Business before Nasser*, I.B. Tauris, London & New York, 2016. For the Cypriot Brotherhood of Britain see: Robin Oakley, 'The Control of Cypriot Migration to Britain Between the Wars', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 6(1), 1987, 34 & 38; Robin Oakley, 'Cypriot migration to Britain prior to World War II', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 15(4), 1989, 504-25; Evan Smith & Andrekos Varnava, 'Creating a 'Suspect Community': Monitoring and Controlling the Cypriot Community in Inter-War London', *The English Historical Review*, 132(558), 2017, 1149-81. For the Kastellorizian Brotherhood, Perth, WA: John N. Yiannakis, 'Perth's Greek Orthodox Community Builds its own Cathedral, 1910-1936', in John Tonkin (ed.), *Religion and Society in Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1987, 127-39; John N. Yiannakis, 'Parochialism in Perth: aspects of regionalism amongst Western Australia's Castellorizian community', in *Reading, Interpreting, Experiencing: An Inter-Cultural Journey into Greek letters, Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, special issue, Adelaide, 2015, 97-111.

¹⁵⁰ 'News from Ikaria is Censored', *The Pittsburgh Press*, 10 July 1908, 9.

¹⁵¹ Chrysochoos, *Ikaria*, 127-8 & 133-4.

¹⁵² Simakis, *EKATO XPONIA IKAPIAKHΣ EΞOTEPIKHΣ METANASTEYΣHΣ, 1892-1991*, 25-6. Note: The Ikarians in Egypt Brotherhood's official name was: *Ικαριακή εν Αίγυπτω Αδελφότης*

Italian Aegean islands.¹⁵³ Essentially, the Cairo and Alexandria brotherhoods were two wings of the same community, and the Alexandria branch likely planted the Cairo community, as became the mode for other Greek fraternities worldwide.¹⁵⁴ Demographer Stylianos Simakis has noted that between 1898-1911, 190 adult males had been registered as members of both Ikarian brotherhoods in Egypt. Thus, estimations hint at a community of around 570 Ikarians in Egypt during this period.¹⁵⁵



Image 4.11: The 'Ikarians in Egypt Brotherhood' of Cairo in 1920.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Binikos, 'Η Ικαριακή Επανάσταση του 1912', 12.

¹⁵⁴ Michael P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', in Charles Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1975, 31-2; Batouyios, 'The Early Ikarians of the United States and the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of America "Icaros"', 14.

¹⁵⁵ Simakis, *ΕΚΑΤΟ ΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΙΚΑΡΙΑΚΗΣ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΥΣΗΣ, 1892-1991*, 25-6. Note: The number of 570 was made by multiplying the adult male members by 3, accounting for a conservative assumed average of each adult male being part of a family of 4 (husband, wife and 2 children). In reality, birth rates in Egypt were closer to 6 children per family, and in the wider Ottoman world, between 3 and 4. See: Philippe Fargues, 'State Policies and the Birth Rate in Egypt: From Socialism to Liberalism', *Population and Development Review*, 23(1), 1997, 115-38; Irini Renieri, 'Household Formation in 19th-Century Central Anatolia: The Case Study of a Turkish-Speaking Orthodox Christian Community', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34(3), 2002, 495-517.

¹⁵⁶ Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, 48, images 50.



Image 4.12: The Vassilaros families of Cairo, c. 1920.¹⁵⁷

The Suez system ultimately created a ‘cross-roads diaspora’ between the Mediterranean and the Anglosphere and would remain an important hub for migrants well into the twentieth century. Ships, like the *SS Amazonia*, boarded at the Suez and carried almost exclusively Eastern Mediterranean emigrants overseas. The *Amazonia* itself disembarked at Fremantle, Port Pirie, Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney in 1924, and carried migrants from Albania, Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Turkey, and the Italian Dodecanese, including Ikarian residents of Alexandria, Marcos Valsakis, Nicolas (or Michalis) Mantagas, Basile Demetry Salas (Sallas), and Spiridion Tsapaliaris, and Ikarian-born resident of the Dodecanese, Stamatios Vasilakis.¹⁵⁸ Valsakis and Vasilakis both disembarked in Adelaide; and Vasilakis settled in Port Pirie and later Port Kenny, SA. Salas and Tsapaliaris went on to Sydney and Melbourne, respectively.¹⁵⁹

Ikarians in the Anglosphere

The English-speaking world received a diverse range of Ottoman immigrants during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of which the Ikarians’ path shared similarities.

¹⁵⁷ Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, 48, images 51.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Incoming passenger list “Amazonia” arrived Fremantle 12 December 1924’, NAA: K269, 12 DEC 1924 AMAZONIA, 12276538, 1924.

¹⁵⁹ Mantagas’ path after the *Amazonia* is unclear.

Whereas the large Armenian and Anatolian Greek emigrations of this period were spurred on by systemic persecutions, including the Armenian massacres (1894-96) under Sultan Abdul Hamid II, the Armenian Genocide (1915-17), the exodus from Cilicia (1920-22), the Anatolian Greek expulsion (1913-23), and the population exchange between Greece and Turkey (1923), perpetrated by the Young Turks (1908-18) and the Grand National Assembly (from 1919), which echoed the earlier Chios who fled the 1822 Chios Massacre.¹⁶⁰ The Ikarians were comparable, however, to Ottoman minorities, such as Syrians and Cretans leaving the Ottoman Empire for opportunity.¹⁶¹ Mehmet Uğur Ekinci, when interrogating Ottoman minister in Washington Alexandre Mavroyeni Bey's 1880-90 immigration statistics, noted that the most numerous Ottoman immigrants to America in these years were Armenians and Syrians, as well as Egyptians, Greeks, and Jews.¹⁶² Many of these were propelled abroad by the same internal economic and social forces that originally drew them inward to the Ottoman mainland.¹⁶³

Karpat also emphasised that mobility westward had been a long-term cultural and socio-economic feature of Eastern Mediterranean peoples, such as the Aegean islanders and Syrians.¹⁶⁴ Access to the sea for Ottomans was a key component in local and regional economies, and even the most isolated communities relied on the mobility it offered, such as Ikaria and its charcoal, wine, raisin, and tobacco trades. Richards, when pondering the

¹⁶⁰ Raymond Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*, I.B. Tauris, London & New York, 2011, 11; Khachig Tololyan, 'Armenian Diaspora', in Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember & Ian Skoggard (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World*, Springer, Boston, Massachusetts, 2005, 39; Monique Bolsajian, 'The Armenian Diaspora: Migration and its Influence on Identity and Politics', *Global Societies Journal*, 6, 2018, 29-40; David Gutman, 'Armenian Migration to North America, State Power, and Local Politics in the Late Ottoman Empire', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 34(1), 2014, 176-90; Chris Gratién, 'The Sick Mandate of Europe: Local and Global Humanitarianism in French Cilicia, 1918-1922', *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 3(1), May 2016, 165-90; Andrekos Varnava, 'The State of Cypriot Minorities: Cultural Diversity, Internal-Exclusion and the Cyprus 'Problem'', *The Cyprus Review*, 22(2), Fall 2010, 208-11; Tessa Hofmann, 'Γενοκτονία εν Ποίη - Cumulative Genocide: The massacres and deportations of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire (1912-1923)', in Tessa Hofmann, Matthias Bjornlund & Vasileios Meichanetsidis (eds.), *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks: Studies on the State-Sponsored Campaign of Extermination of the Christians of Asia Minor (1912-1922) and its Aftermath: History, Law, Memory*, Idiotiki, Athens, 2011; Antonis Klapsis, 'Violent Uprooting and Forced Migration: A Demographic Analysis of the Greek Populations of Asia Minor, Pontus and Eastern Thrace', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 50(4), 2014, 622-39.

¹⁶¹ Mehmet Uğur Ekinci, 'Reflections of the First Muslim Immigration to America', in Balgamiş & Karpat (eds.), *Turkish Migration to the United States*, 45-56; Helen Z. Papanikolas, 'The Exiled Greeks', in Helen Papanikolas (ed.), *The Peoples of Utah*, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1976, 414-40.

¹⁶² Ekinci, 'Reflections of the First Muslim Immigration to America', 46.

¹⁶³ Kale, 'Transforming an Empire', 257-8; Ekinci, 'Reflections of the First Muslim Immigration to America', 45-56; İpek & Çağlayan, 'The Emigration from the Ottoman Empire to America', 29-31.

¹⁶⁴ Karpat, 'The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914', 176. See also: Kemal H. Karpat, 'The "Syrian" Emigration from the Ottoman State, 1870-1914', [Lieu de publication non identifié], 1984, 285-300.

economic forces of migration, concluded that, “The most universal factor propelling [willing] emigration has always been the great force of economic advantage.”¹⁶⁵ This illustrates that much of early Ottoman emigration was driven by an innate longing for ‘more’ that originated in, and eventually superseded, the economic struggles at home.

Unlike the earlier Chiot, the Ikarians did not notably establish themselves in Britain during the nineteenth century, despite Britain's open-door immigration policy and existing Greek and Aegean islander communities.¹⁶⁶ This was restricted further with the 1905 Aliens Act, that aimed to control the flow of migrants into Britain and curb the *laissez-faire* attitude of the previous centuries.¹⁶⁷ Britain and Western Europe during this period were also a nexus of emigration, rather than immigration, which propelled migrants away from the continent and toward new frontiers.¹⁶⁸ Richards noted that “After 1880 the gathering of mass labour migration reached into the south and east of Europe, whence emigrants headed for the eastern US, though much of the movement was temporary and seasonal, with high return rates.”¹⁶⁹ Ikarians fell into this mode of mass labour migration due to the nature of their work, which was often manual labour, farming, or maritime related.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 5.

¹⁶⁶ Robert Winder, *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain*, Little, Brown, London, 2004, 112-9; Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana & Chicago, 2005, 27-9; Peter Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton: A Memoir of Eight Centuries’, *Encounter*, 57(6), 1 December 1981, 20-6; Peter Calvocoressi, ‘The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora’, in *Greece and Great Britain During World War I: First Symposium Organized in Thessaloniki (December 15-17, 1983) by the Institute for Balkan Studies in Thessaloniki and King's College in London*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1985, 247-57; Maria Christina Chatziioannou, ‘Greek Merchants in Victorian England’, in Dimitris Tziouvas (ed.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture*, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, 2009, 45-60; Georgia Kouta, ‘The London Greek Diaspora and National Politics: The Anglo-Hellenic League and the Idea of Greece, 1913-1919’, PhD thesis, King's College, University of London, July 2015.

¹⁶⁷ Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain: 1815-1945*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1994, 42-3; Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2014, 61-3.

¹⁶⁸ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 38-9; Adam McKeown, ‘Global Migration, 1846-1940’, *Journal of World History*, 15(2), June 2004, 155-89.

¹⁶⁹ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 230.

¹⁷⁰ Some Ikarians were recorded in Britain, especially as working on ships, including Evangelos Icarotis in 1881 and John Cariotes in 1911: List of Officers, Crew, and Others on Board the Ship or Vessel named the Agios Spiridione, Public Record Office, London, RG 11/582, 3 April 1881; Census of England and Wales, Schedule for Vessels, Barry, Glamorgan, Wales, 32210, 1911. Many worked on British ships during WWI, including members of the Frangos, Speis, Tsarnas, Kalambogias, and Petsakos families, among others: Ship: Ruel; Official number: 132892, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3934/4; Ship: Ford Castle; Official number: 129785, London, 1915, TNA: BT 99/3161/16; Ship: Ardanmohr; Official number: 124240, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3812/2; Ship: Milo; Official number: 53266, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3365/51; Ship: Glynymel; Official number: 105776, London, 1915, TNA: BT 99/3107/26; Ship: Menzaleh; Official number: 94523, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3430/28B; Ship: Sheaf Field; Official

In 1888 Ottoman officials characterised and criticised labour migrants, viewing Ottoman emigrants as belonging to the ‘proletarian class’ that were “intended to become beggars in the Americas.”¹⁷¹ However, despite this societal attitude, Ottoman emigrants found prosperity in their new frontiers, with much of their accumulated wealth being brought back to the Empire.¹⁷² İpek and Çağlayan noted that “some 70,000 Ottoman subjects who had gained U.S. citizenship returned to Ottoman lands”, with their newfound wealth.¹⁷³ In this way, the industrialising peripheries of the Anglosphere as well as the awakening US were attractive and successful in pulling the Ikarians.

The US was one such nation where a distinct diaspora formed, becoming the initial major focus of early Ikarian emigrants to the Anglosphere. The economic prospects pulled many Ottoman emigrants to the US, with ease of employment and high wages being ‘powerful attractants’.¹⁷⁴ From 1899-1924, 3,064 Ikarians left for the US, with the bulk arriving between 1909-16.¹⁷⁵ 1916 had the largest exodus at 500 Ikarians, which was surprisingly followed by 20 in 1917 and 2 in 1918. This is due to a combination of factors, ranging from the turmoil of WWI, the gradual tightening of American quotas, and upheaval from the abdication of King Constantine I of Greece in 1917.¹⁷⁶ However, there

number: 122848, London, 1915, TNA: BT 99/3143/1; Ship: River Orontes; Official number: 135161, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3954/8A; Ship: Wychwood; Official number: 125606, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3829/5; Ship: Arosa; Official number: 120509, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3744/25; Ship: Hermia; Official number: 115766, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3686/2; Ship: Silversand; Official number: 114049, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3653/13; Ship: Almora; Official number: 108790, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3560/6; Ship: Rosefield; Official number: 105811, London, 1915, TNA: BT 99/3107/44; Ship: Roanoke; Official number: 124329, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3817/20; Ship: Cardiffian; Official number: 118474, London, 1915, TNA: BT 99/3135/2; Ship: Tyneford; Official number: 63381, London, 1915, TNA: BT 99/3088/32; Ship: Elmsgarth; Official number: 105847, London, 1915, TNA: BT 99/3108/16; Ship: Castleford; Official number: 115367, London, 1915, TNA: BT 99/3128/21; Medal Card of Perovolicos, Marcos, London, 1914-25, TNA: BT 351/1/111387; Medal Card of Tambe, Vasilias, London, 1914-25, TNA: BT 351/1/137617; UK, Naval Medal and Award Rolls, Naval War Medals – Mercantile Marine Reserve, 1793-1972, Public Record Office, London, ADM 171/131, 105; Medal Card of Dravalos, John, London, 1914-25, TNA: BT 351/1/38154; Medal Card of Francos, Nicholas, London, 1914-25, TNA: BT 351/1/47480; Medal Card of Mavrofilipos, Nicles, London, 1914-25, TNA: BT 351/1/90038; Medal Card of Perdicaris, Vasilis, London, 1914-25, TNA: BT 351/1/111235; Medal Card of Charnas, Philip, London, 1914-25, TNA: BT 351/1/23445; Ship: Abbassieh; Official number: 115845, London, 1915, TNA: BT 400/3687/3B.

¹⁷¹ Karpat, ‘The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914’, 186. Note: The case of the Chiots in Britain also challenges this view.

¹⁷² Karpat, ‘The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914’, 191-2; İpek & Çağlayan, ‘The Emigration from the Ottoman Empire to America’, 36-9.

¹⁷³ İpek & Çağlayan, ‘The Emigration from the Ottoman Empire to America’, 37.

¹⁷⁴ Karpat, ‘The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914’, 179.

¹⁷⁵ Simakis, *EKATO XPONIA IKAPIAKHΣ EEQTETPIKHΣ METANASTEYΣHΣ, 1892-1991*, 47-51. Note: 331 of those emigrants included hailed from the nearby island archipelago of Fournoi Korseon.

¹⁷⁶ See: David Dutton, ‘The Deposition of King Constantine of Greece, June 1917: An Episode in Anglo-French Diplomacy’, *Canadian Journal of History*, 12(3), 2016, 325-46.

could also be a lack (or loss) of records during the 1917-18 period, combined with an uptick in 'ship jumping' due to the war. Most Ikarians arriving in the US left via the ports of Piraeus and Patras, with Naples and Le Havre, France, also being popular. The majority also hailed from Ikaria's Agios Kirykos capital region (1,671 emigrants of the 3,064), followed by Evdilos (779 emigrants), and Raches (283 emigrants).

The coal mines of Pennsylvania and West Virginia received significant Ikarian emigrants, where they transferred their skills with charcoal and worked alongside other islanders, particularly from Fournoi, Chios, Kalymnos, and Rhodes.¹⁷⁷ These early migrants, who were mainly single men, established communities and founded Orthodox churches in the region, such as the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church at Ambridge, PA, in 1916, and the Church of the Assumption at Aliquippa, PA, in 1918.¹⁷⁸ Pittsburgh, PA, however, became the concentration and centre of the early Ikarian diaspora (Image 4.13). Nearby areas were also hotspots for Ikarians, including the borough of Verona, which boasted 350 Ikarian families in the early-twentieth century.¹⁷⁹ In 1903 the Pittsburgh Ikarian community formed the first Ikarian fraternity in North America, the 'Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of America "Icaros"'.¹⁸⁰ These Brotherhoods became houses of discussion and thought for the early Ikarian migrants and their descendants, especially during tumultuous periods. Ikarians continued to emigrate to the US even after the strict Johnson-Reed Immigration Act (1924), albeit as both illegal and legal immigrants due to the enforcement of quotas against Southern Europeans and other prospective immigrants.¹⁸¹ The 1924 Greek quota of 100 immigrants per year nation-wide, was raised to 307 in 1929.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ G. James Patterson, 'Kafenias and community: coffee houses and Greek life in Aliquippa and Ambridge, Pa., 1938-1941', *Pittsburgh History*, Winter 1991, 149.

¹⁷⁸ Patterson, 'Kafenias and community', 149.

¹⁷⁹ Batouyios, 'The Early Ikarians of the United States and the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of America "Icaros"', 11.

¹⁸⁰ Yiannis S. Tsantes, 'Ιστορία της Ικαριακής, Πανικαριακής Αδελφότητας Αμερικής 'Ο 'Ικαρος' 1903', *Pan-Icarian Convention*, New York, 2016, 31-4.

¹⁸¹ *Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act)*, Senate of the United States, H. R. 7995, 10 April 1924; Kitroeff, 'Ship Jumpers'.

¹⁸² Charles C. Moskos & Peter C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, Michael Dukakis (intro.), Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2017, 46.



Image 4.13: The often-referenced photograph of Ikarians in Pittsburgh on 21 May 1905. The group were celebrating the name day of Kostas Papalás, who was present.¹⁸³

This early transition, from regional migrations to urban centres, then onward abroad, can be interpreted as the result of multiple factors happening within the Ottoman region and in emigrants' destinations. Karpat, who explored Ottoman Syrians' emigrations in the same period, concluded that this shift represented "changes in the economic and ethnocultural structure of Ottoman society, coupled with the industrialization of North America and the rise of large agricultural enterprises in South America".¹⁸⁴ These migrations and the shift they followed set the scene for the next step in the Mediterranean migrant's journey – the far-off peripheries of the Southern Hemisphere.

Entering Australia

During the late-nineteenth century, the Suez Canal system slowly shifted migratory movements southwards toward the Indian Ocean and on to the Pacific, creating a busy

¹⁸³ Anthony J. Papalás photograph collection, in Papalás, *Rebels and Radicals*, 163; Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, 32, image 25.

¹⁸⁴ Karpat, 'The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914', 176.

shipping highway.¹⁸⁵ Australia found itself interconnected into this system, as the Suez became a part of most immigrants' and sea-workers' passage from Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, to Southern and Eastern Africa, South, Southeast and East Asia, and the Pacific.¹⁸⁶ The Suez system was a 'highway of empire', with most ports, from Port Said, to Colombo, to Fremantle, being dominated by Britain.¹⁸⁷ Huber furthered the importance of this system for the Mediterranean, which it "transformed...from a closed sea into a passageway. The Canal has long been acknowledged as a prime driver in creating and sustaining the new networks of rapid transportation between Europe and Asia".¹⁸⁸ The strict American quotas, which "progressively choked [1920s] transatlantic migration routes" contributed to pushing Mediterranean migrants through the Suez to Australia.¹⁸⁹ With these rapid networks in place, Australia became as accessible to Greek islander migrants as any other English-speaking nation.

The earliest Ikarian arrival in Australia was possibly Christopher Frangos, who arrived at Port Melbourne aboard the *Weimar German Mail Boat* in July 1897.¹⁹⁰ Most Ikarian migrants in the pre-War era travelled via cargo ships.¹⁹¹ Frangos had arrived in Australia from Egypt, and had listed his birthplace as 'Samos, Turkey', as many Ikarians and Fournians did in Australia.¹⁹² Between the 1920s-40s, there were many naturalisation records following this pattern, such as John Gronthos, who was born in 'Neia, in the State of Samos', instead of Negia, Ikaria; Evangelos Kourakis, who was from

¹⁸⁵ Karpat, 'The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914', 178; Huber, *Channelling Mobilities*, 56-7.

¹⁸⁶ W. Woodruff & L. McGregor, *The Suez Canal and the Australian Economy*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1957, 3-5.

¹⁸⁷ Huber, *Channelling Mobilities*, 56-8 & 76.

¹⁸⁸ Valeska Huber, 'Connecting colonial seas: the 'international colonisation' of Port Said and the Suez Canal during and after the First World War', *European Review of History – Revue européenne d'histoire*, 19(1), February 2012, 141.

¹⁸⁹ David C. Atkinson, 'The International Consequences of American National Origins Quotas: The Australian Case', *Journal of American Studies*, 50(2), 2016, 377-96; Victoria Mence, Simone Gangell & Ryan Tebb, *A History of the Department of Immigration: Managing Migration to Australia*, Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Border Protection, Canberra, June 2015, revised edn. June 2017, 19.

¹⁹⁰ Yianni Cartledge, '110 years of Ikarians in South Australia', *Historia*, 32, June 2020; 'Christopher FRANGOS – Naturalization', NAA: A1, 1904/5779, 1446, 1904.

¹⁹¹ Interview with John Gronthos, Westbourne Park SA, 15 October 2023.

¹⁹² 'Christopher FRANGOS – Naturalization', NAA: A1, 1904/5779, 1446, 1904; Interview with Bill Frangos, conducted by Joanna Tsalikis, *State Library of South Australia*, OH1014/023, 30 September 2013; Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1: The early years*, Halstead Press, Broadway, Sydney, 1992, 247. Note: It is entirely likely that Christopher Frangos was from Samos, however, much evidence, including his prior Egyptian residence, as well as oral traditions, such as by Bill Frangos, hold the North Aegean Frangos family as originating in Ikaria. Hugh Gilchrist holds that Frangos was born in 'Turkey', which further obscures his origins.

‘Evdilon, Samos’, instead of Evdilos, Ikaria; Leonidas George Koundoupis, who was born in ‘Icaria, Samos’; and Aristides John Paraskevas and John Simos who were from ‘Fourni, Samos’.¹⁹³ Interestingly, Simos entered Australia on an Italian passport that he received in the Italian Dodecanese, and his inquiry officer noted that Simos “left Greece in September 1923 and went to the Island of Calimnos (Kalymnos). As he wished to avoid being sent back to Greece to do Military Service, he purchased an Italian passport issued under the name of Giovanni Manguglias”.¹⁹⁴

Following Frangos, two Ikarians arrived in Sydney aboard the *Ras Elba* on 6 November 1901.¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, the men, Stamatius Lofou and George Candum, aged 18 and 20 respectively, listed their nation as ‘Icaria’, rather than Turkey or Greece. This attests to the independent Ikarian identity that had been cultivated over the nineteenth century.

Lofou and Candum represented a common theme of Ikarian and other Mediterranean migrants’ mobility, where young single men travelled together, seeking employment. How long Lofou and Candum stayed in Australia, and whether or not they settled in Sydney or elsewhere is unclear, as their names were not recorded again and do not clearly resemble any other Ikarian surnames.¹⁹⁶ ‘Lofou’, however, could have been a misspelling of the Ikarian surname ‘Lefas’, and he may have ultimately settled in the US as ‘Stamaty Lefas’, who was naturalised in Ward, North Dakota on 28 October 1915.¹⁹⁷ An ‘S.D. Lefas’, born in Turkey but identified as Greek speaking, was then counted as a boarder in Washington, D.C., during the 1930 US Census.¹⁹⁸ S.D. Lefas had arrived in the US in 1908 and his age in 1930 was listed as 50, making him an age-match to Lofou, who was 18 in 1901.¹⁹⁹ Return migration and multiple migrations like these were not

¹⁹³ ‘Public Notices’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney, 22 December 1928, 11; ‘SURNAME – KOURAKIS’, NAA: A714, 62/20060, 31674797, 16 December 1946-29 April 1949; ‘SURNAME - KOUNDOUPIS; GIVEN NAMES- Leonidas George’, NAA: A714, 73/22769, 31677506, 1948-49; ‘SURNAME – PARASKEVAS’, NAA: A714, 63/20484, 31675221, 28 January 1947-18 November 1957; ‘SURNAME – SIMOS’, NAA: A714, 21/9868, 31529816, 24 October 1944-3 March 1948.

¹⁹⁴ ‘SIMOS John’, NAA: A435, 1944/4/1885, 5276307, 1941-45.

¹⁹⁵ ‘A List of the Crew and Passengers arrived in the Ship *Ras Elba*’, Sydney, 6 November 1901. Note: ‘Lofou’ is often transcribed as ‘Lofoo’.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Candum’ may have derived from the Ikarian surname ‘Kandias’, see: Nikolaou M. Tsagka (Nikolaos M. Tsagkas), *Λεξικό Ικαρίων [Lexiko Ikarion [Ikarian Dictionary/Lexicon]*, Notios Anemos, Athens, 2006, 46.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Stamaty Lefas’, North Dakota State University Archives, North Dakota, D-15, 28 October 1915, 92.

¹⁹⁸ United States Federal Census, Washington, District of Columbia, District 0235, 1930.

¹⁹⁹ Note: The 1908 arrival date of S.D. Lefas and his status as a ‘boarder’ and not a resident of Washington, D.C. aids in identifying S.D. Lefas with the Stamaty Lefas of North Dakota. Stamaty applied for naturalisation in 1915, 7 years after S.D.’s 1908 arrival, which was a common timeframe for an individual’s naturalisation.

uncommon for early Ikarians in Australia, being seen often when looking at the already mobile Aegean islanders.

On arrival, early Ikarians, like Frangos, Lofou, and Candum, had to navigate the strict procedures of the newly federated nation. Preceding federation, Australia followed colonial laws that often focussed on barring Chinese immigrants from entering the country.²⁰⁰ This anti-non-European immigration attitude was coupled with internal and systemic racial ideologies towards Indigenous Australians, heavily influenced by the era's eugenic approach to population, combining Malthusianism and Social Darwinism.²⁰¹ This ideology was so persistent in Australian political circles, that the Commonwealth sent former South Australian premier Sir John Cockburn as its representative to the First International Eugenics Congress in 1912.²⁰² This period's racial ideology was strongest realised in the White Australia Policy (1901).²⁰³ The initial "part of the legislative armoury of White Australia", the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act was the first major legislation passed in the newly federated Commonwealth.²⁰⁴ The act favoured immigration of European descent, holding shipmasters financially responsible for non-Europeans disembarking in Australia.²⁰⁵ Good migrant behaviour was also a feature of the act, and European migrants with good references, especially from their ship's captain, had better chances at migrating successfully.²⁰⁶ This act also saw the dictation test for new arrivals introduced, which cultivated a bias against non-British speaking migrants, that lasted until 1958.²⁰⁷ Migrants who did not fit their immigration officer's criteria were subjected to an English test, which, if they passed, could then be given in a second

²⁰⁰ James Jupp, *Immigration*, 2nd edn., Oxford University Press Australia, Melbourne, 1998, 72-3; Eric Richards, *Destination Australia: Migration to Australia since 1901*, UNSW Press, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2008, 18.

²⁰¹ Jupp, *Immigration*, 73-4; Richards, *Destination Australia*, 18-9; Quentin Beresford, 'Separate and Unequal: An Outline of Aboriginal Education 1900-1996', in Q. Beresford, G. Partington & G. Gower (eds.), *Reform and Resistance in Aboriginal Education*, UWA Publishing, Perth, 2012, 85-105; Mark Francis, 'Social Darwinism and the construction of institutional racism in Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 20(50-1), 1996, 90-105; Sheila Newman, 'Thomas Malthus and Australian Thought', *The Social Contract*, 8(3), Spring 1998, 216-21; Alison Bashford, 'Malthus and colonial history', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 36(1), 2012, 99-110.

²⁰² 'International Eugenics Congress', NAA: A11804, 1912/209, 246613, 1912; John Playford, 'Cockburn, Sir John Alexander (1850-1929)', *ADB*, 8, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra, 1981.

²⁰³ Jupp, *Immigration*, 73-4; Richards, *Destination Australia*, 18-9. See: 'White Australia Policy', NAA: A11804, 1917/321, 249140, 1917.

²⁰⁴ Jupp, *Immigration*, 73-4.

²⁰⁵ *Immigration Restriction Act*, Commonwealth of Australia, Melbourne, 23 December 1901, article 9.

²⁰⁶ *Immigration Restriction Act*, article 3(c, d & e).

²⁰⁷ *Immigration Restriction Act*, article 3(a).

European language, such as German, Dutch, French, or even Gaelic. Failure to pass would send the migrant back to their port of origin.²⁰⁸

Manipulation of the dictation test became a means of selective migration, creating a legal procedure that allowed officials to deport 'unwanted' migrants with ease. One example, Ottoman-born Greek seaman George Charalambos Corfios, arrived in Adelaide aboard the *Carignano* in 1924 as a 'stowaway'. Corfios was later arrested after a fight which left the other party wounded, and despite his "excellent conduct in the Greek army during the recent war" and that the collector of customs had "no record of the man's arriving as a stowaway", Corfios was given the dictation test in French, which he failed and was deported to Port Said in 1929. John Burford, the senior boarding officer wrote that:

On the release of this Alien [Corfios] from the Yatala Labor Prison on Saturday, November 3rd 1928, after serving a sentence of eight months' hard labor on the charge of unlawfully wounding, the Dictation Test was effectively applied to him and he has become liable for deportation under Section 8 of the Immigration Act 1901-1925.²⁰⁹

Like elsewhere, ship jumping, characterised as the act of 'desertion' or being a 'stowaway', was a common feature of early migrants to Australia. Migrants saw desertion as an easier avenue into Australia compared to the difficulties and prejudices of the Commonwealth's immigration policies.²¹⁰ This also was a way around strict migration quotas, especially for non-British migrants who although not initially given a numbered quota like the US, were capped at being a maximum 2% of Australia's population.²¹¹ Greeks, such as Athanasios Veronis, Velisorios Vlassopoulos, and Costos Mavrokefalos, who arrived at Sydney aboard the *SS Neion* in 1935, were quickly deported on the grounds of being 'deserters' and deemed 'undesirable migrants'.²¹² Some 'deserters' were permitted to stay, although desertion charges were brought against them at a later point, usually in conjunction with another charge. This helped authorities build stronger cases

²⁰⁸ Jupp, *Immigration*, 75.

²⁰⁹ 'George CHARALAMBOS or George Harry CORFIOS - arrest and deportation', NAA: D596, 1928/7670, 986845, 1928-29.

²¹⁰ Richards, *Destination Australia*, 106-9.

²¹¹ Richards, *Destination Australia*, 106; D.H. Pope, 'Contours of Australian Immigration, 1901-30', *Australian Economic History Review*, 21(1), March 1981, 34-6.

²¹² '1) Deportations - 2) Undesirable Migrants - 3) Proposed Deportation (British & Non-British)', NAA: J25, 1961/3699, 967672, 1929-61.

for deportation, as was the case of Corfios, whose 'stowaway' status was only questioned after being charged for unlawfully wounding.²¹³ Eventually, Australia instituted amnesties for 'ship jumpers' and other 'illegal' immigrants after the abolition of White Australia laws, such as in 1973 under PM Gough Whitlam and in 1976 and 1980 under PM Malcolm Fraser.²¹⁴

The increasing rate at which Greeks and other Southern Europeans were immigrating to Australia between the 1910s-30s caused the implementation of stricter quotas. In 1916, all Greeks and Maltese were prohibited from entering Australia for that year. This was due to:

the arrival of several hundred Greeks and Maltese on the eve of the government's referendum for conscription for military service overseas produced an immediate outcry that the government intended to replace Australian conscripts by cheap southern European labour.²¹⁵

However, Greece's neutrality during WWI also played a part in this decision.²¹⁶

In 1924, and for most of the 1920s-30s, only 1,200 Southern Europeans were allowed to enter Australia per nationality, per annum.²¹⁷ For a short time during late-1924, all Southern European 'aliens' were prohibited from entering Australia due to unemployment rising among migrants.²¹⁸ Restrictions were even placed on the British subjects of Southern Europe, such as the Cypriots and Maltese, as 'Anglo-Celtic', 'Germanic', and 'Nordic' settlers "were deemed the most desirable".²¹⁹ This was illustrated in a February 1925 article in Port Pirie's *Recorder* headlined 'Sent Back: Unwanted Greeks: Workless and Destitute', which described 100 Greeks, mostly from Asia Minor, as well as one Maltese, being deported aboard the *Cephee* due to lack of employment, despite being supported financially by "Fellow-countrymen in Australia".²²⁰

²¹³ 'George CHARALAMBOS or George Harry CORFIOS - arrest and deportation', NAA: D596, 1928/7670, 986845, 1928-29.

²¹⁴ David S. North, 'Down Under Amnesties: Background, Programs and Comparative Insights', *The International Migration Review*, 18(3), special issue, Autumn 1984, 524-40.

²¹⁵ Charles Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1963, 87.

²¹⁶ Yianni Cartledge & Andrekos Varnava, 'Making and Monitoring a 'Suspect Community': Australian Attacks on Greeks and the 'Secret Census' in 1916', *Australian Historical Studies*, forthcoming.

²¹⁷ Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 88.

²¹⁸ Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 88.

²¹⁹ Evan Smith, Andrekos Varnava & Marinella Marmo, 'The Interconnectedness of British and Australian Immigration Controls in the 20th Century: Between Convergence and Divergence', *The International History Review*, 21 February 2021, 6.

²²⁰ 'Sent Back: Unwanted Greeks: Workless and Destitute', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 23 February 1925, 1.

Other detrimental acts to diverse immigration swiftly followed the Immigration Restriction Act. The Pacific Islanders Labourers Act (1901) aimed to deport all Pacific Islanders by 1906. This created a mass displacement as well as a gap in the labour economy of early Australia, particularly in Queensland.²²¹ The introduction of naturalisation laws in 1903 that prevented any non-European from becoming a British subject was a final blow to migrant diversity in early twentieth-century Australia. The labour gap left by non-Europeans who were now restricted from entering Australia, saw what Jupp identified as the arrival of ‘Southern European replacements’:

plantation owners began to look towards southern Europeans, in the expectation that they would acclimatise to the tropics more quickly than the British...Italian numbers increased in north Queensland after the repatriation of the Kanakas [Pacific Islander labourers] in 1906...Other European immigrants, including Finns, Croatians and Greeks also worked on the canefields, many filling jobs previously undertaken by Kanakas.²²²

Richards noted, however, that Southern Europeans were still atypical to the Australia that authorities envisioned, with rhetoric in many circles, including the *Australian Worker*, describing “southern Europeans as ‘the scum of Europe’, as ‘cheap, ignorant and low grade’, ‘miserable semi-slaves’, ‘backward and degraded’ as well as ‘simian’ in appearance. Southern Europeans were only ‘part-white’ and even the French were ‘part Negroid’.”²²³ As discussed by Piperoglou, early Mediterranean migrants walked an ambiguous and shifting line between ‘white’, ‘legally white’, ‘non-white’, and ‘Asiatic’.²²⁴

Ikarian arrivals were preceded by more numerous Greek islander immigrations to Australia. The mid-nineteenth century saw Greeks, particularly seafaring islanders and port-dwellers, heading to the many goldfields throughout New South Wales, Victoria, and elsewhere.²²⁵ In one instance these early migrants established a community settlement,

²²¹ Jupp, *Immigration*, 78-9.

²²² Jupp, *Immigration*, 78-9.

²²³ Richards, *Destination Australia*, 109.

²²⁴ See: Andonis Piperoglou, ‘Greeks or Turks, “White” or “Asiatic”: Historicising Castellorizian Racial-Consciousness, 1916-1920’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 40(4), 1 October 2016, 387-402. See also: Andonis Piperoglou, ‘Favoured ‘Nordics’ and ‘Mediterranean scum’: transpacific hierarchies of desirability and immigration restriction’, *History Australia*, 2020, 1-15.

²²⁵ Leonard Janiszewski & Effy Alexakis, ‘The “Golden Greeks” from “Diggers” to Settlers: Greek Migration and Settlement during the Australian Gold Rush Era, 1850s-1890s’, in *Living in a Cultural Wilderness, Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, special issue, Adelaide, 2017, 159-82; Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1*, 74-79.

the 'Greektown' shanty, outside of Tambaroora, NSW during the 1860s.²²⁶ The Gold Rush era Greeks were followed by mass immigrations of islanders from Kythera, Ithaca, and Kastellorizo, as well as twenty other islands, who chain migrated and settled from the late-nineteenth century with community centres spanning the country.²²⁷ Many of these early islanders first headed for the large cities of Sydney, Perth, and Melbourne, where labouring and shop-keeping were the major sources of employment.²²⁸ Greek shop-keepers specialised in food and hospitality, notably owning cafés, fish shops, and restaurants.²²⁹ Gilchrist noted that "Shop-keeping provided the pull for the second wave of Greek immigration. In the decade from 1891 to 1901 Australia's Greek population rose from about 750 to nearly a thousand."²³⁰ In the late-1890s, Melbourne's and Sydney's Greek populations had boomed, leading to the establishment of their first organised Greek Orthodox Communities in 1897 and 1898, respectively.²³¹

By 1900, the large Australian cities, which were the initial pull for islander emigrants, were outshone by the booming rural economies of Western Australia, South Australia, Northern Territory, and Queensland. Southern European migrants, who were generally unassisted and from rural backgrounds, found these rural centres more attractive than the bustling urban centres, which drew urbanised British and Western European migrants.²³² This further contrasted them from many of their industrialised

²²⁶ Hugh Gilchrist, 'Greek Settlement until 1940', in James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, 388.

²²⁷ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1*, 190-1; Michael Christie, 'Greek migration to Darwin, Australia, 1914-1921', *Journal of Northern Territory History*, 11, 2000, 1; Anastasios Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, 33; Richards, *Destination Australia*, 55-6; Gilchrist, 'Greek Settlement until 1940', 389; Christos N. Fifis, 'The Pre-World War II Greek Community of Australia: Class Divisions and Trends', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 30(2), 2004, 59. See also: Peter Prineas, *Katsehamos and the Great Idea: A True Story of Greeks and Australians in the Early 20th Century*, Plateia, Australia, 2006.

²²⁸ Leonard Janiszewski & Effy Alexakis, 'Faces beyond the Greek café: the traditional diversity of Greek-Australian occupational pursuits, 1820s-2010', *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the 9th Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, Adelaide, June 2011, 400-20; Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1*, 190-222; Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, 37-8; Yiannakis, 'Parochialism in Perth', 97-111.

²²⁹ Fifis, 'The Pre-World War II Greek Community of Australia', 59. See: Effy Alexakis & Leonard Janiszewski, *Greek Cafés and Milk Bars of Australia*, Halstead Press, Sydney & Canberra, 2016.

²³⁰ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1*, 190.

²³¹ Fifis, 'The Pre-World War II Greek Community of Australia', 58.

²³² Jupp, *Immigration*, 61-3; Charles Price, 'Southern Europeans in Australia: Problems of Assimilation', *The International Migration Review*, 2(3), Summer 1968, 3-5.

and assisted Anglo-Celtic counterparts, as well as fuelled the existing 'backward and degraded' attitude toward Southern Europeans.²³³

Many, such as Christopher Frangos who had originally arrived at Melbourne, quickly found work in these less-urbanised states. Frangos himself swiftly moved to Perth after his 1897 arrival, where he worked as a fruiterer for six years before moving to the Paddington, WA, goldmine, and finally Day Dawn, WA.²³⁴ Other major centres, such as Kalgoorlie, WA, boasted large Southern European presences – so much so that racial tensions and mistreatment of the Mediterranean population were recorded on multiple occasions in the town, including maltreatment of Greeks in 1904, the 1916 anti-Greek riots, the 1919 returned soldier's rally, and 1934's infamous race riots.²³⁵ The small city of Darwin hosted many Kastellorizian migrants, and the Northern Territory's and top of Western Australia's pearling industry attracted many Greek islanders familiar with the trade.²³⁶ Far North Queensland was also popular for islanders seeking work on sugarcane and other plantations, and a community formed there at Innisfail by 1925.²³⁷

South Australia became especially attractive with the establishment of the smelting industry in the state during the late-nineteenth century, which shifted from being centred across the NSW border at Broken Hill to Port Pirie, SA. The establishment of the BHP Smelter there in 1889 caused the town to "develop into something more than a mere wheat-shipping centre" (Image 4.14).²³⁸ The BHP Smelter offered work to many Greek migrants and like in the US coal mines, Ikarians could translate their charcoal and

²³³ Richards, *Destination Australia*, 109.

²³⁴ 'Christopher FRANGOS – Naturalization', NAA: A1, 1904/5779, 1446, 1904.

²³⁵ Richards, *Destination Australia*, 39 & 67; Jupp, *Immigration*, 63; John N. Yiannakis, 'Kalgoorlie alchemy: xenophobia, patriotism and the 1916 anti-Greek riots', *Early Days: Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, 11(2), 1996, 199-211; Sarah Gregson, 'War, Racism and Industrial Relations in an Australian Mining Town, 1916-1935', *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 18(1), 79-98; Sarah Gregson, 'It All Started on the Mines'? The 1934 Kalgoorlie Race Riots Revisited', *Labour History*, 80, May 2001, 21-40.

²³⁶ Christie, 'Greek migration to Darwin, Australia, 1914-1921', 1-14; Piperoglou, 'Greeks or Turks, "White" or "Asiatic"', 387-402; Leonard Janiszewski & Effy Alexakis, 'White Gold, Deep Blue: Greeks in the Australian pearling industry, 1880s-2007', in *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the 7th Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, Adelaide, June 2007, 2009, 119-30; Helen Maria Haritos, 'A sense of the past', *Journal of Northern Territory History*, 13, 2002, 57-68.

²³⁷ Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, 73.

²³⁸ The Broken Hill Proprietary Company Limited, 'Fifty Years of Industry and Enterprise, 1885 to 1935', *The B.H.P. Review: Jubilee Number*, J.T. Picken & Sons, Melbourne, June 1935, 12-3; Desmond O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid: Italian Settlers in South Australia between 1839 and the Second World War*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1996, 68-9.

labouring skills to smelting.²³⁹ Many Ikarians found Port Pirie to be the place of choice when emigrating, and a diaspora grew there from the 1910s onwards, with at least 19 Ikarians being recorded there in 1916, growing to a nexus of families by the 1920s.²⁴⁰ The fishing industry of the South Australian West Coast was also a draw card for Greek migrants, as it offered work in another skillset where islanders were comfortable, as well placed them in a familiar coastal environment.²⁴¹ This was complimented by SA's familiar 'Mediterranean' climate of 'hot, dry summers' and 'mild winters'. The opening of a transcontinental railway between Port Augusta, SA, and Kalgoorlie in 1917 also contributed to Greek immigrant flow, as it connected the heavily Southern European populated Kalgoorlie with the growing SA West Coast.²⁴² These pull factors in SA compounded with the previous islanders' migratory groundwork, as well as with the pressures at home that led to the 1912 Ikarian Revolution, creating the perfect conditions for Ikarians to begin emigrating southward.

²³⁹ Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, 72; George Kellis, 'The Orthodox Christian Church in South Australia', *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, 10, 1984, 53; Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1975, 22-3; Michael P. Tsounis, *The Story of a Community: A short pictorial history of the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia*, Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia, Adelaide, 1991, 1-3.

²⁴⁰ See also Table 5.3 in the following chapter. Penny Anagnostou, 'Greeks in South Australia', in Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People*, 401-2; Michael P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1971, 37; Kellis, 'The Orthodox Christian Church in South Australia', 53-4; Interview with Bill Frangos, conducted by Joanna Tsalikis, 2013; Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, 26, image 17.

²⁴¹ Yianni Cartledge, 'Angelakis, George (1920-1993)', *ADB*, 19, ANU Press, Acton, ACT, 2021 (online in 2020), 20-1; Anagnostou, 'Greeks in South Australia', 401-5; Fifis, 'Michael Tsounis, The Ikarian Greek Australian Historian', 6; Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities*, 186-7; Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, 7.

²⁴² 'Transcontinental Railway - Australia', NAA: A11804, 1917/288, 1646628, 1917.



Image 4.14: BHP Smelters at Port Pirie c. 1919, courtesy of the *State Library of South Australia*.²⁴³

Conclusion

The initial Ikarian emigrations within their home region and abroad created a pathway that allowed Ikarians to ultimately travel to the Anglosphere. The nature of Icaria as an autonomous yet dependent island in the twilight of the Ottoman Empire formed a plurality where Ikarian islanders were both independent and self-determined as well as intertwined within the Ottoman system. The economic, societal, and cultural pressures that affected the whole region extended to the Ikarians, contributing to their search for new frontiers. At first these frontiers included the notably larger and more prosperous Aegean islands of Chios, Samos, and Crete. However, their attention shifted to the quickly industrialising urban centres in the Ottoman region, such as Istanbul, Izmir, Cairo, and Alexandria. These new urban frontiers also enhanced a thirst for ‘more’, as Richards argued, where economic and educational curiosities were expanded, and cosmopolitanism was practised.²⁴⁴ This longing for ‘more’ pulled Ikarians to the heavily industrialised US, where they established the earliest Anglosphere Ikarian communities.

²⁴³ ‘Smelters at Port Pirie’, *State Library of South Australia*, PRG 280/1/25/157, c. 1919.

²⁴⁴ Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 5; Diamantides, ‘Aristides E. Phoutrides’, 75-93; Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 60 & 65.

This set the archetype for Ikarian arrival in Australia where they were pulled by the same economic forces that originally drove them to the US.

The sum of Ikaria's emigration history left the door open for early-twentieth century Ikarrians to emulate the American diaspora's experience in South Australia, begging the questions: How did Ikarrians settle in SA? What did their initial and long-term community building entail? How did they integrate into wider South Australian society? And how did they juggle their newfound cosmopolitanism with their independent Ikarrian identity? The next two chapters will deal with these questions.

Chapter 5: Ikarian Settlement & Initial Community Building (1910s-30s)

In 2013, on a family holiday to Ikaria, I noticed a large gumtree overarching my grandfather's childhood home in the remote village of Negia, on the island's north-eastern coast (Image 5.1).¹ I began noticing gumtrees all over the island, as well as on nearby Aegean islands such as Patmos and Samos, causing me to wonder why they were there.



Image 5.1: Gumtrees at the Gronthos family home in Negia, Ikaria.²

¹ Negia (or Neia) officially changed its name to Kioni (or Kionion) on 17 January 1957. See *Pandektis Archive*, accessed 16.06.2021: <https://pandektis.ekt.gr/dspace/handle/10442/171402>

² Photographs of gumtrees at the Gronthos family home, Negia, Ikaria, Greece. Top: from John Gronthos' collection, c. 2003. Bottom: captured by Robert Cartledge and Yianni Cartledge, July 2013.

Over 100 years earlier, on 24 June 1911 four men from Ikaria, travelling aboard the *Roon*, arrived in Port Adelaide.³ The four included the brothers John and Kostas Gronthos of Negia, Ikaria, aged 35 and 31 respectively; their brother-in-law Christos Safos, aged 48; and his son Kostas, aged 18.⁴ They had embarked at Port Said and listed themselves as Greek farm labourers.⁵ They soon found work at the Port Pirie smelter and can be seen in a photograph from the period (either in Port Pirie or Kandos, NSW), among other Ikarians (Image 5.2).



Image 5.2: Ikarian smelter workers in either Port Pirie or Kandos, NSW during the 1910s.⁶ John Gronthos is in back row, third from left.

The Gronthos brothers became extremely mobile during their settlement in Australia. John Gronthos returned to Greece during the late 1910s, only to return to Australia again in December 1923, aboard the *Ville de Verdun*.⁷ During this period,

³ 'Incoming passenger list to Fremantle "Roon" arrived 19 June 1911', NAA: K269, 19 JUN 1911 ROON, 9870155, 1911.

⁴ Their names were listed on the *Roon* as: Jean Grotos, Kostas Grotos, Kristos Safos, and Kostas Safos.

⁵ Official lists of passengers arriving in South Australia from overseas 1909-1924 – Customs Department, State Records of South Australia, GRG 41/34, 1880-1940.

⁶ Dr Themis P. Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century, Icaria Festival*, Fotolio & Typicon Printing House, United States, 2013, 26, image 17; Stylianos I. Simakis, *EKATO XPONIA IKAPIAKHΣ EEΩTEPIKHΣ METANASTEYΣHΣ, 1892-1991 [One-Hundred Years of Ikarian Overseas Migration, 1892-1991]*, Dekalogos, Athens, 2015, 195. Speis identified them as being in Port Pirie, however, Simakis identified them as being cement workers in Kandos, NSW. Either way, many of these men traversed both locations.

⁷ 'GROTHOS John – born 5 January 1875 – Greek', NAA: A435, 1948/4/1983, 7021660, 1928-48.

Gronthos left Port Pirie to settle in Kandos, NSW. He eventually naturalised in 1929, when he was working as a labourer for Standard Portland Cement in Charbon, NSW, only 4 kms away from Kandos (Image 5.3).⁸ He was later listed on the nearby electoral roll for Rylstone, Robertson, NSW, in 1930.⁹ During the 1920s, Gronthos nominated at least two relatives for entry into Australia as farm labourers, including his brother Kostas (Costantin) in 1926 and their cousin Christodoulos Carapetis the following year.¹⁰

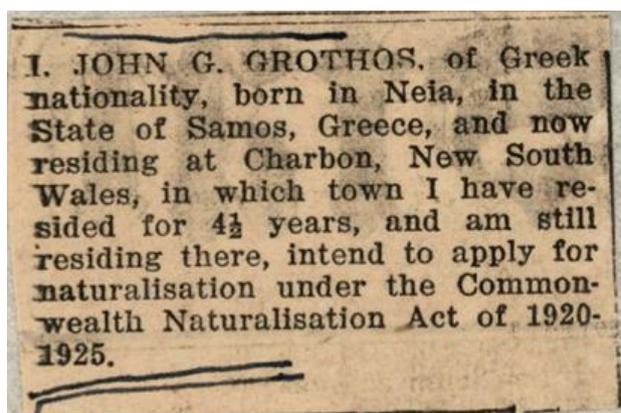


Image 5.3: John Gronthos' intention of naturalisation published publicly in 1929.¹¹

John Gronthos returned to Greece in the 1930s, and during WWII, he had his Australian assets seized under the *Trading with the Enemy Act* (1939-47). This was due to Greece being occupied by fascist Italy, Bulgaria, and Nazi Germany between 1941-45.¹² Ikaria itself was occupied by Italian forces from 1941-43, and German forces from 1943-44.¹³ In August 1948, Gronthos' name was listed in a schedule, along with many other Greeks, as well as Italians, French, and other Europeans, stating:

⁸ 'GROTHOS John - born 5 January 1875 - Greek', NAA: A435, 1948/4/1983, 7021660, 1928-48.

⁹ Supplemental Electoral Roll: Commonwealth Division of Robertson, State Electoral District of Mudgee, Supplemental Roll of Electors for the Sub-Division of Rylstone, Australian Electoral Commission, NSW, 1930, 19.

¹⁰ 'Applicant - GRONTHOS John; Nominee - GRONTHOS Costantin; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1926/850, 7525839, 1926; 'Applicant - GROTHOS John; Nominee - CARAPETIS Christootoulos; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/1122, 7603874, 1927.

¹¹ 'GROTHOS John - born 5 January 1875 - Greek', NAA: A435, 1948/4/1983, 7021660, 1928-48.

¹² See: Nicholas Doumanis, *Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean: Remembering Fascism's Empire*, Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, Hampshire & London, St Martin's Press, New York, 1997, 56-9.

¹³ Anthony J. Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals: Icaria 1600-2000*, Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Wauconda, Illinois, 2005, 153-77.

each of the persons named in the schedule to this Order shall, for the purposes of the National Security (Enemy Property) Regulations, be treated as if he or she had not ceased to be an enemy subject as defined in those regulations.¹⁴

This, however, was contested by Gronthos, who argued that he was still a British subject despite living in Ikaria, which was found true.¹⁵ It is unsure whether he received his Australian savings. It is thought that during either his return trip in the 1910s, or his final return migration to Greece, that Gronthos planted the gumtree seed that would overarch the family home.¹⁶

In 1936, there was an effort to bring Gronthos' son, George, to Florence St, Port Pirie for work. George, who was nominated by his 'first cousin' John Zacharias Carapetis, was going to work as a contractor for Carapetis' fruit business, however, this was stifled due to WWII.¹⁷ George did eventually migrate in the 1950s, with his wife and five children – one being my grandfather, also named John.

Building on the last chapter's discussion of emigration, this chapter analyses the settlement and initial community building experienced by the Ikarians of South Australia. To do so, firstly an in-depth view of Ikarian and wider Greek settlement in SA is presented, especially around the rural centre of Port Pirie, and later, Adelaide. Comparative cases are also consulted, as well as broader Ikarian movements in Australia, drawing parallels and building a historical perspective of their mobility. Secondly, the initial community building of the Ikarians is envisaged, particularly during the 1910s-20s, but extending to the 1930s. This early community building was based around the Greek communities, churches, and *cafés* (*kafenía*) of Port Pirie and Adelaide, and featured chain migration, relative nominations, and sponsorships. The initial community building exhibited aided

¹⁴ 'Trading with the Enemy Act 1938-1947: National Security (Enemy Property) Regulations', *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, 131, 2 September 1948, 32.

¹⁵ 'GROTHOS John – born 5 January 1875 – Greek', NAA: A435, 1948/4/1983, 7021660, 1928-48.

¹⁶ This story is taken from the oral tradition of the Gronthos family and the residents of Negia. It should be noted that eucalypts have been common in the Aegean since the nineteenth century, after they were introduced to French North Africa in the 1830s, and then to Greece during the mid-nineteenth century by botanist Professor Theodoros G. Orphanides. Their first appearances in the Aegean are in the first few years of the twentieth century, after Crete's first Greek governor introduced them to the island, and the Italian administration in the Dodecanese imported them to the region. See: Panayiotis Diamadis, 'Aegean Eucalypts', *Modern Greek Studies (Australia & New Zealand)*, 13, 2005, 102. However, local SA botanist and eucalypt expert Dean Nicolle has examined photos of the Gronthos gumtrees and has not ruled them out as being native to the Port Pirie region.

¹⁷ 'Applicant - CARAPETIS John Zacharias; Nominee - GROTHOU George John; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1936/92, 8196071, 1936.

the settlement process and was distinct from the Ikarians' long-term community building. Although, it was still both a contributing factor to the long-term community, and a link between emigration, settlement, and integration.

Integral to this chapter are the extensive existing archival sources.¹⁸ This includes the abundance of naturalisation papers, shipping registers, arrival records, gazettes, and newspaper sources. Many of these primary sources have been newly opened and contribute a great deal of knowledge to the movements and lives of early migrants. These records have made it possible to trace the settlement and community building of the South Australian Ikarians in their earliest years, thus they will form this chapter's historical foundation.

Greek Settlement in South Australia

1840s-1910s

Greek settlement in South Australia predated the 1910s. It was recently uncovered that the earliest Greek speaker to settle in Australia was a man named George Manual of Corfu, in the British Ionian Islands, who arrived in 1823 and lived until 101 years of age at Castle Hill, NSW.¹⁹ However, Georgios Thomas Tramountanas, or 'George North' after anglicising his name, has been traditionally held as the first 'Greek' to settle in SA, arriving at Port Adelaide at age 20 in 1842, only 19 years after George Manual.²⁰ North originated in the Ottoman Aegean, coming from a shipbuilding family of Limnos.²¹ He most likely arrived with his brother Theodoros (Theodore North), who moved onto Western

¹⁸ I would like to acknowledge, again, the NAA/AHA Postgraduate Scholarship, the Unley Council Small Sponsorship & Donations Scheme, and the LHS Tom Sheridan Scholarship, who enabled a thorough examination of archival material that would have otherwise been difficult to access in such large quantities.

¹⁹ Peter Prineas, *Wild Colonial Greeks*, Arcadia, North Melbourne, 2020, 245-53.

²⁰ Penny Anagnostou, 'Greeks in South Australia', in James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, 401; Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1: The early years*, Halstead Press, Broadway, Sydney, 1992, 73-5 & 117; George Kanarakis, *In the Wake of Odysseus: Portraits of Greek Settlers in Australia*, RMIT University Publishing, Melbourne, 1997, 15-24; Anastasios Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, 33; George Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities: Their Struggles for Social Justice and Cultural Rights: The Role of Greek-Australians*, Common Ground, Australia, 2009, 122.

²¹ Anagnostou, 'Greeks in South Australia', 401; Kanarakis, *In the Wake of Odysseus*, 15. Note: Although, it is likely he was raised in (or at least a long-term resident of) Athens.

Australia (although, there is also a tradition that Theodoros migrated directly to WA), and became possibly the first Greek-speaker to settle in Perth.²²

Following Tramountanas, other early 'Greek' arrivals (or rather, Greek speakers) included Andreas Siffoli (or Sofala) of Kefalonia, in the British Ionian Islands. Siffoli arrived in Port Adelaide in 1856 and was the first Greek speaker to be naturalised in SA, settling eventually in Glanville.²³ Siffoli appeared to toe the line between British and Greek. Despite being the second 'Greek' settler in SA, he was naturalised before Tramountanas, likely due to his former status as a British subject prior to Britain ceding the Ionian Islands to Greece.²⁴ Gilchrist noted that of the Greek settlers in SA who were naturalised between the colony's founding and 1895, "All but one were aged between 17 and 35, and most were islanders".²⁵

By the 1910s, islander arrivals increased, spurred on heavily by the Balkan Wars and WWI. Small communities formed around the port-towns, in a similar way that Greek islanders (like the Chiots) had been settling in Europe's and North America's port-cities. The 1911 census recorded 76 South Australian residents born in Greece, 32 in Turkey, 10 in Egypt, 3 in Crete, and 1 in Cyprus, totalling 138 people who were likely of a Greek-speaking background²⁶ – almost double those in 1901. This set a trajectory that saw a near population doubling by 1921. By 1933, the Greek-speaking population of SA had increased by more than 500% since 1921. This increase was not in line with state-wide population growth, which had only grown by 17.3% in the same period, from 495,160 to 580,949 people. Graph 5.1 and Tables 5.1-5.2 illustrate the growth of 'Greeks' (by place of birth) in SA, and the growth of the population of SA, between 1901-1933.²⁷

²² Kanarakis, *In the Wake of Odysseus*, 16; Reginald Appleyard & John N. Yiannakis, *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Crawley, WA, 2022, 7.

²³ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1*, 117.

²⁴ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1*, 117; Anagnostou, 'Greeks in South Australia', 401.

²⁵ Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 1*, 118-9.

²⁶ This includes an estimate of 12 born in Australia.

²⁷ All statistics were drawn from the following: ABS, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 3 April 1911; ABS, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 4 April 1921; ABS, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 30 June 1933. Note: 1891 & 1901 census data was also drawn from these three censuses.

Graph 5.1: Birthplace of Greek-speakers in South Australia, 1901-33.²⁸

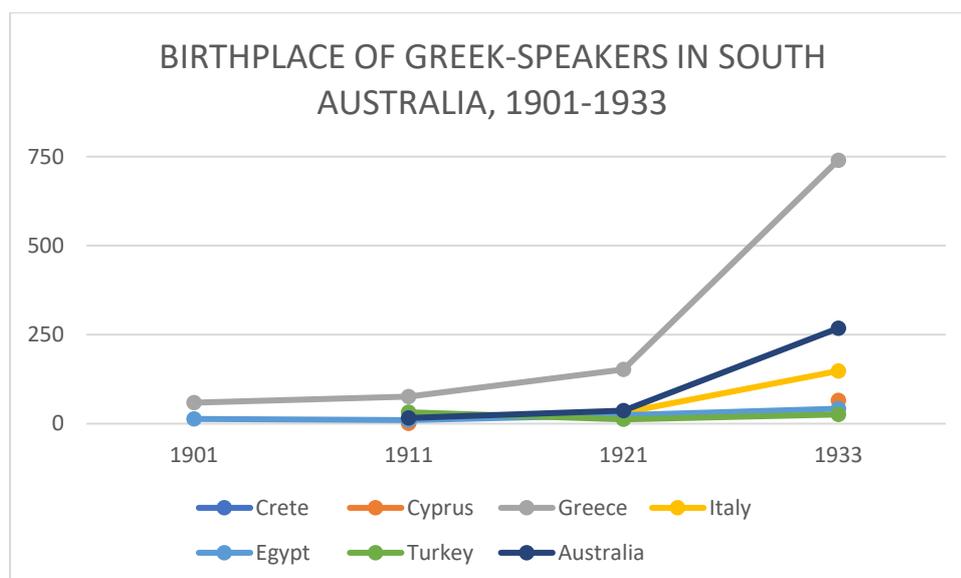


Table 5.1: Birthplace of Greek-speakers in South Australia, 1901-33.²⁹

Census Year	Crete	Cyprus	Egypt	Greece	Italy	Turkey	Australia	Total
1901			13	59				72
1911	3	1	10	76		32	16	138
1921			24	152	31	12	37	256
1933		63	42	740	148	26	268	1,289

Table 5.2: Total Population of South Australia and the Commonwealth.³⁰

Census Year	Total population of South Australia	Total population of the Commonwealth
1891	315,533	3,174,392
1901	358,346	3,773,801
1911	408,558	4,455,005
1921	495,160	5,435,734
1933	580,949	6,629,839

²⁸ 1911 Census: Part II - Birthplaces; 1921 Census: Part II - Birthplaces; 1933 Census: Part X - Birthplace. Charles Price estimates 20% of the Greek population being from Italy's Aegean possessions between 1912-33. See: Charles Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1975, 4. Australian born estimates were taken from the difference between Greek Orthodox Australians, and overseas born Greek Australians in the censuses.

²⁹ 1911 Census: Part II - Birthplaces; 1921 Census: Part II - Birthplaces; 1933 Census: Part X - Birthplace. Note: Blank cells = not recorded in the census; 0 = recorded in the census as zero; *Estimated; **Includes Asiatic Turkey.

³⁰ 1911 Census: Part II - Birthplaces; 1921 Census: Part II - Birthplaces; 1933 Census: Part X - Birthplace.

Taking into consideration that the Dodecanese islands were under Italian administration from 1912, a portion of the Italian-born residents in the 1921 and 1933 censuses were also from the Aegean region, totalling around 20% of Greek Australians.³¹ This is further supported by the Anglo-Italian Treaty of 1883-1940, where Italian migrants “were legally classified as equal to those of British subjects in Australia, whether naturalised or not.”³²

Prior to 1924, Greek and Ottoman migrants only needed to produce proof of £10 worth of ‘landing money’ – money that allowed them to settle and survive until work was found (as long as they were within their nationality’s quota).³³ In comparison, following policy changes in 1924, Greek and Turkish citizens, were bound to the rules of sponsored passage, as Piperoglou noted, a £40 guarantee from resident sponsors in Australia was required for a migrant’s entry.³⁴ Sponsored passage of migrants was compounded with questions of race, allegiance, criminal history, work skills, and English language ability.³⁵ Visas were also utilised as an alternative system alongside sponsorship, where proof of character and employment were essential in securing entry and settlement.³⁶ The perks of the much more straightforward assisted passage and land settlement packages were reserved solely for prospective British migrants following the 1922 Empire Settlement Act. The sponsorship, landing money, and visa systems, combined with the quotas on Southern European migrants discussed in the previous chapter, ultimately propelled chain migration of mostly male labourers during this period, compared to the post-WWII ‘populate or perish’ policy. This caused an increase in settlements of working-class migrants, like the Ikarians, during the interwar period.

³¹ Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1975, 4.

³² Catherine Dewhirst, ‘The Anglo-Italian Treaty: Australia’s imperial obligations to Italian migrants, 1883-1940’, in Gianfranco Cresciani & Bruno Mascitelli (eds.), *Italy and Australia: An Asymmetrical Relationship*, Connor Court Publishing, Ballarat, Victoria, 2014, 81.

³³ Michele Langfield, ‘White aliens’: The control of European immigration to Australia 1920-30’, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 12(2), 1991, 1-14.

³⁴ Andonis Piperoglou, ‘Envisioning Greek Refugees as ‘Farmers for Australia’: Christy Freeleagus, Land Settlement and Immigration Restriction in White Australia’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 52(1), 2021, 106-22.

³⁵ See naturalisation papers from the era, as quoted throughout this study. See also: Yianni Cartledge, ‘Greek Islander Migration to South Australia 1919-1939: Emigration, Settlement and Community Building’, in Caroline Adams & Brian Dickey (eds.), *South Australia 1919-1939: Essays from the Professional Historians Association (SA)*, PHA SA, Adelaide, 2022, 175-96.

³⁶ Langfield, ‘White aliens’, 1-14.

Religion also played a role, and only select citizens from the Eastern Aegean region were permitted to settle in Australia. Due to the White Australia Policy's demand that migrants be of the 'white Christian race', the preference remained for Greek, Ottoman, and Turkish migrants to be Christian – thus the majority of migrants from this region were Greek Orthodox and Christian Syrians and Lebanese.³⁷

The generally cited numbers of Greek settlers in Australia in this period likely were higher, as some migrants fell into the system of paperless 'ship jumping'.³⁸ For example, a group of six Turks, one Greek, and one Native American (who was not connected with the prior seven) were charged with 'absconding' (ship jumping) in 1911 after a headline-inducing series of events.³⁹ Later, some ship jumpers, such as Stamatios Vasilakis of Stelie, Ikaria, would apply for permission to stay in Australia, and explain their desertion. Vasilakis, who had deserted the *Lyras* in 1938, wrote in 1941 that:

My explanation is that at the time I was in the Adelaide Hospital with an illness arising from malnutrition on the ship...After leaving hospital I lived in Adelaide for 10 days, went to Port Lincoln and thence to Port Kenny and began fishing on the West Coast in August 1938. I purchased a fishing smack out of money I had and since then have been fishing between Beard's Bay and Port Kenny. I have had a fishing licence and since the outbreak of war I have been registered as an alien.⁴⁰

Essentially, a good portion of islander (including Ikarian) migrants were ship jumpers, although exact numbers are hard to determine. However, descendants of early Ikarians interviewed as part of this study have reminisced on multiple members of their own families who were ship jumpers, alluding to the practice being common.⁴¹

In 1911, the term 'Greek Catholic' appeared in the Australian census. This denoted Eastern Orthodoxy, as there was no 'Orthodox' category. Charles Price acknowledged this, seeing it as an umbrella term for Eastern Orthodoxy and other 'Eastern'

³⁷ Andonis Piperoglou, 'Migrant Acculturation via Naturalisation: Comparing Syrian and Greek Application for Naturalisation in White Australia', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 2021, 1-20.

³⁸ Alexander Kitroeff, 'Ship Jumpers: An Unspoken Chapter of Greek Immigration to the United States', *Pappas Post*, 16 April 2020.

³⁹ 'Troublesome Turks: Fight with Police', *Chronicle*, Adelaide, 21 January 1911, 40. See also: 'Troublesome Turks: Fight with the Police: Not Afraid of a Revolver', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 18 January 1911, 11.

⁴⁰ 'Stamatios VASSILAKIS - Greek deserter permanent resident status granted', NAA: D1976, SB1941/49, 1047542, 1938-41.

⁴¹ Interview with John Gronthos, Westbourne Park SA, 15 October 2023; Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 29 August 2022; Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 17 October 2022.

denominations not in communion with Rome, however, the majority were certainly Orthodox Christians.⁴² The breakdown of 'Greek Catholics' in the census supports this, with the majority being listed as 'Greek Orthodox' or 'Greek Church' (Graph 5.2). The term itself was also a common misnomer of the Orthodox church in the period.⁴³ In contrast, Roman Catholics from Greece and the Ottoman Empire were likely counted under the 'Roman Catholic' or 'Catholic (other)' category and Rusyns (also known as 'Ruthenians' or 'Greek Catholics') did not have a significant presence in SA in this period.⁴⁴ In 1911, the total of 'Greek Catholics' in SA, 150 persons, was higher than those that were 'Greek' by birthplace (76) or from a possible Greek speaking background (totalling 138). This is due to the number including people from various other Orthodox cultures, such as Ossetians from the Russian Empire.⁴⁵ According to the census, however, the most common places of birth for 'Greek Catholics' outside of Greece were Syria, Australia, and 'other European countries' (Graph 5.3). The significant number from 'Syria' were largely Orthodox Lebanese.⁴⁶

⁴² Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*, 8-9. See also: VR Anastastios Bozikis, Mario Baghos & Chris Baghos, 'The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia', in Christine Chaillot (ed.), *A Short History of the Orthodox Church in Australia*, Lit Verlag, Zurich, 2021, 28-9.

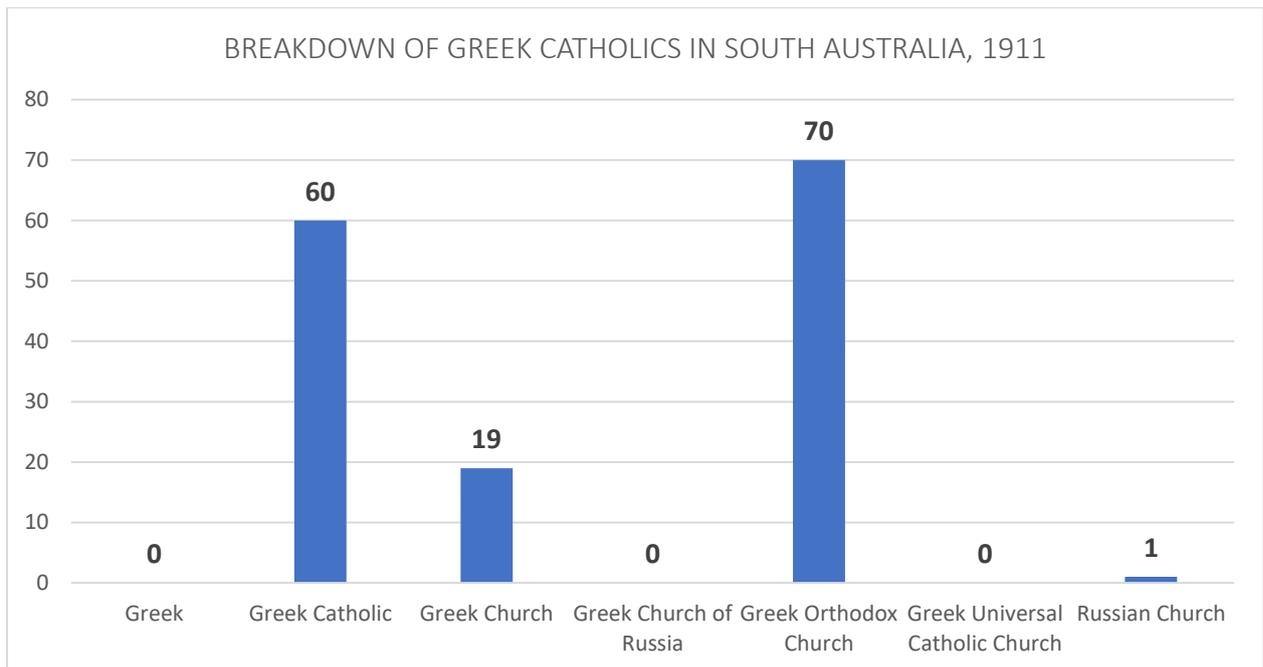
⁴³ Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*, 8-10; James A. Athanasou, 'Greek Orthodox in Australia – The Big Picture', *Religious Education Occasional Papers*, April 2019, 11; Paul Robert Magocsi, 'Greek Catholics: Historical Background', in Stéphanie Mahieu & Vlad Naumescu (eds.), *Churches In-Between: Greek Catholic Churches in Postsocialist Europe*, Lit Verlag, Berlin, 2008, 35-7.

⁴⁴ Paul Babie, 'Ukrainian Catholics in Australia: Past, Present, and Future', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, 28, 2007, 33-52.

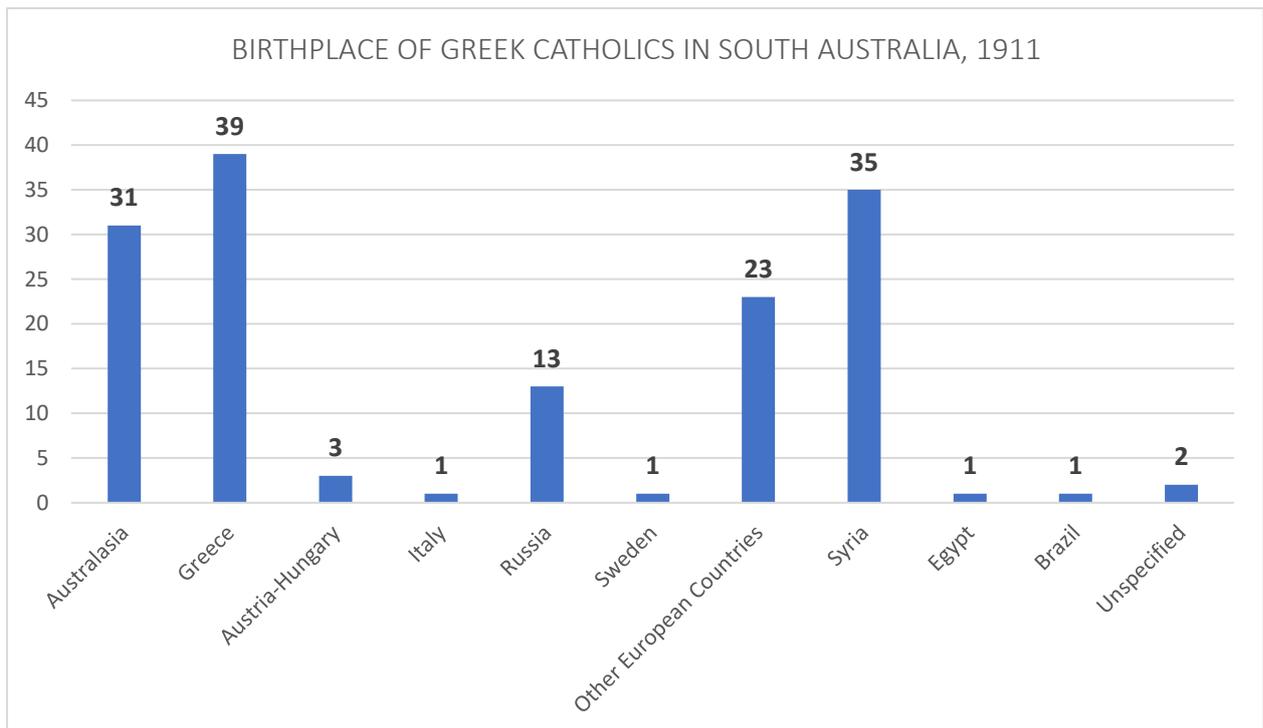
⁴⁵ See: Alexander Massov, Marina Pollard & Kevin Windle (eds.), 'VIII: Alexander Abaza', in *A New Rival State? Australia in Tsarist Diplomatic Communications*, ANU Press, Canberra, 2018, 283-329.

⁴⁶ Anne Monsour, 'Religion Matters: The Experience of Syrian/Lebanese Christians in Australia from the 1880s to 1947', *Humanities Research*, 12(1) 2006, 93-106.

Graph 5.2: Breakdown of Greek Catholics in South Australia, 1911.⁴⁷



Graph 5.3: Birthplace of Greek Catholics in South Australia, 1911.⁴⁸



⁴⁷ 1911 Census: Part VI – Religions. Note: No comparable data for 1891, 1901, 1921, 1933, or 1939.

⁴⁸ 1911 Census: Part II – Birthplaces. Note: No comparable data for 1891, 1901, 1921, 1933, or 1939.

In 1916, a 'secret census', as defined by Hugh Gilchrist, was taken.⁴⁹ This 'secret census' aimed to catalogue all Greeks living in Australia at the time, and included information on their names, genders, ages, occupations, locations, number of persons in their family, means of communication and transport, and any other key remarks. It also catalogued any Greek owned businesses and establishments.⁵⁰ The census was ultimately conducted by Australian special intelligence via local police, and it was portrayed as a precaution in case Greece joined the Central Powers during WWI, with the intent to intern Greek immigrants.⁵¹ The extent to which the period's anti-immigrant sentiments propelled the census are also clear.

According to the census, in 1916, South Australia's two largest Greek communities were Port Pirie with at least 116 Greeks, and Adelaide with at least 58. It is unclear whether all women and children were counted as each list was compiled differently and by different police officers. Adelaide's CBD had the largest concentration in the Adelaide metropolitan, followed by the inner suburbs and Port Adelaide. Twelve Greek establishments were listed in Adelaide – eight being fish and oyster shops. Five key Greek cafés in Port Pirie were noted, that of Michel Frangos & Christos Andronico, Michel Thomas, Michel Casacos (either Kazakos or Sakaris), George Elefteriou, and Manuel Spero – with Thomas' and Casacos' cafés noted as being "patronised by Greeks only".

At least 24 Ikarians were noted in the secret census. Those in SA included: John Angelo Majaris of Mill St, Adelaide; Themistocles Speis of George St, Port Pirie; John Varsamis, John Tsiros, and Athanasios Tsiros of First St, Port Pirie; another John Tsiros of Fourth St, Port Pirie; Manolio Tsimpidis, John Tsimpidis, Dimitrios Hatzinakis, George Tsamoutalis (Karas), and Elias Kastanes, living at Second St, Port Pirie;⁵² another Dimitrios Hajinakis (Hatzinakis) at Government Rd, Port Pirie; and James Speis, Con (Kostas) Safos, Stamatis Vasilaros, John Gronthos, Angelos Frangos, Christos Frangos, Philip Mantagas, and John Mantagas, all living at Geddes Lane, Port Pirie, along with the

⁴⁹ Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks vol. 2: The middle years*, Halstead Press, Rushcutters Bay, NSW, 1997, 16-9; Yianni Cartledge & Andrekos Varnava, 'Making and Monitoring a 'Suspect Community': Australian Attacks on Greeks and the 'Secret Census' in 1916', *Australian Historical Studies*, forthcoming.

⁵⁰ 'Greek – South Australia – Greeks Resident in Metropolitan Police Division', NAA: A385, 10B, 65706, 1916; 'Greek – South Australia – Particulars of', NAA: A385, 10A, 65705, 1916; 'The Secret Census of Greeks in Australia, 1916', in Hugh Gilchrist (compiler), *Papers of Hugh Gilchrist*, NLA: MS 4931, 1827-2007.

⁵¹ James Vassilopoulos, 'Greek Australians: beyond the stereotypes', *Green Left*, 354, 24 March 1999.

⁵² For George Karas 'Tsamoutalis' who arrived in SA in the 1910s, see: Michalis Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, self-published, Adelaide, Winter 1991, 27.

unidentified John 'Gournaris' – possibly the same man as John Gounelas (or John Gounilos) of Syros (Table 5.3).⁵³

Table 5.3: Ikarians listed in the 1916 Secret Census.⁵⁴

South Australia	
Mill St, Adelaide	John Angelo Majaris
First St, Port Pirie	John Varsamis John Tsiros Athanasios Tsiros
Second St, Port Pirie	Manolio Tsimpidis Dimitrios Hatzinakis John Tsimpidis George Tsamoutalis (Karas) Elias Kastanes
Fourth St, Port Pirie	John Tsiros
Geddes Lane, Port Pirie	Philip Mantagas John Mantagas Stamatios Vasilaros James Speis Con Safos John Gronthos Angelos Frangos Christos Frangos
Government Road, Port Pirie	Dimitrios Hajinakis
George St, Port Pirie	Themistocles Speis
Queensland	
Cloncurry	John Curtis (Kakouratos)

⁵³ 'GOUNELAS John', NAA: PP14/3, GREEK/GOUNELAS J, 4268129, 1916-20; Official lists of passengers arriving in South Australia from overseas 1909-1924 – Customs Department, State Records of South Australia, GRG 41/34, 1880-1940. Gounelas arrived with Ikarians in 1924 aboard the *Principessa Giovanna*, Thrasivoulos Speis, Basile J. Lakios, and Yacovos Schizas – this could have been his second visit to SA: 'Incoming passenger list to Fremantle "Princepessa Giovanna" arrived 18 March 1924', NAA: K269, 18 MAR 1924 PRINCEPESSA GIOVANNA, 12285287, 1924.

⁵⁴ 'Greek – South Australia – Greeks Resident in Metropolitan Police Division', NAA: A385, 10B, 65706, 1916; 'Greek – South Australia – Particulars of', NAA: A385, 10A, 65705, 1916; 'The Secret Census of Greeks in Australia, 1916', in Hugh Gilchrist (compiler), *Papers of Hugh Gilchrist*, NLA: MS 4931, 1827-2007; 'Greeks - Western Australia - Particulars of', NAA: A385, 13, 65709, 1916.

Western Australia	
Mornington	Antonio Loucadakis
Barrabupp	Savos (Safos)

Victoria	
Lonsdale St, Melbourne	Apostolos Parianos

Ultimately, the secret census noted 178 Greeks in SA in 1916, over 100 more than in 1911, and more than the 152 listed in the 1921 census (Table 5.4). This showed that there was a migration spike during the 1910s which ended with WWI, where many may have return migrated to Greece. This could also account for many ‘ship jumpers’ being counted among the numbers, and thus reflects a more ‘accurate’ number of Greeks in SA during the period. It should be noted that no Ikarians (or many SA Greeks) were listed in this era’s other notable catalogue of Greeks in Australia, *H Ζωή εν Αυστραλία (I Zoi en Afstralia* – ‘Life in Australia’), published in Sydney in 1916, which had a clear Australian East Coast bias, as well as Ionian Islander community focus.⁵⁵

Table 5.4: Census Comparisons 1911-33: Greek (by Birthplace) Males and Females recorded in Urban and Rural divisions, South Australia.

Census	Urban: Metropolitan	Urban: Provincial	Rural	Migratory	State Total
1911 Census (Birthplace: Greece)	48 (Adelaide)	N/A	29 (outside Adelaide)	N/A	76
1916 ‘Secret Census’	56 (Adelaide)	116 (Port Pirie)	6 (rural townships)	N/A	178 (unclear if all females and children counted)
1921 Census (Birthplace: Greece)	79 (63 males, 16 females)	29 (23 males, 6 females)	30 (25 males, 5 females)	14 (males)	152 (125 males, 27 females) ⁵⁶
1933 Census (Birthplace: Greece)	290 (199 males, 91 females)	162 (101 males, 61 females)	280 (249 males, 31 females)	8 (7 males, 1 female)	740 (556 males, 184 females)

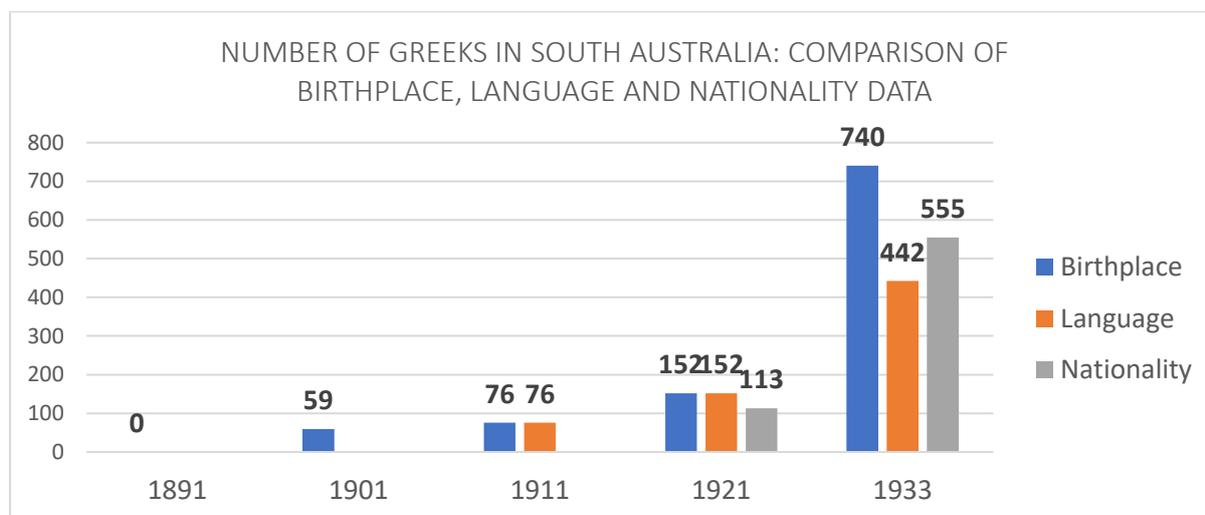
⁵⁵ Ioannis D. Kominos, *H Ζωή εν Αυστραλία [Life in Australia]*, Afstralías, Sydney, 1916.

⁵⁶ The Port Pirie recorded claimed 500 Greeks in Port Pirie alone in 1924 as previously mentioned: ‘Foreigners in Port Pirie: Allegations Against Greeks: Statements Strongly Resented’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 3 September 1924, 1.

The Greek Colony of South Australia: 1920s-30s

Throughout the 1920s, South Australia's Greek population increased exponentially. This saw the 500% increase of Greeks in SA between 1921-33. In 1921, the state had only 113 residents retaining Greek nationality, with 87 of those being male. That year's census did not count naturalised Greeks or ethnic Greek Australians, as there were also 152 persons listed as being born in Greece, and 256 listed as 'Greek Catholic'. The *Port Pirie Recorder*, however, claimed there to be around 500 Greeks in Port Pirie alone in 1924.⁵⁷ By the start of the 1930s, the Greek population of SA grew close to 800, with over 1,000 being 'Greek Catholic', and the Greek language being the third most spoken in the state, behind English and Italian (Graphs 5.4-5.5).

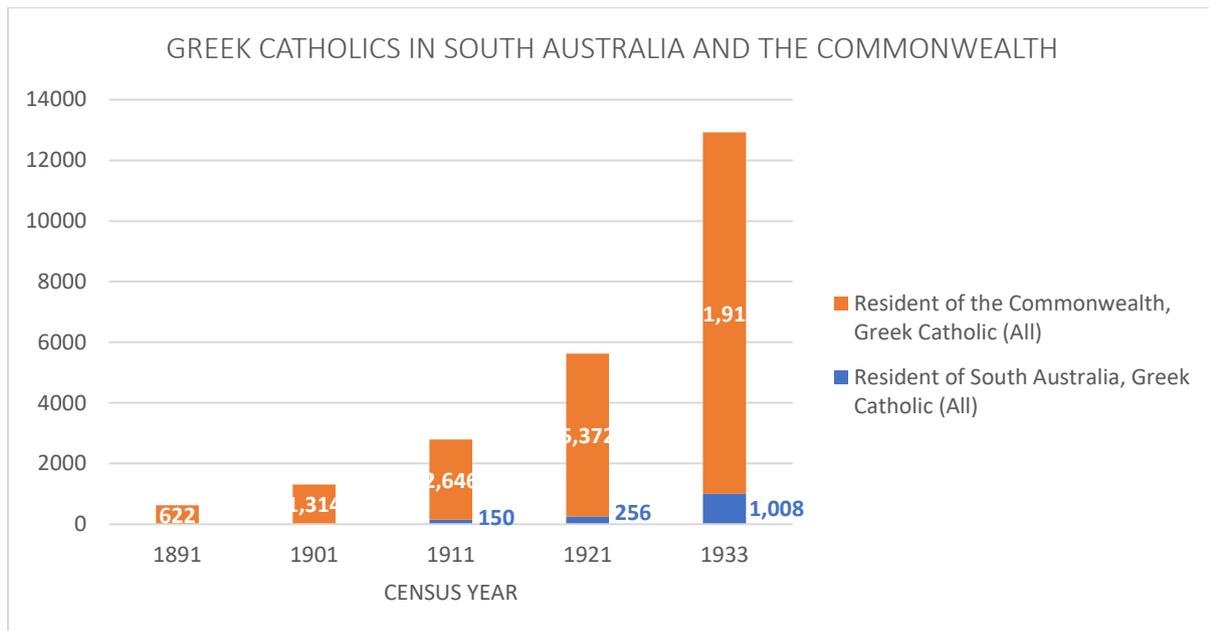
Graph 5.4: Number of Greeks in South Australia: Comparison of Birthplace, Language, and Nationality Data.⁵⁸



⁵⁷ 'Foreigners in Port Pirie: Allegations Against Greeks: Statements Strongly Resented', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 3 September 1924, 1.

⁵⁸ 1933 Census: Part XI – Nationality; 1933 Census: Part X – Birthplace. Note: *Birthplace and Nationality not recorded in the 1933 census for Crete, Europe (undefined).

Graph 5.5: Greek Catholics in South Australia and the Commonwealth.⁵⁹



This increase in numbers opened the ‘need’ for a community figurehead, which came in the form of a priest. On 10 April 1924, Christophoros Manassis, born on Chios in 1898, arrived at Port Melbourne aboard the *Ville de Metz*.⁶⁰ Manassis quickly found work at the BHP Smelters, Port Pirie. Described as a ‘deeply religious man’, and perhaps seeing a void in the community, Manassis was ordained by Melbourne’s Greek Orthodox Bishop Christophoros Knetes, becoming the resident priest at Port Pirie in December 1925.⁶¹ Manassis’ ordination was the first performed in Australia, and gave him a position as one of the first ‘leaders’ of the South Australian Greek community.⁶²

In anticipation for Manassis’ arrival, the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie was established in November 1924, initiated by Bishop Knetes. Currently, it is South Australia’s oldest existing Greek community structure, and Australia’s second (or third) oldest Orthodox community. Its original object was to provide “religious, moral, and

⁵⁹ 1911 Census: Part II – Birthplaces; 1911 Census: Part VI – Religions; 1921 Census: Part VI – Religions; 1933 Census: Part XVI – Religion. Note: No data for South Australia in 1891 or 1901.

⁶⁰ Michael P. Tsounis, ‘Greek Communities in Australia’, PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1971, 156-8; John N. Yiannakis, ‘Manassis, Christophoros (1898-1980)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 15, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra, 2000.

⁶¹ Yiannakis, ‘Manassis, Christophoros (1898-1980)’. On the early Greek Orthodox Church in Australia, see: Christopher Knetes, ‘The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia’, in George G. Nicolaides (ed.), *International Directory*, 1st edn., International Publisher Limited, Adelaide, 1927, 401-7.

⁶² ‘First Greek Ordination’, *Herald*, Melbourne, 28 November 1925, 3.

educational instruction for the benefit of members of the institution, and the promotion of philanthropic and charitable work among the pool of the town”, which was announced in Adelaide’s *News* in November 1924.⁶³ Prior to this community, Greek services were held only while a priest was visiting the town, such as when Archimandrite Daniel Maravelis of Melbourne hosted an Easter service in May 1916 at St Pauls Anglican Church.⁶⁴

Around 1925, the Greek community purchased the old Parish Hall of St Pauls, on the corner of David and Florence St, Port Pirie. Between 1925-26, they dismantled and rebuilt the hall on David St, which acted as the makeshift wooden Orthodox Church of St George.⁶⁵ The church also hosted a Greek language school (Image 5.4). This church was in use until 1960 (or 1959), when a new church was constructed, which was funded by the Kastellorizian, Cypriot, and Ikarian fraternities of SA, among other groups.⁶⁶ The church acted as a centre of community where various Greek sub-communities, such as the Ikarians, could meet, within the context of the wider ‘pan-Greek’ context.



Image 5.4: Greek School of Port Pirie in front of the original wooden St George Church, 1936. Courtesy of the Greek Community of Port Pirie.

⁶³ ‘Greek Community Organisation at Port Pirie’, *News*, Adelaide, 21 November 1924, 3.

⁶⁴ ‘Greek Church Service at Port Pirie’, *Areas Express*, Booyoolee, South Australia, 2 June 1916, 4.

⁶⁵ ‘All Saints Day’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 4 November 1925, 4; ‘Country News: Port Pirie’, *Chronicle*, Adelaide, 13 February 1926, 14.

⁶⁶ Tsounis, ‘Greek Communities in Australia’, 1971, 370.

Manassis' time at Port Pirie was short-lived, and in 1926 he was moved to Perth by Knetes and replaced by another islander, Archimandrite Germanos Heliou. Born 'Georgios Iliou' on the island of Lesvos, Heliou first came to Australia as early as 1913, where he replaced Rev Chrysanthos as priest in Perth.⁶⁷ By the time of his appointment to Port Pirie, Heliou was well-known among Australia's Greek and wider religious communities. He became especially known for his "endeavors to unite the Orthodox Greek and Anglican Churches" (Image 5.5).⁶⁸

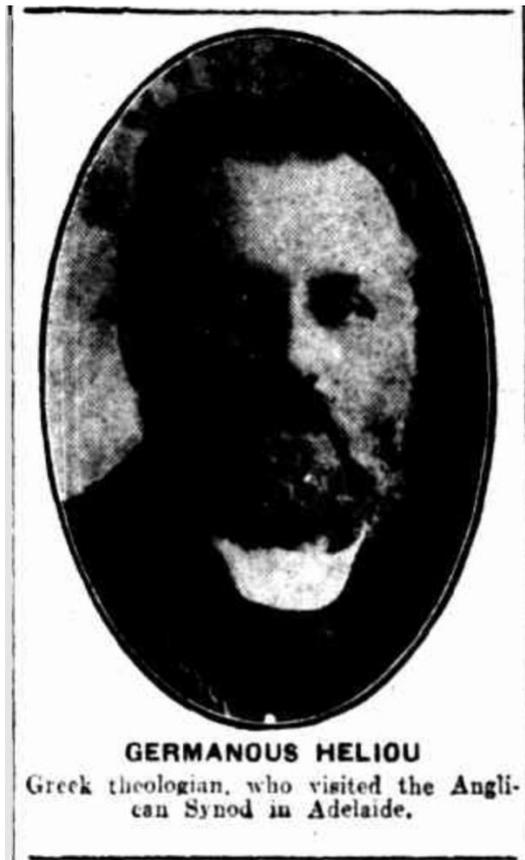


Image 5.5: Germanos Heliou in the *News*, Adelaide, 5 September 1925.

Heliou eventually settled as priest in Adelaide, holding Orthodox services in the Anglican Holy Trinity Church, corner of North Tce and Morphett St.⁶⁹ Previously,

⁶⁷ Also known under the names of 'George Heliou', 'Eliou', 'Elion', 'Iliou', or 'Illiou'. See: J. Collins, B. Krivokapic-Shoko, K. Jordan, H. Babacan & N. Gopalkrishnan, *Cosmopolitan Place Making in Australia: Immigrant Minorities and the Built Environment in Cities, Regional and Rural Areas*, Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature Singapore, Singapore, 2020, 276-7; Heritage Council of Western Australia, 'Register of Heritage Places – Assessment Documentation: Cathedral of St. Constantine and St. Helene', 28 June 2005, 4-5.

⁶⁸ 'Greek Theologian: Gemanous Heliou: Man and his Mission', *News*, Adelaide, 5 September 1925, 4.

⁶⁹ Michael P. Tsounis, *The Story of a Community: A short pictorial history of the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia*, Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia, Adelaide, 1991, 1.

Manassis had also used the Holy Trinity Church to hold Greek services.⁷⁰ The appointments of Heliou and Manassis reflected the growth of SA's Greek settlement, which was significant enough by the mid-1920s to warrant and support the two priests.

As the rate of migration to South Australia increased, the Greek community of SA and the wider community had an increasingly wavering relationship. In 1924, a lengthy article was published in the *Port Pirie Recorder*, that described a recent government deputation, held on request of the Port Pirie branch of the Australian Labor Party, which claimed that the:

influx of foreigners...depreciated the locality (Port Pirie) and properties by their mode of living which was not up to the Australian standard. This, he (Mr A. W. Lacey, MHR) said, applied especially to the Greeks who had unclean habits...They were not nearly as good citizens as the Australians. (Appendix 5.1)⁷¹

This portrayed the community at Port Pirie as 'undesirables' – a trope that continued throughout this period.

In the article, however, the Greek community were given the opportunity to defend themselves. Mr T.C. George, president of the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie, presented a rebuttal to the racist remarks: "“Mr. Lacey's allegations,” Mr. George said, “are an insult to the Greek people in this town.” There are about 500 Greeks in Port Pirie.” Lacey's comments, however, sparked more sympathy than criticism during the deputation, and it was noted that:

no matter what part of Australia the aliens landed at, they eventually found their way to large industrial towns such as Port Pirie...objections were continually being made to members of parliament against the continued flow of immigrants from Italy, Greece and Malta.⁷²

Other stereotypes received attention during the meeting, such as Southern Europeans being 'penniless foreigners' and taking jobs from 'British Australians'. The era's Australian Labor Party and workers unions supported these ideals, having a staunch anti-

⁷⁰ 'Pirie Greek Priest', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 10 August 1926, 1.

⁷¹ 'Foreigners in Port Pirie: Allegations Against Greeks: Statements Strongly Resented', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 3 September 1924, 1 & 4.

⁷² 'Foreigners in Port Pirie: Allegations Against Greeks: Statements Strongly Resented', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 3 September 1924, 1.

immigrant stance, which ultimately led to many of the anti-immigrant strikes, mistreatments, and rhetoric that occurred in this period.⁷³

Ultimately multiple solutions were put forward to 'solve' this immigrant 'problem'. First, that the dictation test which "was only to keep out colored immigrants" be applied more frequently to Southern Europeans; second, that nothing is 'overlooked', with closer investigations of the migrants' backgrounds; third, that "Employment [be] facilitated by making demand regulate supply, and by developing the technical education of the migrant before embarkation, by means of special but simple courses"; fourth, that a short prohibition of migrants be instigated; and fifth, that Australia adopt a quota system similar to the US. The newspaper, however, finished with statistics drawn from the 1921 census, claiming that Italians only made up 0.07% of the population and that Greeks were half of this, with British descendants being 99%. Overall, there was only a slight increase of 'Mediterranean arrivals' between 1910-23, from 1.6% to 3.7%: "the figures showed no cause for concern at present." Ultimately, "The Government had no evidence that Southern Europeans were being brought out under contract. The deputation...could rely on the Government keeping a very close watch on the position and doing all it could to maintain the high British percentage."⁷⁴ However, newspapers continued to sensationalise the topic of Southern European migration, even publishing lists and numbers of new migrants with headings such as 'Two Migrant Ships' and 'R.M.S. Ormonde Arrives: With Greek and Italian Migrants' – despite these being common occurrences.⁷⁵

As the Port Pirie settlement boomed, Greek islanders also settled around the state, including in Adelaide's West End and in other major rural centres. Susan Marsden noted that they "helped postwar arrivals. Scarce housing 'saw two or three families sharing two-

⁷³ For more on the ALP, unionism, and immigration, see: Con K. Allimonos, 'Greek Communist Activity in Melbourne: a Brief History', *Labour History*, 86, May 2004, 137-55; Chad Cooper, 'The immigration debate in Australia: from Federation to World War One', *Parliamentary Library*, 16 July 2012; Santina Bertone, Gerard Griffin & Roderick D. Iverson, 'Immigrant Workers and Australian Trade Unions: Participation and Attitudes', *The International Migration Review*, 29(3), 1995, 722-44; Julia Martínez, 'Questioning 'White Australia': Unionism and 'Coloured' Labour, 1911-37', *Labour History*, 76, 1999, 1-19; Jon Piccini, 'Australian Labor and the "Color Line"', *Jacobin*, 2020; Andrew Markus, 'Labor and Immigration: Policy Formation 1943-5', *Labour History*, 46, 1984, 21-33.

⁷⁴ 'Foreigners in Port Pirie: Allegations Against Greeks: Statements Strongly Resented', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 3 September 1924, 4.

⁷⁵ 'Two Migrant Ships', *Age*, Melbourne, 31 January 1928, 6; 'R.M.S. Ormonde Arrives: With Greek and Italian Migrants', *Age*, Melbourne, 28 February 1928, 10.

room cottages: they developed a close and supportive community”.⁷⁶ In Thebarton, for example, islanders from Rhodes ‘recreated’ the village of Lahania between the 1920s-50s.⁷⁷ Greek islanders on the South Australian West Coast, especially around Ceduna and Thevenard, would settle closely and integrate into the local fishing economy.⁷⁸ For many this transitioned their native trade of fishing into a new setting, just as the Ikarians transitioned their charcoal and labouring skills into their new setting.

In 1926, British Foreign Secretary, Sir Austen Chamberlain, received a despatch from Greek diplomat Dimitrios Kaklamanos, stating that “in view of the numerous Greek Colony in South Australia, the Greek Government are considering the creation of an Honorary Consulate in Adelaide”. Chamberlain forwarded this to Governor-General John Baird, Baron Stonehaven, who ensured that there was “no objection on the part of the Commonwealth Government”.⁷⁹ This came as 350 SA Greeks had signed a petition requesting a consulate.⁸⁰ The Greek Consular Service of Adelaide was established, at 19 Rundle St, Adelaide, creating a tangible link between the Greek diaspora of South Australia and Greece. George Nicolaidis was appointed the Honorary Consul, who was an active member of the Greek community, and former president of the short-lived Hellenic Association (1924-26).⁸¹ By 1931, Nicolaidis had been replaced as Greek Consul by Barossa-region winemaker Oscar Benno Seppelt, who held the role until 1958.⁸² It is

⁷⁶ Susan Marsden, *Twentieth Century Heritage Survey: Stage 1: Post Second World War (1946-1959): Overview History*, Carol Cosgrove & Robyn Taylor (assisted), Department of Environment and Heritage, Government of South Australia, Adelaide, 2003-04, 69. See also: Bridget Jolly, *Historic South West Corner, Adelaide*, Adelaide City Council, 2003, 11 & 29.

⁷⁷ See: Claude Hedrick, ‘Reflections on primary resource material research in Lahania, a Greek village on the island of Rhodes, and migration to Thebarton, Adelaide, South Australia. Part One’, in *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the 7th Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, Adelaide, June 2007, 155-62; Claude Hedrick, ‘Reflections on primary resource material research in Lahania, a Greek village on the island of Rhodes, and migration to Thebarton, Adelaide, South Australia. Part Two’, in *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the 8th Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, Adelaide, June 2009, 226-35; Claude Hedrick, ‘Recreation of the Rhodian village of Lahania in Thebarton, South Australia, in the early 1950s. Part Three’, in *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the 9th Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, Adelaide, June 2011, 502-7.

⁷⁸ See, for example: Yianni Cartledge, ‘Angelakis, George (1920-1993)’, *ADB*, 19, ANU Pres, Acton, ACT, 2021, (online in 2020).

⁷⁹ ‘Greek Consular Service, Adelaide’, NAA: A11804, 1926/302 PART 4, 1622050, 1925-26. Note: Dimitrios Kaklamanos is sometimes spelled as ‘Demetrius Caclamanos’.

⁸⁰ ‘Trade with Greece: Tour of a Journalist: Mr. P. P. Leckos in Pirie’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 26 July 1929, 1.

⁸¹ Tsounis, ‘Greek Communities in Australia’, 1971, 568-9. Note: Anagnostou gives an earlier 1923 date for the Hellenic Association. See: Anagnostou, ‘Greeks in South Australia’, 402.

⁸² M.J. Emery, ‘Seppelt, Oscar Benno (1873-1963)’, *ADB*, 16, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra, 2002; ‘Mr. Oscar Seppelt Appointed Greek Consul’, *News*, Adelaide, 19 November 1931, 4.

unclear why Seppelt was chosen, but most likely it was due to the position being an honorary title during this period, rather than an active community voice – however, Seppelt did appear to be somewhat active in the community.⁸³

By 1929 Adelaide began seeing its largest influx of Greek migrants to date. This happened simultaneously with the decline of smelting work in Port Pirie, mostly due to the Great Depression, causing many Greeks to find new work in Adelaide and other towns.⁸⁴ This saw Adelaide's Greek population become on par with Port Pirie's and other rural and provincial centres, and many islanders began working between Pirie, Adelaide, and other towns, including on the South Australian West Coast and the Riverland.⁸⁵ However, interestingly, Adelaide always historically had more 'Greeks' than its rural contemporaries. This demonstrated that growth occurred in other rural centres alongside the period's urban growth, creating a rural-urban levelling rather than a 'city influx'. By the end of this period, Kaklamanos' words rang true, as there was certainly a "numerous Greek Colony in South Australia".

The Port Pirie System

Early Greek islander settlement in South Australia thrived on what can be called the 'Port Pirie system'. On arriving at Port Pirie, Ikarians instantly joined a network of their compatriots, as well as other islanders, who assisted in providing housing, finding employment, and making sure their fellow islanders had the means of survival. This practice was reminiscent of the Chiotis who arrived in London in the 1820s-30s and joined their fellow islanders in Finsbury Circus where they received housing and employment in their trading firms.⁸⁶ Despite the shelter and work the Ikarians and others received not being of the same 'calibre' as the London Chiotis, the same core network structure existed.

⁸³ 'Αφιξίς Μητροπολίτου Αυστραλίας' ['Arrival of the Metropolitan of Australia'], *To Ethnico Vema*, Arncliffe, NSW, 10 August 1932, 4; 'Greek Consul-General Leaves', *News*, Adelaide, 18 December 1940, 7.

⁸⁴ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 3; George Rajkovic, *The Mission to Seafarers: Port Pirie, South Australia, a Short History*, The Anglican Diocese of Willochra, Port Pirie, 2014, 3.

⁸⁵ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 3; Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, 121-3. It should be noted that the Riverland had 13 Greek families in Berri and 10 families in Renmark in 1940. See: GOCSA Archives, Box No GSE-E, 1930-45.

⁸⁶ Yianni Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre and Chiot Emigration: A Coerced Diaspora', in Yianni Cartledge & Andrekos Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence: Myths, Realities, Legacies and Reflections*, Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, Cham, Switzerland, 2022, 217-41.

Port Pirie had been a steadily growing hub of employment since the end of the nineteenth century. What began as a small pastoralist settlement, eventually became a significant regional centre. There is a large and detailed body of work dealing with the history and development of Port Pirie, which Robinson has described as a 'romance' with the town.⁸⁷ This interest has stemmed from the town's nature as a crossroads of diverse cultures, languages, and peoples. British colonisation began in the area that would become the town as early as 1840, with the township being planned and allotments being for sale by the end of the decade.⁸⁸ However, significant development did not begin until the 1870s when the town was incorporated, a mill was built, and wheat exports commenced.⁸⁹ Port Pirie remained dominated by the wheat and wool industries until the late-1880s.

By the 1890s, many working-class European labourers began flocking to the port, seeking work in the new BHP Smelters.⁹⁰ BHP (Broken Hill Proprietary Company) had formed at Broken Hill on 20 June 1885, after shareholders from a local silver mining syndicate based at Mount Gipps Station decided to formally organise.⁹¹ The company had established their smelters at Port Pirie only four years later. This began with two 30-ton furnaces, which grew to a plant of fifteen 80-ton smelters, reducing about 4,500 tons every week.⁹² The smelters were the main source of employment for Greek islander migrants, however, agriculture, fishing, and to a lesser degree shopkeeping, were also flourishing trades.⁹³

⁸⁷ Nancy Robinson, *Reluctant Harbour: The Romance of Pirie*, Nadjuri Australia, Jamestown, South Australia, 1976, 293-4. See also, to name a few notable studies: R.J.R. Donley, *The Rise of Port Pirie*, Automatic Printing Co., Port Pirie, 1975; Ken Bullock, *Port Pirie: The Friendly City – The Undaunted Years*, Peacock Publications, Norwood, South Australia, 1988; Frank A. Green, *The Port Pirie Smelters*, BHAS, Melbourne, 1977; Michael Peter Corrieri, *Italians of Port Pirie: A Social History*, Our Lady of Martyrs, Port Pirie Italian Community, Port Pirie, 1992; Desmond O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid: Italian Settlers in South Australia between 1839 and the Second World War*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1996; Peter Leverenz, *Port Pirie Local History*, Risdon Park, self-published, 1983; Robert Oxford, *In the Shadow of the Smelters: A Port Pirie Family History*, self-published, Perth, 2014; Rajkovic, *The Mission to Seafarers*, 2014; R. Bennett, 'A History of the Development of the City of Port Pirie from 1845 to 1920: Man's Triumph Over Nature', PhD thesis, Adelaide College of Advanced Education, Adelaide, 1974.

⁸⁸ Robinson, *Reluctant Harbour*, 24-43.

⁸⁹ Donley, *The Rise of Port Pirie*, 10-5.

⁹⁰ O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 68-9.

⁹¹ The Broken Hill Proprietary Company Limited, 'Fifty Years of Industry and Enterprise, 1885 to 1935', *The B.H.P. Review: Jubilee Number*, J.T. Picken & Sons, Melbourne, June 1935, 6-9.

⁹² The Broken Hill Proprietary Company Limited, 'Fifty Years of Industry and Enterprise, 1885 to 1935', 12-3.

⁹³ Note: Port Pirie's other large Orthodox presence, settler labourers from the Russian Empire, particularly Ossetia, similarly worked at the BHP smelters. See: Massov, Pollard & Windle (eds.), 'VIII: Alexander Abaza', 283-329.

Due to the affinity with BHP, Broken Hill, NSW, often acted as an 'extension' of the 'Port Pirie system', with migrant workers frequently travelling between the two towns. The Broken Hill *Barrier Miner* newspaper often reported stories about Port Pirie's Greek community, attesting to the strong links this system cultivated. However, the majority of these stories spoke of hardships, deaths, fights, and arrests.⁹⁴ In 1925, when Father Manassis was appointed "as rector of the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie, all of South Australia and Broken Hill", this further united both towns' Greek communities.⁹⁵ This often extended as well to towns westward from Port Pirie, including Port Augusta, Port Lincoln, Thevenard, and Ceduna, as well as towns between Pirie and Broken Hill, such as Peterborough.

One Ikarian, John D. Canares, moved between Port Pirie, Peterborough, Port Augusta, and Kandos, NSW, between 1916-20, with Pirie being his stop between each move.⁹⁶ Canares' moves followed a trail of labouring work as noted by his intended occupation in each town. He eventually settled in Melbourne, where he changed professions to work in a kitchen, removing himself from the Port Pirie system. Another man from the Raches region of Ikaria, Vasilios (Basil) A. Fakaris, found himself in Broken Hill in 1926 after having originally settled in Port Lincoln.⁹⁷ At the same time his brother, Kostas (Constantine), was living in Thevenard.⁹⁸ On his 1939 naturalisation application, Kostas noted his history in SA, living "in the farming districts at Eyres Peninsula (sic) and Mildura, and for the past ten years has resided at 136 Hindley Street, Adelaide where he conducts a lodging-house and Greek club."⁹⁹ This system, which was independent from

⁹⁴ See, for example: 'Greeks' Strange Adventure: Fishing Cutter Swamped', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 17 September 1914, 2; 'Quarrel Between Greeks: Fight at the Port Pirie Smelters', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 26 December 1915, 1; 'Greek Shot by a Woman', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 12 July 1917, 2; 'Failing Amongst Greeks: "Interests Depend upon Allies Victory"', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 13 October 1917, 4; 'Alleged Abduction: Greek Arrested in Adelaide Taken Back to Pirie', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 18 March 1919, 1; 'Alleged Libel: Greek Priest v. Ex-Priest', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 5 July 1926, 4; 'Young Woman Attacked by a Greek at Port Pirie', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 13 March 1929, 4; 'Unlawful Wounding: Charge Against a Greek in port Pirie Police Court', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 28 March 1929, 4; 'Smelters' Fatality', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 24 September 1915, 2; 'Lost Greeks Located', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 6 September 1952, 7.

⁹⁵ Yiannakis, 'Manassis, Christophoros (1898-1980)'.

⁹⁶ 'John D Canares [Karneris] [Application for Naturalisation] [Box 6]', NAA: ST1233/1, N2544, 450214, October 1916-February 1925.

⁹⁷ 'Applicant - FAKARIS Vasilios A; Nominee - FAKARIS Kostantinous; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1926/615, 7612532, 1926; 'Applicant - FACARIS Basil; Nominee - FACARIS Elisaos; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1928/432, 8165935, 1928.

⁹⁸ 'Applicant - FACARIS Kostas A; Nominee - FACARIS George N; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1928/433, 8165936, 1928.

⁹⁹ 'Fakaris, C A [aka Alexander, C] - Naturalisation', NAA: A659, 1940/1/871, 1708075, 1939-40.

Adelaide and linked the major rural centres across SA, was seemingly traversed with ease by Ikarians, who had relatives, friends, or compatriots settled in each centre that aided them in their movements.

Other industry rich rural towns that lay between SA and the eastern states received the benefits of this network's flow-on effects. This included towns such as Kandos and Charbon in NSW, centred on the cementing and coal mining industries, where many Ikarians, who had originally worked at Port Pirie, settled, including John Gronthos. In fact, the cement works were advertised in the *Barrier Miner* in 1924 (Image 5.6).

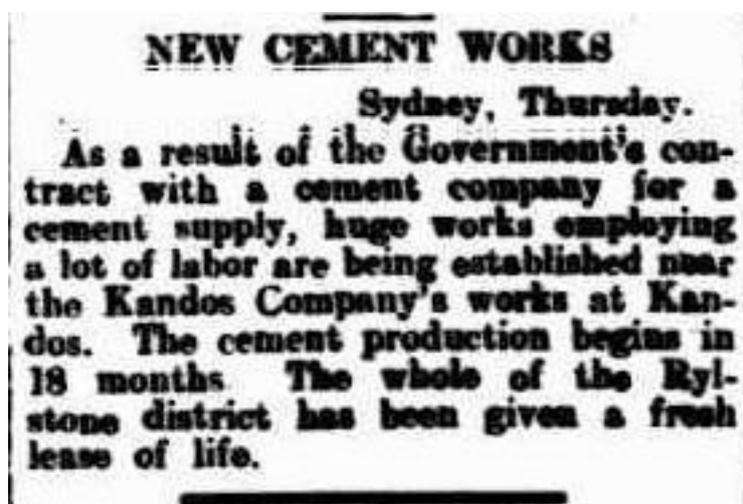


Image 5.6: 'New Cement Works', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 30 October 1924, 1.

The popularity and sudden growth of Kandos and Charbon led to anti-migrant protests, likely spurred on by Greeks and other migrants flocking to work in the cement and coal industries. These happened on at least two occasions, firstly in 1927 where:

A strike occurred at the Charbon cement works near Mudgee, as the result of a dispute in regard to the employment of foreign labour. The men have demanded the dismissal of all Greeks as soon as their tickets expire. More than 300 men are affected.¹⁰⁰

Another protest was conducted by miners in 1951 at Kandos, which targeted "certain types of European migrants arriving in Australia."¹⁰¹ The narrative of anti-immigrant

¹⁰⁰ 'Objection to Foreigners at Charbon Cement Works: 300 Men on Strike', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 22 March 1927, 4.

¹⁰¹ 'Protest on Migrants', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 20 July 1951, 8.

protests would remain a common feature throughout the twentieth century, as emphasised in the 1976 comic strip *History of Australia* (Image 5.7).

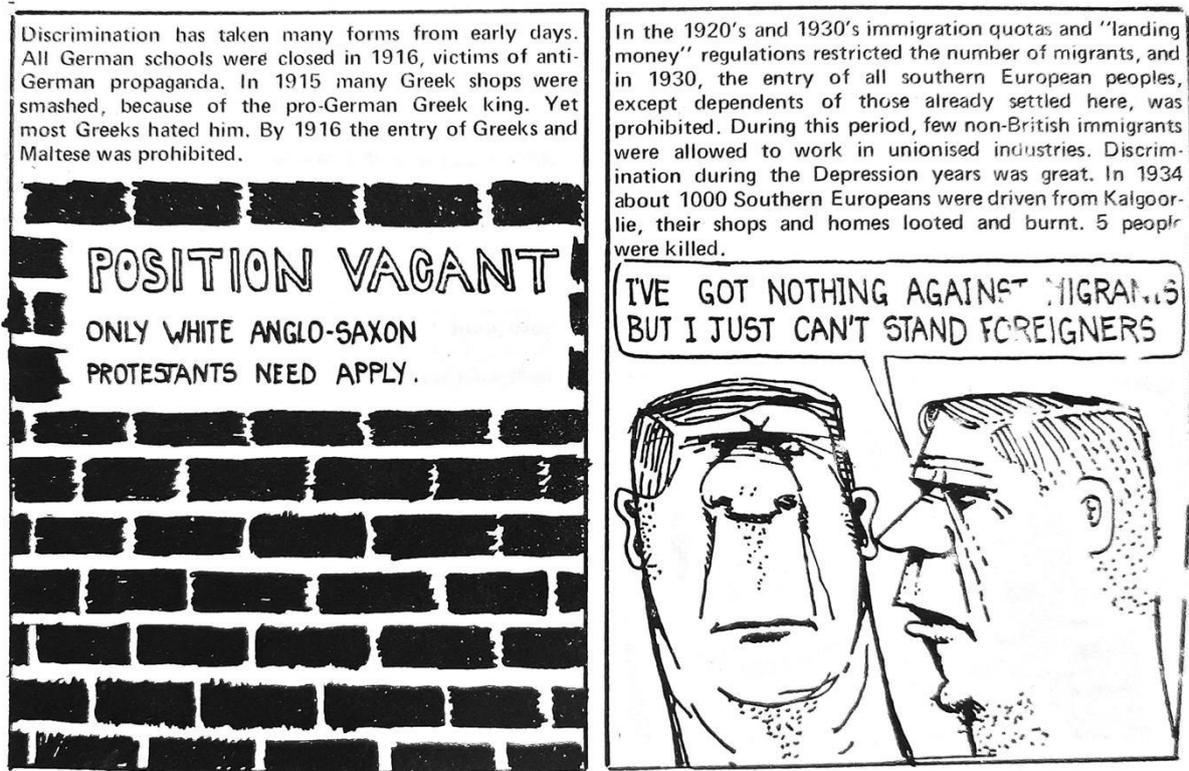


Image 5.7: Snippet of a comic by Kate Short, Mike White, Michael Tsounis & Jim Cane titled *History of Australia*, 1976.¹⁰²

The 'Port Pirie system' was ultimately centred on Florence St, near the Greek church and Greek-owned businesses, such as the Greek Café on Florence St, often known as the 'Greek Club', and the Greek Café on Ellen St.¹⁰³ The Greek presence on Florence St and the nearby streets is corroborated by the 1916 secret census.¹⁰⁴ On arrival and when naturalising, many Greeks listed simply 'Florence St' as their address. For example, George Carras of Poros, who arrived in Sydney via London in 1877 aboard the *HMS Sussex*, listed his address only as 'Florence St' on his 1921 naturalisation application and his

¹⁰² Kate Short (ed.), *History of Australia*, assisted by Mike White & Mick Tsounis, Jim Cane (illustrator), SA Arts Grants Advisory Committee, James Standish, Thorngate, South Australia, 1976, 49.

¹⁰³ For example, Adelaide's *Advertiser* uses both names interchangeably, such as in the following article: 'Disturbance in a Cafe: A Greek Committed for Trial', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 18 May 1928, 12.

¹⁰⁴ 'Greek - South Australia - Greeks Resident in Metropolitan Police Division', NAA: A385, 10B, 65706, 1916.

renunciation of foreign nationality certificate.¹⁰⁵ Others listed physical addresses or establishments on Florence St, including arrivals from the *Moncalieri* in 1924, such as Evangelos Stabelos, who was to abide with Dimitri Saravanos at 86 Florence St, as well as Jean (John) Tsoumparakis and Stelios Varlangos, who were both destined for Michel Frangos' Café.¹⁰⁶

Michel Frangos himself was born in Chios, with possible Ikarian familial connections, and listed his residence in 1913 simply as the "Greek Club, Florence Street, Port Pirie".¹⁰⁷ Frangos, a fisherman and smelter worker, would go on to open a café of his own, the Alhambra Café, in King William St, Adelaide, as early as 1915, which was officially registered in 1919 after renovations.¹⁰⁸ He also procured the Oceanic Café, Ellen St, Port Pirie, in 1915.¹⁰⁹ Later in life, a man named Mick Frangos, possibly the same person as Michel, owned the fish and chip shop in Port Pirie, where, in a reminiscence article, it was noted that "the imposing figure of Mick Frangos used to hover round the customers, who were many, up to the wee, small hours of the morning. Many of the old hands will recall Mick's huge frame and his ornate moustache."¹¹⁰

Port Pirie's Greek cafés (or *kafenía*) were often a focal point during anti-immigrant rioting, as well as the target of racist attacks. In December 1917, the Greek Café on Florence St was attacked by a "crowd of men [who] made a hostile demonstration". The crowd, threw rocks, broke windows, fired shots at the café, and also yelled to "Chuck 'em [the Greek owners of the café] over the wharf."¹¹¹ The *Barrier Miner* reported that "Just what particular grievance is held against the Greeks is not generally known, but it is certain that there is bitter hatred of them among a section of the men in Port Pirie." However, in the same article, it was noted that the crowd was calling out racially motivated slurs, such as 'Dagoes', as well as singing 'Rule Britannia' and 'Australia will be

¹⁰⁵ 'Carras, George - Port Pirie, SA - application for naturalization - Greek nationality', NAA: D1915, SA612, 877904, 1921; 'G. George Carras Naturalisation', NAA: A1, 1921/22283, 41126, 1921-22.

¹⁰⁶ 'Incoming passenger list to Fremantle "Moncalieri" arrived 24 July 1924', NAA: K269, 24 JUL 1924 MONCALIERI, 12279642, 1924. Note: 'Stabelos' also transliterated as 'Thabelos' and 'Stebelos'. See also: Official lists of passengers arriving in South Australia from overseas 1909-1924 - Customs Department, State Records of South Australia, GRG 41/34, 1880-1940.

¹⁰⁷ 'Michel Frangos Naturalization', NAA: A1, 1913/2469, 14835, 1913.

¹⁰⁸ '[NAME OF FIRM - Alhambra Cafe Michel Frangos Proprietor', NAA: A13244, 10574, 9043429, 1919; 'Alhambra Café: King William Street', *Sport*, Adelaide, 14 February 1919, 1.

¹⁰⁹ 'To Help the Belgians', *Port Pirie Recorder & North Western Mail*, Port Pirie, 24 April 1915, 3.

¹¹⁰ Wanderer, 'Mirror of the Years', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 12 January 1953, 3.

¹¹¹ 'Rioting at Port Pirie', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 22 December 1917, 4.

There.¹¹² Two years later, a Greek, Sotorios (Sotirios) Antoniadis, was shot and killed at the café by the Maltese Louis Lzemyd (possibly Zammit), after an argument of unclear origins.¹¹³

Both cafés were also the target of law enforcement in 1919: the Ellen St café was raided and charged as a gambling den; and the Greek-owned 'Casino Café' Florence St, possibly distinct from the Florence St Greek Café, was charged with the unlicensed serving of beer.¹¹⁴ Another Greek café appears in the record in the 1920s, where Manolis Diacounsa recorded the 'Emanuel Tsalikis Café Salonica Port Pirie' as his intended abode in 1924.¹¹⁵ The Salonica Café was recorded again in 1926, when it was raided by police on New Year's Eve for gambling.¹¹⁶ This targeting and 'perceived criminality' was similar to the Cypriots and their businesses in interwar Soho, London.¹¹⁷

Cafés as centres of settlement and community building was not a unique phenomenon to Ikarians. It was also practiced by Adelaide's other pre-WWII Greeks and Cypriots who centred themselves on the Greek *kafenío* (coffeehouse) at 122 Hindley St, Adelaide, known as the 'Hellas Club'.¹¹⁸ Other *kafenía*-based community centres located on Hindley St included the Constantinople Club, the Cypriot Club (at 129 Hindley), the Rodos (Rhodes) Club, the Diakonastasiou Club, the 'Greek Club', and the Paradise Club.¹¹⁹ There were also numerous Greek-owned cafés and eateries around Adelaide's CBD during the pre-WWII period. Among the most popular were: Sigalas & Co., Rundle St, founded in 1901 by James Sigalas of the island Sikinos; the Morris Bros Fish Café, 38 Hindley St, founded in 1911 by the Moriates (Moraitis) family of Ithaca; the Comino Café, 21 Hindley St, founded 1917; the Carrangis (Carr's) Café, 57 Gawler Place, founded 1924 by Charalambos Carrangis of Ithaca; and the National Café, 52 King William St (and from

¹¹² 'Rioting at Port Pirie', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 22 December 1917, 4.

¹¹³ 'Revolver Shots in Florence St.: Sensational Occurrence at Greek Cafe', *Wooroora Producer*, Balaklava, 13 February 1919, 3. Note: 'Lzemyd' is likely a corruption of the Maltese surname 'Zammit'.

¹¹⁴ 'Cafe at Port Pirie Raided', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 28 January 1919, 1; 'Beer at a Cafe: Port Pirie Cases', *Register*, Adelaide, 26 November 1919, 9.

¹¹⁵ 'Incoming passenger list to Fremantle "Moncalieri" arrived 24 July 1924', NAA: K269, 24 JUL 1924 MONCALIERI, 12279642, 1924. Note: 'Diacounsa' is also transliterated as 'Dracounsa'.

¹¹⁶ 'Police Raid Sequel', *Observer*, Adelaide, 30 January 1926, 42.

¹¹⁷ Evan Smith & Andrekos Varnava, 'Creating a 'Suspect Community': Monitoring and Controlling the Cypriot Community in Inter-War London', *The English Historical Review*, 132(558), 2017, 1149-81.

¹¹⁸ Cartledge, 'Greek Islander Migration to South Australia 1919-1939', 186-91; Maria Shialis, 'The Settlement of Greek-Cypriot Migrants and Refugees in South Australia: 1945-1980', PhD thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, 2015, 263.

¹¹⁹ Darryl J. Thompson & James S. Smith, *Traces: Where Adelaide Ate Out 1836-1960*, James S. Smith, Mitcham, South Australia, 2015, 743.

1943, 134a Rundle St), founded 1925 by the Kallinicos family of Ithaca.¹²⁰ Also popular was the Central Café at 73 Hindley St, opened in 1924 by the Condous (Condouzoglous) family, natives of Kastellorizo.¹²¹ In 1938, the Condous family established the Regent Café at 93a Rundle St. In 1939, Woodville residents Nicholas and Gladys Parianos, of either Ikaria or nearby Samos, operated the Athens Café at 4 Peel St, Adelaide.¹²²

Like the cafés of Port Pirie, during the 1940s many of Adelaide's cafés were the targets of police raids on liquor licenses, illegal gambling, and illegal billiard tables. This included both the Athens Café of Parianos and the Morris Bros, along with a host of other Greek-owned businesses, including the milk bar of Chris Galatis in Wayville and the bakery of Stan Platis on Grote St.¹²³ These raids on Greek businesses coincided with the occupation of Greece by fascist Italy.

Of these establishments, Alexakis and Janiszewski have noted that "Greek cafés emerged in various forms, essentially in areas to which the Greek diaspora had dispersed, and became social focal points for eating, meeting and conversing."¹²⁴ This practice was also consistent among islanders historically, as can be seen through the Chiots at the Baltic Coffee House, London in the mid-nineteenth century, and even earlier at the Grecian Coffee House, Devereux Court, London, in the seventeenth century, pictured in Chapter 1 (Image 1.5).¹²⁵ Patterson noted the importance of coffeehouses in Greek

¹²⁰ Thompson & Smith, *Traces*, 742-74; 'Applicant - MORRIS Speros', NAA: A261, 1939/1352, 7918487, 1939; 'KALLINICOS Nicholaos - Nationality: Greek', NAA: B78, 1957/KALLINICOS N, 4339466, 1910-57. Note: Some sources state the Kallinicos family as originating in Kythera, however, patriarch Nicholaos Kallinicos' migration record lists his birthplace as 'Kionion, Ithaca'.

¹²¹ Thompson & Smith, *Traces*, 775-85; 'CONDOUZOGLOUS Antonio Steve - Nationality: Greek', NAA: D4878, CONDOUZOGLOUS A S, 4073859, 1923-48.

¹²² Thompson & Smith, *Traces*, 786-7. Parianos was either of Ikaria (and the same person as Menelaos Parianos) or nearby Samos (being a relative of Apostolos Parianos). See: 'PARIANOS Menelaos born 1891', NAA: D4878, PARIANOS M, 4070566, 1948-56; 'PARIONOS Apostolas [PARIANOS Apostolos]', NAA: MT269/1, VIC/GREECE/PARIONOS APOSTOLAS, 5956961, 1916-19.

¹²³ 'Adelaide Police', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 27 June 1945, 9; 'Adjournment on Gaming Charges', *News*, Adelaide, 2 December 1941, 6; 'Liquor on Unlicensed Premises', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 12 September 1940, 9.

¹²⁴ Effy Alexakis & Leonard Janiszewski, *Greek Cafés and Milk Bars of Australia*, Halstead Press, Canberra, 2016, 27.

¹²⁵ Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre and Chiot Emigration', 228-36; Maria Christina Chatziioannou & Gelina Harlaftis, 'From the Levant to the City of London: Mercantile Credit in the Greek International Commercial Networks of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in Cottrell, Lange & Olsson (eds.), *Centres and Peripheries in Banking*, Aldershot, Ashgate, Farnham, Surrey, 2007, 13-40; Jonathan Harris, 'The Grecian Coffee House and Political Debate in London 1688-1714', *The London Journal*, 25(1), 2000, 1-13.

settlement: “the coffee house was equal to home and the homeland...It often was the first place the male immigrant went upon arrival in a new town.”¹²⁶

In other parts of the world, Ikarians centred themselves on cafés. The Café Bar Ikaros, Malika Farida Street, Cairo, was not only a centre of Egypt’s Ikarian community, but a nexus for later Ikarian migration, with many having listed it as their prior residence when migrating to Australia, applying for naturalisation, or even nominating a relative. This included members of the Ikarian Egyptian Charnas (Tsarnas) family and their extended relatives, who settled in NSW between the 1930s-50s.¹²⁷

The system centred on Port Pirie, and the early churches and cafés (*kafenía*), exhibited a mode of settlement and initial community building that Greek islanders and wider Greek communities practiced in many of the world’s ports. These factors, no doubt along with the familiarity of the South Australian ‘Mediterranean’ climate, ultimately created the right conditions for a large Ikarian settlement to flourish in SA between 1910-45. The next phase, after the initial arrivals, was migrant chain migration and navigation of SA, seen through the settlement stories and individual lives of Ikarians in SA.

Ikarian Settlement & Chain Migration

Among the earliest Greeks in SA were male Ikarian islanders from the remote villages of Frantato, Monokampi, Negia, and Perdiki, among others. These islanders, like the members of the Gronthos and Safos families, left a rural village lifestyle to seek employment in the burgeoning continent of Australia.

The number of Ikarian arrivals to Australian have been underestimated. According to Simakis, only 3 Ikarians arrived in Australia between 1911-15, and 0 between 1916-20.¹²⁸ However, there is clear evidence of a greater number of Ikarian migrants to Australia in this era. The arrival of 4 members of the Gronthos and Safos families alone in 1911 equates to more than Simakis’ estimate. Simakis’ reference to the photo of Ikarian workers in Port Pirie or Kandos during the 1910s (Image 5.2) is also

¹²⁶ G. James Patterson, ‘Kafenía and community: coffee houses and Greek life in Aliquippa and Ambridge, Pa., 1938-1941’, *Pittsburgh History*, Winter 1991, 149-50.

¹²⁷ ‘Tsarnas, Pantelis’, NAA: SP1122-1, N1952/23/86138, 33454748, 1945-58; ‘CHARNAS, George’, NAA: B6531, NATURALISED/1939-1945/CHARNAS GEORGE, 6570422, 1940-41; ‘CHARNAS GEORGE : Service Number - NX174360’, NAA: B883, NX174360, 5582931, 1939-48.

¹²⁸ Simakis, *EKATO XPONIA IKAPIAKHS EEΩTEPIKHΣ METANASTEYΣHS, 1892-1991*, 169-78.

evidence to the contrary, as he identifies at least 6 Ikarians by name.¹²⁹ Furthermore, family traditions hold that branches of the Glaros and Kakouratos families arrived in Australia during this era. Alexander Glaros was born to George Glaros and Androniki Kakouratos in Australia in 1915 (possibly the earliest Ikarian birth in Australia) and Constance Despina Glaros was born to Christos George Glaros (who arrived 1917) and Marion Kathleen Dures (Davis) in NSW in 1921.¹³⁰ The 1916 'secret census' also listed at least 20 Ikarians by name residing in SA (1 in Adelaide and 19 in Port Pirie), and at least 2 in WA, 1 in Victoria, and 1 in Queensland. In all, the Ikarian settlement in Australia during this period likely numbered between 40-60 individuals (Appendix 5.2 & Table 5.3).¹³¹

Settling into South Australian life, however, did not always mean that Ikarians were exposed to favourable conditions. Those working at the Port Pirie smelters, for example, often lived together in workers' cottages, and had minimal access to healthcare (Image 5.8). This was realised when two Ikarians of Port Pirie died due to the Spanish flu within three days of each other: John Hatzinakis on 31 March 1919; and Dimitrios Speis on 2 April 1919.¹³² Many other Greeks at Port Pirie also died during the pandemic. Costas Markos noted that, "In total, six Greek males between the age of 23-35, all smelter workers, died within nine days due to Spanish Flu. No other nationality in Port Pirie had suffered such a loss."¹³³ A total of eight deaths of Greek workers in Port Pirie are recorded in 1919, which preceded an exodus of 30 Greeks to Melbourne, likely due to the conditions.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Simakis, *EKATO XPONIA IKAPIAKHS EEΩTEPIKHΣ METANASTEYΣHΣ, 1892-1991*, 195.

¹³⁰ Christos Glaros and Marion K. Dures were married in Sydney in 1920. For this Glaros family see: 'Christos GLAROS', NAA: SP11/5, GLAROS, CHRISTOS, 30382915, 1939-43; *NSW Pioneer Index - Between the Wars Series 1919 - 1945*, 10110, 1920; *NSW Pioneer Index - Between the Wars Series 1919 - 1945*, 13044, 1943.

¹³¹ This number is based on a mix of migration, shipping, census, naturalisation, oral, and photographic records.

¹³² Costas Markos, 'Early Greek Settlers: Pandemic, racism and the Greeks of Port Pirie in 1919', *Neos Kosmos*, 25 January 2021. See also: 'Funeral Intimation', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 1 April 1919, 2; 'Yesterday's Deaths', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 1 April 1919, 1; 'Two Deaths Yesterday', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 3 April 1919, 1. Note: Their names are recorded in various spellings. Hatzinakis as 'Jim Hagenakis' and 'John Hagenakis'; and Speis as 'Jimis Spaies' and 'Dimetrious Spaies'. The standard spellings of their names have been used and cross-referenced with their arrival records: Official lists of passengers arriving in South Australia from overseas 1909-1924 - Customs Department, State Records of South Australia, GRG 41/34, 1880-1940.

¹³³ Markos, 'Early Greek Settlers'.

¹³⁴ Markos, 'Early Greek Settlers'.



Image 5.8: Workers' cottages on Balmoral Rd, Port Pirie, 1926.¹³⁵

There were also very mixed and inconsistent relations between the 1910s Greeks and wider Anglo-Celtic Port Pirie society. Throughout the 1910s-20s, there were multiple attacks, threats, and demonstrations against Greeks and other Southern Europeans. These included the attacks on the Port Pirie cafés, as well as anti-immigration protests organised by the British Immigration League in 1911 and 1914 in Port Adelaide; an Amalgamated Miner's Association union protest of foreign miners working for BHP in 1913; threats against Greeks in Port Pirie in 1919; a riot sparked by Maltese unemployment in Adelaide in 1927; and largescale Port Adelaide rioting in 1929 against the shipping industry for "the employment of cheap foreign and dark labor."¹³⁶

At other times, however, Greeks were valued societal members, that had both a voice and contributed to wider society. This was seen in 1915, when an article (Appendix 5.3) was published in the *Port Pirie Recorder & North Western Mail*, regarding Greece's involvement in WWI, especially the continuing Gallipoli campaign. The Port Pirie Greeks, relaying rhetoric from Greek newspapers, "strongly advised the Allies to attack

¹³⁵ Photograph album of workers' cottage on Balmoral Rd, Port Pirie, *State Library of South Australia*, Port Pirie Collection, B3812, 1926.

¹³⁶ 'Immigration Questions: Port Adelaide Protest', *Newcastle Morning Herald & Miner's Advocate*, 20 October 1911, 4; 'British Immigration League: Port Adelaide Protest', *Advertiser*, 20 October 1911, 11; 'Immigration: British or Foreign? Leagues Protest', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney, 16 January 1914, 10; 'Foreigners in Mines: Union's Protest, Port Pirie (S.A.)', *Newcastle Morning Herald & Miner's Advocate*, Newcastle, 14 June 1913, 5; 'Unemployed Maltese Migrants: Trouble in Adelaide', *Queensland Times*, Ipswich, 26 July 1927, 7; 'Port Adelaide Rioting', *Bunyip*, Gawler, SA, 25 January 1929, 6; O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 68-79.

Constantinople through Dede Agatch (Dedeağaç or Alexandroupoli) and thence through Bulgaria...[and] strongly urged them not to attempt the enterprise through the Gallipoli Peninsula." The article noted that the local Greeks believed that "Unless the war changed greatly in favor of the Allies Greece would simply be committing suicide by joining them."¹³⁷ They emphasised that they wished for Greece to join the Entente but feared bloody repercussions upon 'Greeks' living in Ottoman Anatolia. In the long-term, the fears of the Port Pirie Greeks eventuated: Gallipoli was not a success for the Entente; and a systemic persecution and genocide of Armenian, Assyrian and Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire commenced under the Young Turks.¹³⁸ The Port Pirie Greeks were pro-Venizelos during WWI and the National Schism, despite being treated as suspects by Australian authorities during the War.¹³⁹

It is possible that by openly discussing the war and carefully toeing the line between supporting and condemning, the Greek community saw to distance themselves and their identity from other migrant communities in this era. This included the Italians, who were being rounded up by the Italian Consul in Australia and sent to fight in Italy. As Agutter has argued, this practice was destructive to the Italian Australian community, as it led to further selective migration; exacerbated existing stereotypes of 'undesirable' Mediterranean migrants, who were likely to leave and fight in Europe; and forcibly separated over 500 Italian-Australian men from their families.¹⁴⁰ Port Pirie's Greeks were also distancing themselves from the neutrality and perceived pro-German sympathies of the Greek monarch, which had sparked questions of loyalty to Australia and the following year's secret census.¹⁴¹

The inconsistency in acceptance by wider Australian society caused a range of stereotypes of Greeks in Australia to emerge during the 1910s – both positive and negative. Many newspapers often recorded Greeks for their giving and support throughout this era. In two reports, they were portrayed as 'grateful Greeks', after Port

¹³⁷ 'The Attitude of Greece: As Viewed by Greeks in Port Pirie', *Recorder & North Western Mail*, Port Pirie, 22 October 1915, 2; Cartledge & Varnava, 'Making and Monitoring a 'Suspect Community'', forthcoming.

¹³⁸ See: Andrekos Varnava, 'Imperialism first, the war second: the British, an Armenian legion, and deliberations on where to attack the Ottoman empire, November 1914–April 1915', *Historical Research*, 87(237), 2014, 533-55.

¹³⁹ 'Trade with Greece: Tour of a Journalist: Mr. P. P. Leckos in Pirie', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 26 July 1929, 1.

¹⁴⁰ See: Karen Agutter, 'National Identity Explored: Emigrant Italians in Australia and British Canada in WWI', *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, 23, 2006, 84-99.

¹⁴¹ Cartledge & Varnava, 'Making and Monitoring a 'Suspect Community'', forthcoming.

Pirie's Greeks donated to the local hospital in 1913.¹⁴² Australia-wide they were even noted for their donations to Greece during the Balkan Wars, and for their help and support of the Entente during WWI.¹⁴³ In 1917, it was noted that Greeks, along with Italians and Japanese took part in charitable Australia Day celebrations at Port Pirie, and "It is expected that considerably over £1000 will be forwarded to the Soldiers' Fund as a result of the effort."¹⁴⁴ In one article in the *Daily Standard*, Brisbane, Queensland's Hellenic Association were thanked personally by the secretary to the Prince of Wales for their war effort, stating:

His Royal Highness much appreciates your kind references to himself, and will be happy to convey your assurance of devotion to His Majesty the King. He is very glad to know that you, who are members of a great race allied with the British Empire in the war, are living in contentment under the British flag, and sends you all his best wishes for your future prosperity and happiness.¹⁴⁵

Café-owner Michel Frangos was noted for donating his first week's profits from the Oceanic Café, Port Pirie, to the Belgian Relief Fund in 1915 – a fund that provided medical supplies to doctors and pharmacists in Belgium during the War.¹⁴⁶ In 1918, Port Pirie's Greeks celebrated the end of WWI publicly on Ellen St (Image 5.9).

¹⁴² 'Grateful Greeks', *Register*, Adelaide, 21 July 1913, 10; 'Grateful Greeks', *Observer*, Adelaide, 26 July 1913, 14.

¹⁴³ See for Balkan War funds: 'Australian Greeks and the War', *Casino & Kyogle Courier & North Coast Advertiser*, Casino & Kyogle, NSW, 19 October 1912, 5; 'Brisbane Greeks Contribute to War Fund', *Daily Mercury*, Mackay, Queensland, 30 October 1912, 4; 'For the War Fund: Brisbane Greeks' Contribution', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 30 October 1912, 4; 'Greeks Leaving Australia: Contribution to the War Fund', *Brisbane Courier*, Brisbane, 29 October 1912, 7; 'Kalgoorlie Greeks: Subscriptions for the War', *North Western Advocate & Emu Bay Times*, West Davenport & Burnie, Tasmania, 30 October 1912, 3; 'Local Greeks and the War', *Western Mail*, Perth, 8 November 1912, 18; 'Lismore Greeks Subscribe £150', *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney, 30 October 1912, 9; 'Patriotic Greeks', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney, 29 October 1912, 9; 'War Funds: Victorian Greeks Contribute', *West Australian*, Perth, 21 October 1912, 7. See for WWI support: 'Australian Greeks Favor Allies', *Geelong Advertiser*, Geelong, 19 October 1915, 3; 'Brisbane Greeks: Support Venezelos Government', *Telegraph*, Brisbane, 10 January 1917, 7; 'Correspondence: Local Greeks at the War: An Appeal for Fair Play', *Scone Advocate*, Scone, NSW, 2 March 1917, 2; 'For the Allies: W.A. Greeks' Support', *North Western Advocate & Emu Bay Times*, West Davenport & Burnie, Tasmania, 13 October 1915, 5; 'Greeks Favour Allies', *Daily Examiner*, Grafton, NSW, 2 November 1915, 3; 'Greeks in Australia: Support for Allies', *Argus*, Melbourne, 3 February 1916, 6; 'Greeks Join Allies', *Echuca & Moama Advertiser & Farmers' Gazette*, Echuca, Victoria, 9 September 1916, 2; 'N.S.W. Greeks Support Allies: Cable to Venezelos', *Tweed Daily*, Murwillumbah, NSW, 14 December 1916, 3; 'Sydney Greeks Support the Allies', *Richmond River Express & Casino Kyogle Advertiser*, NSW, 19 November 1915, 5.

¹⁴⁴ 'Port Pirie', *Daily Herald*, Adelaide, 2 August 1917, 6.

¹⁴⁵ 'Greeks Thanked', *Daily Standard*, Brisbane, 11 August 1920, 4.

¹⁴⁶ 'To Help the Belgians', *Port Pirie Recorder & North Western Mail*, Port Pirie, 24 April 1915, 3; 'The Belgian Doctors' And Pharmacists' Relief Fund. Meetings Of The Executive Committee', *The British Medical Journal*, 2(3002), 13 July 1918, 36.



Image 5.9: Port Pirie's Greeks celebrating the end of WWI on Ellen St, 1918. Courtesy of Stv Sard and Nick Seindanis.

Some newspapers, negatively portrayed Greeks during the war, focussing on stereotypes rooted in 'unruliness' and 'untrustworthiness'. There were article headings such as 'Obstinate Greeks: Refuse Allies' Demands'; and 'Slippery Greeks', writing that "King Constantine of Greece and his Ministers are a slippery crew to deal with."¹⁴⁷ However, these mostly stemmed from the perceived pro-German stance held by King Constantine I, who was deposed by the Entente in June 1917.¹⁴⁸ As Cassavetes noted, "Constantine was no less an enemy to the allied cause than were Kaiser Wilhelm, Charles of Austria, and Ferdinand of Bulgaria".¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ 'Obstinate Greeks: Refuse Allies' Demands', *Mudgee Guardian & North-Western Representative*, Mudgee, NSW, 30 November 1916, 15; 'Slippery Greeks', *Examiner*, Launceston, 24 August 1916, 4.

¹⁴⁸ See: David Dutton, 'The Deposition of King Constantine of Greece, June 1917: An Episode in Anglo-French Diplomacy', *Canadian Journal of History*, 12(3), 2016, 325-46; N.J. Cassavetes, 'The Case of Constantine and the Allies', *Current History (1916-1940)*, 14(6), September 1921, 977-80; Erik Goldstein, 'Great Britain and Greater Greece 1917-1920', *The Historical Journal*, 32(2), June 1989, 339-56; Aristides N. Hatzis, 'A Political History of Modern Greece, 1821-2018', in Alain Marciano & Giovanni Battista Ramello (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Law and Economics*, Springer Nature, New York, 2019, 1-12; Andrekos Varnava, 'The impact of the Cypriot contribution during the Great War on colonial society and loyalties/disloyalties to the British Empire', *First World War Studies*, 8(1), 2017, 21-8.

¹⁴⁹ Cassavetes, 'The Case of Constantine and the Allies', 977.

Many Ikarians that emigrated appealed to the WWI connection in their settlement and naturalisation process – a memory so vivid in the Australian mind.¹⁵⁰ One Ikarian, the merchant navy master Thrasivoulos (Thrasiboulos) Napoleon Speis, born in 1898, emphasised that he “served in [the] Greek Navy with allied forces at Mudros and Gallipoli as a signaller” on his 1929 naturalisation application.¹⁵¹ Speis was residing in Florence St, Port Pirie, and working at the BHP Smelters at the time, and had arrived in SA in 1924 aboard the *Principessa Giovanna*, via Egypt with two other Ikarians, Basile J. Lakios and Yacovos Schizas.¹⁵² Another Ikarian, Constantine (Kostas) Alexander Fakaris, who arrived at Port Adelaide in 1926 aboard the *Ville d’Amiens* noted on his 1939 naturalisation request that he had “fought with British army at Salonica and was wounded”, being shot through his left thigh.¹⁵³ Varnava discussed similar examples, where Cypriot men wanted their war records acknowledged, as well as their medals awarded, for both social acceptance and so that they could join Returned & Services League (RSL) clubs.¹⁵⁴

One Ikarian of the village of Akamatra, Christos Mick Douris, arrived in Sydney in 1922 after living 7 years in Egypt. He similarly noted his history as part of the Greek merchant marines and produced the paperwork as proof.¹⁵⁵ When applying for naturalisation, Douris’ history came into question, as he had been convicted of vagrancy at Broken Hill in 1924. However, this did not bar Douris’ application which was successful in 1927. He eventually enlisted to serve Australia in WWII in 1942.¹⁵⁶

Other Greeks also utilised this appeal to WWI, such as the ‘Greek Ottoman’ Marika Spiro Manoupoulos from “Constantinople...Turkey-in-Europe”, who stated that her husband had been killed as a “result of hardships inflicted by the Turks during the war”

¹⁵⁰ See: Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2006; Jay Winter, ‘The Generation of Memory: Reflection on the “Memory Boom” in Contemporary Historical Studies’, *Archives & Social Sciences: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, 1(0), March 2007, 363-97.

¹⁵¹ ‘SPEIS Trasiboulos Napoleon – naturalization’, NAA: D1915, SA2315, 886611, 1929; Cartledge, ‘Greek Islander Migration to South Australia 1919-1939’, 185.

¹⁵² ‘Incoming passenger list to Fremantle "Princepsa Giovanna" arrived 18 March 1924’, NAA: K269, 18 MAR 1924 PRINCEPESSA GIOVANNA, 12285287, 1924. Also possibly John (Jean Georges) Gounelas.

¹⁵³ ‘Fakaris, C A [aka Alexander, C] – Naturalisation’, NAA: A659, 1940/1/871, 1708075, 1939-40; ‘SURNAME - FAKARIS; GIVEN NAMES- Constantine Alexander’, NAA: A714, 10/4909, 31523156, 26 August 1940-22 August 1949.

¹⁵⁴ Andrekos Varnava, *Serving the Empire in the Great War: The Cypriot Mule Corps, imperial loyalty and silenced memory*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2017, 180-223.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Christos Mick DOURIS - Naturalisation certificate’, NAA: A1, 1927/8365, 1507495, 1927.

¹⁵⁶ ‘DOURIS CHRISTOS MICK : Service Number - N215562’, NAA: B884, N215562, 5696434, 1939-48.

and that her sister had been “sending [her] money to keep herself and child from starvation.”¹⁵⁷ Marika and her daughter Fotini were allowed to enter SA in 1922, and they settled in Wayville with her sister and brother-in-law – the Michaelides family.

Kosmas Lesses of Frantato (or Kampos), Ikaria, who arrived in Australia in June 1924 on the *Ville de Strasbourg*, and was residing in Field St, Adelaide at the time of his 1944 naturalisation, highlighted that “he was called up for service at the age of 20 years”, and attached his military service papers (Image 5.10). Lesses even noted his movements in SA, including ‘Railways gangs’ (labourers working on railways, such as the Trans-Australian Railway), Tailem Bend, Renmark, and Port Lincoln, as well as one return trip to Greece between 1932-38 to be married.¹⁵⁸ Lesses would eventually nominate for entry his wife Fotini and son Nicholas, his brother Nicolaos Lesses, his nephew Mimicos Majaris, and his cousin George Karimalis.¹⁵⁹ Kosmas’ other brother George Lesses, who had arrived in 1913, nominated his son Elie in 1927.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ ‘Manoupoulos, Marika Spiro - Greek Ottoman - seeking permission to enter Commonwealth’, NAA: D1915, SA636, 877951, 1921-22.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Application for Naturalisation - LESSES Kesmas born 11 December 1900’, NAA: A446, 1955/30919, 8871712, 1923-67.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Applicant - LESSES Kosmas; Nominee - KARIMALIS George; LESSES Nicolaos; MAJARIS Mimicos; nationality Greek’, NAA: A261, 1927/1654, 8163041, 1927.

¹⁶⁰ ‘LESSES George - Nationality: Greek - Arrived Adelaide per Ormande 5 February 1913’, NAA: B78, 1957/LESSES G, 6031241, 1913-57; ‘LESSES Elie born 1912 - Nationality: Greek - Arrived Adelaide per Commissaire Ramel 19 September 1927’, NAA: D4880, GREEK/LESSES E, 4306092, 4-19 September 1927.

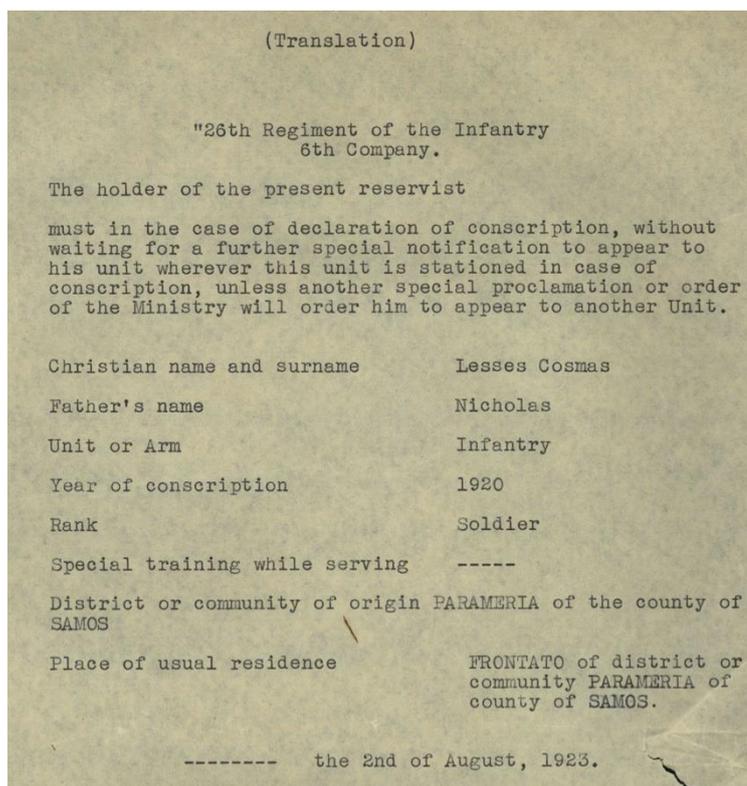


Image 5.10: A translation of Kosmas Lesses' Greek military service papers, 1923. This was presented with his naturalisation application.¹⁶¹ Note that the village of Frantato, Ikaria, was listed in the 'county of Samos'.

Just like Lesses, many Ikarians lived extremely mobile lives in Australia. This included the father and son, Christos and Kostas Safos, who arrived at Port Adelaide in 1911 with their relatives, the Gronthos brothers. However, their exact story is somewhat inconclusive. A man also named Christos Safos, aged 48, came as a servant to Port Adelaide via Port Said in 1914 aboard the *Gneisenau*.¹⁶² Due to the frequency of errors in early documentation, it is likely that this Christos was the same as the earlier one, showing that he must have returned to Greece sometime between 1911-14. Family tradition holds that, like Lesses, Christos worked on the Trans-Australian Railway between Port Augusta, SA, and Kalgoorlie, WA. His connection with Western Australia may have been true, as in the 1916 'secret census' and in 1922, a 'C. Savos' was listed as a resident of Ellis Creek, a timber mill near Nannup, WA.¹⁶³ Thirteen years later, in 1935,

¹⁶¹ 'Application for Naturalisation - LESSES Kesmas born 11 December 1900', NAA: A446, 1955/30919, 8871712, 1923-67.

¹⁶² Official lists of passengers arriving in South Australia from overseas 1909-1924 - Customs Department, State Records of South Australia, GRG 41/34, 1880-1940.

¹⁶³ 'Results of Consultation 16in. Chop: Christmas Carnival, Bunbury', *The Bunbury Herald & Blackwood Express*, Bunbury, WA, 4 January 1922, 4; 'Greeks - Western Australia - Particulars of', NAA: A385, 13, 65709, 1916.

'C. Savos' was listed as a timber worker at Lyalls Mill – one year before the mill was destroyed in a fire.¹⁶⁴ Another Ikarian, Antonios Loukadakis (Lucas) had also worked at Lyalls Mill between 1911-35.¹⁶⁵

Christos' son also remained in Australia. Listed as a labourer, Kostas (Constantin) Safos, arrived in Sydney on 22 or 25 July 1914 aboard the *Seydlitz*.¹⁶⁶ Kostas had embarked at Port Said; thus, he must also have returned to Greece between 1911-14 with his father Christos. On this trip, Kostas was accompanied by at least two other Ikarians, the sailors Filipos and Jean (John) Mantagas. Philip (Filipos) Mantagas settled in Port Pirie two years later.¹⁶⁷ Kostas, John, and Philip were all in Port Pirie during the 1916 'secret census'.¹⁶⁸ The Safos name appeared again on 19 October 1917, when the Greek seaman C.D. Safos, aged 23, left Port Pirie for Sydney aboard the *Carina*.¹⁶⁹ These fragmentary name listings show the mobility of the early Ikarians, who used Port Pirie as a base for their movements within Australia.

Arrivals with variants of the name 'Safos' were also listed during this period. Victor (Vretos) Safios, a Greek servant, arrived at Sydney aboard the *Gneisenau* in April 1914, aged 29.¹⁷⁰ Mik Safios of Greece arrived two years later, in 1916, via Nouméa, New Caledonia, aboard the *El Kantara*.¹⁷¹ Mik Safios possibly was the same man as M. Sofos, listed as 'foreign', who arrived in Melbourne on 15 October 1909 aboard the *Yongala*.¹⁷² It is possible that this Safios/Sofos had been traversing the Australia-Pacific network of the 1910s for some time.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁴ 'Lyall's Mill', Western Australia PO Directory, *Australia, City Directories, 1845-1948*, 1935-36, 313; 'The Ruins of Lyall's Mill', *The Western Australian*, Perth, 14 March 1936, 20.

¹⁶⁵ 'Antonios Loukadakis Naturalization', NAA: A1, 1920/22312, 39387, 1920-21.

¹⁶⁶ Assisted and Unassisted Passenger Lists, 1839-1923: Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports), series VPRS 7667, Public Record Office, Victoria, 22 July 1914; Unassisted Immigrant Passenger Lists, 1826-1922: Inward Passenger Lists, series 13278, reels 399-560, NSW, 25 July 1914.

¹⁶⁷ 'MANTAGAS Philip: Nationality – Greek', NAA: MT269/1, VIC/GREECE/MANTAGAS PHILIP, 59605571, 1916-19.

¹⁶⁸ Greek – South Australia – Greeks Resident in Metropolitan Police Division', NAA: A385, 10B, 65706, 1916.

¹⁶⁹ Unassisted Immigrant Passenger Lists, 1826-1922: Inward Passenger Lists, series 13278, reels 399-560, NSW, 19 October 1917.

¹⁷⁰ Assisted and Unassisted Passenger Lists, 1839-1923: Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports), series VPRS 7667, Public Record Office, Victoria, 27 April 1914.

¹⁷¹ Inward passenger manifests for ships and aircraft arriving at Fremantle, Perth Airport and Western Australian outports from 1897-1963, series K269, reel 38, Fremantle, Western Australia, February 1916.

¹⁷² Outward passenger lists [Shipping Master's Office], series, 13279, item X529, reel 3197, State Archives, NSW, 15 October 1909.

¹⁷³ See: Jon Goss & Bruce Lindquist, 'Placing Movers: An Overview of the Asian-Pacific Migration System', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 12(2), 2000, 385-414; Helen Lee, 'Pacific Migration and Transnationalism:

The Ikarians often crossed paths with their neighbouring islanders, the Chiots. The café owner Michel Frangos arrived via Trieste, Austria. However, it is unclear whether Frangos' origins laid in Chios or in Ikaria, as many of the later Frangos clan were listed as being born in Ikaria.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps Frangos had registered his passport in Chios, as many Ikarians did, as it was a busier and larger island, and often acted as an administrative centre.

When applying for naturalisation, Michel Frangos was questioned on whether he was 'coloured', as his birthplace was listed as 'Chios, Turkey'. Questions such as these stemmed from the era's racial ideologies, coupled with unclear definitions of 'white', especially for 'ambiguous' Southern Europeans (especially Ottomans) who were often considered 'Asiatic' or 'less white'.¹⁷⁵ Police Detective J. Dedman and Sergeant J.P. Dowling noted that "He is not a coloured man. A birth certificate produced stated that he was born in Chios, Turkey...Frangos says that Chios is an Island in Turkish possession, but both his parents are Greeks. He speaks Greek, but cannot speak the Turkish language."¹⁷⁶ Frangos passed away aged 39 in 1925, and a lengthy obituary was published in the Port Pirie *Recorder*, where it was noted that "Probably there was no resident in Pirie of foreign extraction more highly respected than Mr. Michel Frangos." Interestingly, the obituary portrayed Frangos as "a linguist of no mean ability, speaking at least five different tongues."¹⁷⁷

Similar questions were also asked of Ikarians when arriving and naturalising. The question of 'race' was asked on most arrival declarations in addition to 'nationality'. Many Ikarians, including Jacobos Schizas, Charalambe Hatzinakis, and Zacharias Cozamanis, all in 1927, answered 'Greek' for both questions.¹⁷⁸ Others, such as Roxane Tsounis, answered 'European' for race in 1938.¹⁷⁹ The question was sometimes posed more explicitly, such as Polidoros Rantas who was asked 'Is the applicant of European (white)

Historical Perspectives', in Helen Lee & Steve Tupai Francis (eds.), *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives*, ANU Press, Canberra, 2009, 7-41.

¹⁷⁴ See: Interview with Bill Frangos, conducted by Joanna Tsalikis, *State Library of South Australia*, OH1014/023, 30 September 2013.

¹⁷⁵ Andonis Piperoglou, 'Greeks or Turks, "White" or "Asiatic": Historicising Castellorizian Racial-Consciousness, 1916-1920', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 40(4), 1 October 2016, 387-402.

¹⁷⁶ 'Michel Frangos Naturalization', NAA: A1, 1913/2469, 14835, 1913.

¹⁷⁷ 'Obituary: Mr. Michel Frangos', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 27 August 1925, 2.

¹⁷⁸ 'SCHIZAS Jacobos', NAA: PP246/4, GREEK/SCHIZAS J, 3407203, 1927; 'HATZINAKIS Charalambe born 1903', NAA: D4880, GREEK/HATZINAKIS C, 4306009, 1927; 'COZAMANIS Zacharias born 1898', NAA: D4880, GREEK/COZAMANIS Z, 30830024, 1927.

¹⁷⁹ 'TSOUNIS Roxane born 23 February 1918', NAA: A12508, 22/2522, 7113771, 1938.

race or descent?' on his naturalisation application.¹⁸⁰ Even Gladys Caneris-Hajinakis, the English widow of Ikarian Demetrius (Adam) Caneris-Hajinakis, was asked if she was of 'European (white) race or descent', due to her status as a 'Greek by marriage'.¹⁸¹

Confusion with the 'race' of Greeks entering Australia, especially those from the Ottoman Empire, stemmed not only from the White Australia Policy (1901), but, after WWI, from amendments made to the Immigration Act (1920). Known as the Nationality Act, it prohibited "for the period of five years...any person who in the opinion of an officer is of German, Austro-German, Bulgarian or Hungarian parentage and nationality, or is a Turk of Ottoman race".¹⁸² Despite expiring in 1925, this ability to deport or refuse entry to particular migrants was reinforced with the Immigration Act (1925), where it was that the Governor-General could prohibit:

either wholly or in excess of specified numerical limits, and either permanently or for a specified period, the immigration into the Commonwealth, or the landing at any specified port or place in the Commonwealth, of aliens of any specified nationality, race, class or occupation, in any case where he deems it desirable so to do.¹⁸³

During this period, ancestors of one of the largest Ikarian South Australian families, the cousins John Zacharias Carapetis and Stylianos Stefanos Carapetis, arrived in Adelaide aboard the *Cephee* on 6 June 1927.¹⁸⁴ Both John and Stylianos listed their birth towns as Perdiki, one of Ikaria's hubs of emigration, and both had the occupation of labourer and farmer.¹⁸⁵ Interestingly, the Carapetis pair did not list any Ikarians as relations in Australia, but rather Vasilios Saris of Rhodes, who arrived in Port Pirie in

¹⁸⁰ 'RANTAS Polidoros', NAA: A435, 1947/4/4180, 7015951, 1947-48.

¹⁸¹ 'Caneris-Hajinakis, Mrs G', NAA: A659, 1939/1/11028, 79012, 1938-40.

¹⁸² *An Act to amend the Immigration Act 1901-1912*, Act 51, Commonwealth of Australia, Melbourne, 2 December 1920.

¹⁸³ *An Act to amend the Immigration Act 1901-1924*, Act 7, Commonwealth of Australia, Melbourne, 20 July 1925.

¹⁸⁴ Note: 'Carapetis' spelt his name 'Karapetis' on arrival, which is in line with the phonetic Greek spelling. 'J.Z. Carapetis - Naturalisation', NAA: A1, 1936/6622, 845844, 1936; 'KARAPETIS John born 1904', NAA: D4880, GREEK/KARAPETIS J, 4306040, 1927; 'CARAPETIS Stylianos born 1904 - Nationality: Greek - Arrived Adelaide per Cephee 6 June 1927', NAA: D4880, GREEK/CARAPETIS S, 4298747, 28 May-6 June 1927; 'Incoming passenger list "Cephee" arrived Fremantle 6 June 1927', NAA: K269, 6 JUN 1927 CEPHEE, 11552407, 1927.

¹⁸⁵ Family tradition and later documentation states the Carapetis family were from Monokampi, a village near Perdiki. Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, 38-9; Interview with Bill Frangos, 2013.

1924 on the *Amazonia*, and was currently living in Wirrabara, 60 kms out of Port Pirie.¹⁸⁶ It is likely that Saris may have been either their employer or brokered a source of employment on arrival. At the time of his naturalisation, John was living at 62 Florence Street, Port Pirie, neighbouring many other Ikarians and Greeks of the time, and was listed as a greengrocer: "Applicant has a fruit and vegetable shop at above address. He has an International Motor lorry and carries his goods from Adelaide and appears to be a good type."¹⁸⁷ Adelaide's *Advertiser* and Port Pirie's *Recorder* both published a notice of John's naturalisation on 16 April 1936.¹⁸⁸ John Carapetis later became the first president of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia in 1958, with Kosmas Lesses as treasurer.¹⁸⁹

John's father, Zacharias (Jack), also settled in Port Pirie during this period, three years prior to his son. Zacharias, of 62 Florence St, arrived in SA on 28 May 1924, aboard the *Carignano*. Listing his birthplace as "Nicaria...County of Samos", and his father as 'Antoni Carapetis', Zacharias worked as a fruiterer – no doubt leading the way for John's arrival.¹⁹⁰ In 1934, Zacharias brought out his wife, Athantoulo (Archontoula), and their granddaughter Eleftheria.¹⁹¹ Zacharias' children included John, Despina, and Koula. Zacharias passed away in 1943 aged 66. On his death, the Port Pirie *Recorder* published an extended article on his life, albeit with some inaccurate details, including his name recorded as 'John' instead of 'Zacharias' or 'Jack' (as he was commonly known); that he arrived in 1923, instead of 1924; and that he had two children instead of three, John and Kula (Koula), leaving off Despina. It also noted that:

Mr. Carapetis, who was 66 years of age, was a native of the Greek Island of Ikaria. He came out to Australia in 1923, and was followed by his wife. Settling in Pirie he spent some years in a little shop in Florence street, and about three years ago gave up business in the town and went gardening in Napperby district...The interment

¹⁸⁶ 'Incoming passenger list "Amazonia" arrived Fremantle 12 December 1924', NAA: k269, 12 DEC 1924 AMAZONIA, 12276538, 12 December 1924.

¹⁸⁷ 'J.Z. Carapetis – Naturalisation', NAA: A1, 1936/6622, 845844, 1936; 'SARIS, Vasilios Application for Naturalization aka SARIDAKIS', NAA: D1915, SA1241, 883925, 1925; 'SARIS Vasilios - born 25 December 1896 – Greek', NAA: A435, 1949/4/4091, 6944609, 1925.

¹⁸⁸ 'Naturalisation Notice', *The Advertiser*, Adelaide, 16 April 1936; 'Naturalisation Notice', *The Recorder*, Port Pirie, South Australia, 15 April 1936, 2.

¹⁸⁹ *A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros": 50th Anniversary Jubilee 1958-2008 Commemorative Book*, Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros", Unley, South Australia, November 2008, 61.

¹⁹⁰ 'Z. Carapetis – Naturalisation', NAA : A1, 1936/7559, 846056, 1936.

¹⁹¹ 'KARAPETIS Athantoulo born 1884, Eleftheria age 7 - Nationality: Greek - Arrived Port Pirie per Esquilino 4 November 1934', NAA: D4880, GREEK/KARAPETIS A, 4306039, 4 November 1934.

took place in Pirie Cemetery on Saturday. Rev. Patsogiannis of Adelaide conducted the burial service, and the coffin was borne by six of Mr. Carapetis' countrymen—Messrs. A. Manogios, J. Tsiros, M. Kariakou, J. Terezakis, K. Kariamis, and C. Kariakou. Several relatives and friends of the Carapetis family came up from Adelaide for the funeral. The coffin was covered with floral tributes from Pirie and Adelaide friends.¹⁹²

Despite the inaccuracies, the article showed the prominence that the family had in the Port Pirie and broader SA Greek community.

Other members of the Carapetis family were responsible for nominating various families for entry into Australia. This included the previously mentioned nomination of George Gronthos in 1938 and Christodoulos Carapetis in 1927; as well as the nomination of Andrew (Andros) Carapetis by his brother Stelios Carapetis in 1938; and Dimosthenis Carapetis who had nominated Antoin Carapetis in 1927.¹⁹³ Another Ikarian, Manio Glaros, listed an A. Carapetis (possibly Antoin) of 150 Hindley St, Adelaide, as his next of kin on his WWII enlistment papers in 1942.¹⁹⁴ John Z. Carapetis himself also nominated for entry his sister and brother-in-law, Coula (Koula) and Photios Frangos, and their three children Vasilios, Irini, and Haritini in 1938.¹⁹⁵ Vasilios Frangos would go on to nominate LEMONIA KALAMBOGIAS (Calambovia) in 1942.¹⁹⁶ In 1945-46, John Carapetis again nominated relatives, including his nephew Antonios Kalambogias of Ikaria (who had been living as a refugee in the 'Xeros' Camp of Cyprus) and brother-in-law George Theodorou Hagigeorgiou (Hatzigeorgiou) of Alikarnassos (Bodrum).¹⁹⁷ Stylianos Stefanos Carapetis

¹⁹² 'Mr. John Carapetis Dies at 66: Came from Greece in 1923', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 15 November 1943, 2.

¹⁹³ 'Applicant - CARAPETIS John Zacharias; Nominee - GROTHOU George John; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1936/92, 8196071, 1936; 'Applicant - GROTHOS John; Nominee - CARAPETIS Christootoulos; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/1122, 7603874, 1927; 'CARAPETIS ANDROS : Service Number - S82949', NAA: B884, S82949, 6412835, 1939-48; 'CARAPETIS Andre born 1914; nationality Greek; travelled per VIMINALE arriving in Melbourne on 26 March 1938', NAA: A12508, 22/310, 7226766, 1938; 'CARAPETIS Antoin born 1902 - Nationality: Greek - Arrived Sydney per Ville de Strasbourg 11 April 1927', NAA: D4880, GREEK/CARAPETIS A, 4298746, 4-11 April 1927.

¹⁹⁴ 'GLAROS MANIO : Service Number - S82932', NAA: B884, S82932, 6412682, 1939-48.

¹⁹⁵ 'Applicant - KARABETIS John Zacharia; Nominee - FRANKOS Photios; FRANKOS Coula; FRANKOS Vasilios; FRANKOS Irini; FRANKOS Haritini; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1938/1036, 7916527, 1938.

¹⁹⁶ 'Personal Index Cards - CALAMBOYIA LEMONIA', NAA: D937, CALAMBOYIA - CAMPANIELLO, 33075078, 1 February 1942.

¹⁹⁷ 'Applicant - CARAPETIS John Zacharia; Nominee - KALAMBOGIAS Antonias; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1945/199, 7890883, 1945; 'Applicant - CARAPETIS John Zacharia; Nominee - HAGIGEORGIOU Georges Theodorou; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1946/625, 7878040, 1946.

of Monokampi, who arrived in 1927 with John, brought his wife Parascevi to Thebarton in 1947, where he was also naturalised.¹⁹⁸

Just prior to these nominations, four Ikarians of the Carapetis and extended relations arrived together in 1926, aboard the *Ville de Verdun* via Port Said, including Manoul Panteladis, Vasilios Speis, Pantelis Karapetis, and the previously discussed Kostas Gronthos.¹⁹⁹ Pantelis Karapetis, along with another Ikarian, Elias Frangos, nominated their relative, Constantino (Costas) Carapetis that same year.²⁰⁰

Perhaps the most profound settlement process and early community building exhibited by the Ikarians was the tangible tree of chain migration that they created. As well as the previously discussed chain migration from the Carapetis, Gronthos, and Lesses families, the Fakaris, Speis, Karnavas, and Tsounis families, and their extended connections, also practiced significant chain migration, in the form of these 'nominations' or 'sponsorships', where one member of a family would nominate relatives for entry into Australia. This included providing possible housing and employment on their arrival, as well as enough funds to support them if they failed in their employment.

Vasilios Fakaris (Basil Alexander Facaris), who arrived in Port Adelaide in 1924 aboard the *Moncalieri*, and settled in Port Lincoln and later Broken Hill, nominated many of his relatives.²⁰¹ This number included his cousins, George Fakaris and Nicholas Coucnas, and his brother Elisaos in 1927-28; as well as his brother, Kostas (Constantine

¹⁹⁸ 'SURNAME - CARAPETIS; GIVEN NAMES- Stylianos Stefanos', NAA: A714, 59/19322, 31673809, 30 October 1946-2 December 1948; 'CARAPETIS Stylianos born 1904 - Nationality: Greek - Arrived Adelaide per Cephee 6 June 1927', NAA: D4880, GREEK/CARAPETIS S, 4298747, 28 May-6 June 1927; 'Incoming passenger list "Cephee" arrived Fremantle 6 June 1927', NAA: K269, 6 JUN 1927 CEPHEE, 11552407, 1927.

¹⁹⁹ 'Incoming passenger list "Ville de Verdun" arrived Fremantle 31 October 1926', NAA: K269, 31 OCT 1926 VILLE DE VERDUN, 11552976, 1926. Note: Their names have been rendered as follows to reflect later spellings – Manoul Alexandre Panteladis as Manoul Panteladis; Vasile Helie Speis as Vasilios Speis; Pierre Christofis Carapetis as Pantelis Karapetis; and the previously discussed Constantin Georges Gronthou as Kostas Gronthos.

²⁰⁰ 'CARAPETIS Costantino C born 12 December 1905; nationality Greek; travelled per ROMOLO arriving in Sydney on 23 August 1938', NAA: A12508, 22/527, 7226883, 1938; 'Applicant - FRANGOS Elias; Nominee - CARAPETIS Costas; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1928/471, 8165974, 1928. See also: 'P. Karapetis – Naturalisation', NAA: A1, 936/5027, 845589, 1936.

²⁰¹ 'B A Facaris – Naturalization certificate', NAA: A1, 1932/11019, 1169120, 1932.

Alexander) in 1926.²⁰² Kostas would go on to nominate their cousin, George N. Fakaris in 1928.²⁰³

Members of the Speis and Karnavas families were also active nominators. Alexander Speis, from the town of Evdilos, Ikaria, and living in David St, Port Pirie, nominated his brother-in-law Constantine John Karnavas and brother Nicolas Speis in 1927.²⁰⁴ George Speis of Kandos, NSW, also nominated his friend Constantine Frangos in 1927.²⁰⁵ George himself was naturalised in 1929.²⁰⁶ In 1928, two Ikarians, Vasilis Glaros and Panagiotis Speis arrived together in Adelaide via Port Said, aboard the *Commissaire Ramel*, both destined for Thevenard.²⁰⁷

Another branch of the Ikarian Karnavas family, John Carnavas of Kandos, NSW, admitted his brother Nick in 1927.²⁰⁸ Gsouyas Kantifaris of Ikaria, who arrived in Australia in 1924 and was based at Kandos, nominated his cousins, Prodromos Karnavas and Zaharias Malahias of Kampos, Ikaria, that same year.²⁰⁹ Other members of the Karnavas/Carnavas family were found around SA and related rural centres during this period, such as Evangelos Carnavas who lived between Port Pirie and Port Augusta between 1914-19; and Thomas Carnavas, who migrated in 1938.²¹⁰

²⁰² 'Applicant - FACARIS Vasilios; Nominee - FACARIS Elisaos; FACARIS George; COUCNAS Nicholas; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/816, 7526585, 1927; 'Applicant - FACARIS Basil; Nominee - FACARIS Elisaos; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1928/432, 8165935, 1928; 'Applicant - FAKARIS Vasilios A; Nominee - FAKARIS Kostantinous; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1926/615, 7612532, 1926; 'SURNAME - FAKARIS; GIVEN NAMES- Constantine Alexander', NAA: A714, 10/4909, 31523156, 26 August 1940-22 August 1949.

²⁰³ 'Applicant - FACARIS Kostas A; Nominee - FACARIS George N; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1928/433, 8165936, 1928. Note: George N. Fakaris and George Fakaris may be the same cousin, however, their ages are varied in the documents, although close enough to just be an error: (George Fakaris, 28 in 1927; George N. Fakaris, 27 in 1928).

²⁰⁴ 'Applicant - SPAIS Alexander; Nominee - KARNAVAS Constantine John; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/2788, 8164832, 1927; 'Applicant - SPAIS Alexander; Nominee - SPAIS Nicolas; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/2789, 8164833, 1927. Note: 'Spais' has been rendered as 'Speis'.

²⁰⁵ 'Applicant - SPEYS George; Nominee - FRANGOS Constantine; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/2792, 8164836, 1927. Note: 'Speys' has been rendered as 'Speis'.

²⁰⁶ 'George Theo Spais - Application for Certificate of Naturalization', NAA: A1, 1929/2312, 1535723, 1929.

²⁰⁷ 'Incoming passenger list "Commissaire Ramel" arrived Fremantle 2 April 1928', NAA: K269, 2 APR 1928 COMISSAIRE RAMEL, 11553670, 1928. Note: 'Spayos' has been rendered as 'Speis'.

²⁰⁸ 'Applicant - CARNAVAS John; Nominee - CARNAVAS Nick; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/502, 7624785, 1927.

²⁰⁹ 'Applicant - KANTIFARIS Gsouyas; Nominee - KARNAVAS Prodromos; MABAHIAS Tahorias; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/1364, 7526833, 1927.

²¹⁰ 'CARNAVAS Evangelos: Nationality - Greek: Date of Birth - 25 March 1862: First registered at Port Augusta', NAA: MT269/1, VIC/GREECE/CARNAVAS EVAGELOS, 5960152, 1916-19; 'CARNAVAS Thomas - born 16 January 1916 - Italian', NAA: A435, 1947/4/240, 6984292, 1947. Note: Evangelos' and Thomas' branch of the Karnavas/Carnavas family were based in Rhodes. Both came on Italian passports.

Another large Ikarian clan, the Tsounis/Tunis family of Frantato, Ikaria, also established themselves through nominations. In December 1926, Pierre (Peter) Tsounis arrived in SA aboard the *Ville D'Amiens*, with other Ikarrians, including Dimitrios Mazaris, Aristotelis Tsapaliaris, George Tsapaliaris, John Mourselas, and the previously discussed Kostas Fakaris.²¹¹ Peter, along with John Mourselas, had listed their intention to stay with Luiz (Ilias) Mourselas of Hurdler St, Adelaide, who had arrived in 1923.²¹² Tsounis eventually moved to work in the BHP smelters at Port Pirie.²¹³ Other Ikarrians from this ship listed other connections, including Dimitrios Mazaris, Aristotelis and George Tsapaliaris who planned to meet George Lesses and work on the Paringa Line at Nangari, SA; and Fakaris who planned to go to Broken Hill and meet his brother Vasilios.²¹⁴ In 1927, Tsounis nominated his cousin, Peter K. Vatouyios and his brother-in-law, Chrisostomos H. Lemberos, who were both to work in agriculture.²¹⁵ Peter's son, Dimitrios, also known as 'James Tunis', arrived in 1937 aboard the *Mooltan* and was naturalised in 1943.²¹⁶ The following year, another seven Tsounis family members, including Peter's wife Maria (Marie) and six of their eight children, arrived in Port Lincoln in 1938 aboard the *Esquilino*.²¹⁷ The Tsounis family ultimately were the subject of Michael Tsounis' memoir, *Icarus in the Antipodes*.²¹⁸

Conclusion

It is evident that by the 1930s, there were many extended Ikarian families settled and well-established in Port Pirie, Adelaide, and elsewhere in SA. The booming economies of

²¹¹ Tsapaliaris was spelt "Tzapallaris", and Mourselas as 'Morsellas' and 'Moursellas' on this document: 'Incoming passenger list "Ville D'Amiens" arrived Fremantle 23 December 1926', NAA: K269, 23 DEC 1926 VILLE D'AMIENS, 11553005, 1926.

²¹² 'MORSELLAS Nicolaos Louis', NAA: D4881, MORSELLAS NICOLAOS LOUIS, 9196730, 1923-76.

²¹³ 'Applicant - TSUNIS Peter; Nominee - VATOUYIOS Peter K; LEMBEROS Chrisostomos H; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/3015, 8165603, 1927.

²¹⁴ 'Incoming passenger list "Ville D'Amiens" arrived Fremantle 23 December 1926', NAA: K269, 23 DEC 1926 VILLE D'AMIENS, 11553005, 1926.

²¹⁵ 'Applicant - TSUNIS Peter; Nominee - VATOUYIOS Peter K; LEMBEROS Chrisostomos H; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/3015, 8165603, 1927.

²¹⁶ 'Incoming passenger list to Fremantle "Mooltan" arrived 24 August 1937', NAA: K269, 24 AUG 1937 MOOLTAN, 12077137, 1937; 'SURNAME - TSOUNIS; GIVEN NAMES- Demetrius', NAA: A714, 15/7473, 31526720, 31 October 1942-10 November 1961; 'Tsounis, D - Naturalisation', NAA: A659, 1942/1/7957, 1824498, 1942-3.

²¹⁷ 'Incoming passenger list to Fremantle "Esquilino" arrived 10 October 1938', NAA: K269, 10 OCT 1938 ESQUILINO, 12077868, 1938.

²¹⁸ Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*.

rural centres and the growing Greek presence in the state cultivated the ideal conditions for Greek settlement between 1910-30. To settle, Ikarians drew on connections with South Australia, including their alliance with Australia in WWI. They also made use of the nomination system of chain migration, creating a wide web of Ikarian emigration, settlement, and community. Churches, such as the Church of St George, Port Pirie, and cafés (*kafenía*), acted as the key meeting places for Ikarians, albeit within the context of the broader SA Greek community.

However, in their settlement, Ikarians and other Greeks experienced a duality of relations with wider South Australian society. This can be seen through both the honoured and respected position some Ikarians and islanders held, such as Michel Frangos and Zacharias Carapetis, as well as, on the other hand, the negative reports, dialogue, and anti-immigrant protests, riots, and violence that were frequent in the period. These anti-Greek sentiments were tied to innate questions of race, labour, and loyalties, particularly during wartime.

Overall, the first steps of Ikarian and wider Greek community building in SA hinged on the Port Pirie system. This system was initially employment-based around the smelters (but also where labouring, agricultural, fishing, and hospitality work was to be found more broadly) and centred heavily on Florence St (including its cafés), the Greek Orthodox Church and Community of Port Pirie, and later extended to the Adelaide CBD. The following chapter explores the long-term community building and subsequent integration that Ikarians exhibited following their settlement.

Chapter 6: Ikarian Community Building & Integration

In 2008, the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia celebrated its 50-year 'Golden Jubilee' in Adelaide (Image 6.1). The celebrations included two memorial services at the Cathedral of Archangels Michael and Gabriel, Franklin St, on 11 May and 20 July (the latter celebrating Ikarian Independence Day); a visual art exhibition at Gallery M, Marion Cultural Centre; a range of events held at the Ikaros Hall, Unley, including a cooking tutorial with celebrity Ikarian chef Irini Germanos; a genealogy and photographic exhibition; a concert called 'Sounds of Ikaros'; a 'Pramnian' wine and olive festival; and a 'Golden Jubilee' *panigyri* ('traditional festival'). The celebrations were organised and sponsored by members of the community and their businesses, including Dr Michael P. Tsounis, Tony Carapetis, Sotiris Portellos, the Lesses families, the Tsarnas families, Con Manias and family, the Chapley Retail Group (John and Nick Chapley), Unley Shopping Centre (Chris & Danae Angelopoulos), Maras Group (Theo Maras AM), KODACOM (Kosta Gronthos), Barnacle Bill Plympton (Paraschos and Sophia Tsantes), Australian Workplace Training (Peter and Annette Tsouris), and Hy Design Bathrooms (Peter Tsoukalas). All artists and performers were of Ikarian descent or married to Ikarrians. There was also significant support from MP Steve Georganas (then Member for Hindmarsh), The City of Unley, and the Government of SA's Multicultural SA fund.

The events portrayed the Ikarrians as an integrated community that expanded beyond 50 years – as is the basis of this research. The 50-year designation only marked the formal creation of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood in 1958. Ikarrians had been in SA since 1910, and many of the families involved in the celebrations stemmed from that era. In reality, it was a 98-year celebration of the community.

IKAROS

11 May Memorial Service

Memorial Service to remember the Ikarians
Greek Orthodox Cathedral of Archangels, Franklin St Adelaide, 10.30 am
Eulogy and Poetry Recital
Ikaros Hall 22 Arthur St Unley, 12.30 pm
Admission Free. With refreshments.

20 July Ikarian Independence Day

Memorial Service
Greek Orthodox Cathedral of Archangels, Franklin Street Adelaide, 10.30 am
BBQ Lunch
Ikaros Hall 22 Arthur St Unley, 12.30 pm
Admission Free. Lunch \$10.00 per serve

31 August A Taste of Ikarian Cuisine
Traditional Ikarian cooking with celebrity chef Irini Germanos
Ikaros Hall 22 Arthur Street Unley, 3.00 pm
Admission Free Followed by monthly dinner, 5.30 pm

28 Sept; 26 Oct & 30 Nov Photographic Exhibition

Exhibition of family portraits, genealogical trees and favourite photos of Ikarians.
To be included in the Ikarian Archive
Ikaros Hall 22 Arthur St Unley.
Opens 4 pm Sep 28; Oct 26 & Nov 30.
For details contact Maria 8294 2140
Admission Free Followed by monthly dinner, 5.30 pm

12 October Sounds of Ikaros Concert

Local Ikarian musicians and composers present their music. From pop, rock, country & folk to rebetika, nisiotika, entechna & world music.
Ikaros Hall 22 Arthur Street Unley, 3.00 pm
For bookings contact John 8272 1983
Admission \$15.00. Under 15 yrs free.

50th ANNIVERSARY

7 - 30 November Visual Artists Exhibition
Mixed works by Ikarian artists
John Panteladis, Bill Cook, George Lucas, Stavros Karapetis, Joanne Kalambogias and others.
Gallery M, Marion Cultural Centre Gallery 287 Diagonal Road Oaklands Park. Opens 6.00 pm 7 Nov. For information ring 8377 2904
Admission Free

15 November Golden Jubilee Panegyri
Traditional Ikarian Panegyri with live music, food, dance & family entertainment. Including launch of Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood Golden Jubilee commemorative booklet.
Ikaros Hall 22 Arthur St Unley, 4 pm till late
For bookings ring John 8272 1983
Admission \$10.00. Under 15 yrs free

30 November Ikarian Pramnian Wine Festival

Local Ikarians present their wine and olives at the Ikarian Pramnian Wine Festival.
Ikaros Hall 22 Arthur St Unley, Start 3 pm.
Admission Free. Followed by dinner, 5.30 pm

Enjoy the satisfaction of your welcomed participation in the 2008 Golden Jubilee Celebrations for details Tel: John 8272 1983.
Register as an artist or a sponsor or be added to our mailing list. Please tick box: Artist Sponsor Mailing List ; complete form; & post to

The Secretary
Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros" Inc.
22 Arthur St Unley 5061
Telephone: 82722869

Or simply email: celebrations@ikaria.com.au

Name:.....
Address:.....
Phone:.....
Email:.....@.....
Organisation:.....

GOLDEN JUBILEE 1958 - 2008

**The Pan-Ikarian
Brotherhood of
Australia "Ikaros" Inc.
Celebrates 50 Years**



IKAROS

**Η Παν-Ικαριακή
Αδελφότητα Αυστραλίας
«Ίκαρος» Γιορτάζει τα
50 Χρόνια Της**



Government of South Australia
Multicultural SA



ΙΚΑΡΟΣ

11 Μαΐου - Μνημόσυνο

Μνημόσυνο εις μνήμη των Ικαριωτών.
Καθεδρικός Ναός των Παμμεγίστων Ταξιαρχών, Franklin St Adelaide, 10.30 π.μ.
Ακολουθούν ομιλίες, απαγγελίες ποιημάτων.
Ίκαρος Χωλ 22 Arthur St Unley, 12.30 μ.μ.
Είσοδος ελεύθερα. Με καφέ ήσασί ληλυκά

20 Ιουλίου - Εθνική Γιορτή της Ικαρίας

Μνημόσυνο.
Καθεδρικός Ναός των Παμμεγίστων Ταξιαρχών, Franklin St Adelaide, 10.30 π.μ.
Ακολουθεί φαγητό *Ίκαρος Χωλ 22 Arthur St Unley, 12.30 μ.μ.*
Είσοδος ελεύθερα. Φαγητό \$10.00 η μερίδα.

31 Αυγούστου - Γεύσεις Ικαρίας

Παραδοσιακή κουζίνα με τη γνωστή μαγειρίσα Κα Ειρήνη Γερμανού
Ίκαρος Χωλ 22 Arthur St Unley, 3.00 μ.μ.
Είσοδος ελεύθερα.
Ακολουθεί το μηνιαίο φαγητό, 5.30 μ.μ.

28 Σεπτεμβρίου, 26 Οκτωβρίου, 30 Νοεμβρίου - Έκθεση Φωτογραφίας
Έκθεση οικογενειακής φωτογραφίας και ποτίμια Ικαρίας. Στη συνέχεια θα διατηρηθούν οι φωτογραφίες στο αρχείο μας.
Επικοινωνήστε με τη Μαρία 8294 2140.
Ίκαρος Χωλ 22 Arthur St Unley. Εναρξη έκθεσης '28 Σεπτεμβρίου, 4.00 μ.μ. **Είσοδος ελεύθερα.**
Ακολουθεί το μηνιαίο φαγητό, 5.30 μ.μ.

12 Οκτωβρίου - Ήχοι του Ίκαρου Συναυλία

Με μουσικούς και συνθέτες Ικαριακής καταγωγής.
Ίκαρος Χωλ 22 Arthur St Unley, 3.00 μ.μ.
Τιμή εισιτηρίου \$15.00. Για παιδιά κάτω των 15, είσοδος ελεύθερα. Εισιτήρια: Γιάννης 8272 1983

50 ΧΡΟΝΙΑ

7 - 30 Νοεμβρίου - Έκθεση Ικαρίων Καλλιτεχνών

Έκθεση έργων εικαστικής τέχνης.
Marion Cultural Centre Gallery M 287 Diagonal Rd, Oaklands Park. Έναρξη 7 Νοεμ. 6.00 μ.μ. μέχρι 30 Νοεμβρίου.
Είσοδος ελεύθερα.

15 Νοεμβρίου - Καριώτικο Πανηγύρι

Φαγοπότι, χορός, διασκέδαση.
Ίκαρος Χωλ. 22 Arthur Street Unley, 4.00 μ.μ. μέχρι 1.00 π.μ. Μαζί και η παρουσίαση του αναμνηστικού φυλλαδίου που θα εκδοθεί στα πλαίσια του εορτασμού των 50 χρόνων.
Τιμή εισιτηρίου \$10.00. Για παιδιά κάτω των 15, είσοδος ελεύθερα.
Εισιτήρια: Γιάννης 8272 1983

30 Νοεμβρίου - Γιορτή του Κρασιού
Γιορτάζουμε το φεστιβάλ του Διόνυσου και τον Ικαριώτικο Πράμνιο Οίνο με διαγωνισμό κρασιού και ελιάς.
Ίκαρος Χωλ. 22 Arthur Street Unley, 3.00 μ.μ. **Είσοδος ελεύθερα.**
Ακολουθεί το μηνιαίο φαγητό, 5.30 μ.μ.

Η Ικαριακή Αδελφότητα σας προσκαλεί όλους στις εκδηλώσεις για τα 50 χρόνια. Αν θέλετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες, επικοινωνήστε με μας βοηθήστε σε κάποια εκδήλωση ή να μας υποστηρίξετε χρηματικά, γράψτε μας στην παρακάτω διεύθυνση

The Secretary
Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros" Inc.
22 Arthur St Unley 5061
Τηλέφωνο: 82722869
Email: ikaros@ikaria.com.au
Website: www.ikaria.com.au
[Under construction]

Η Ικαριακή Αδελφότητα ευχαριστεί θερμά τους χορηγούς για την αυγενική και γενναϊόδωρη προσφορά τους.
Our Association expresses its sincere appreciation to our sponsors for their generous support.

CHAPLEY RETAIL GROUP



CHRIS & DANAE ANGELOPOULOS

Dr. Michael P. Tsounis
Tony Carapetis



GUARDIAN when it really, really matters

Sotiris Portellos
Lesles Families

We gratefully acknowledge the kind support of Steve Georganas M.P., Member for Hindmarsh

Image 6.1: The Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood's 'Golden Jubilee' pamphlet, 2008. Courtesy of Dr Demeter Tsounis and the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia.

This chapter explores the long-term community building and societal integration exhibited by the Ikarians of South Australia after their initial settlement. To do this, an investigation into their early community structures, cultural practices, businesses, chain migration, and religious and political lives, is conducted, as well as a look at the 'hidden' community building seen via the archival record. A focus is placed on community organisations, such as the Greek Orthodox Community of SA (GOCSA), as well as the later Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia. The methods of integration into society are further identified by observing practices including WWII enlistment, anglicisation of names, marriage within and outside of the community, individuals taking roles in South Australian public life, and the Ikarian community's role in wider South Australian society. These methods are categorised under two 'types' of integration – individualistic and community – and are guided by broader theoretical underpinnings, such as the ideas of assimilation, adaptation, settler-colonialism, and self-identity. Much of this section is tied to WWII, as this case study is restricted by 1945. In addition to this, the war years are also seen as a somewhat transformative period for the Ikarian and wider Greek communities of SA.

As this chapter differs in content from the previous two, the methodology also differs regarding the sources. There is a greater mix of archival sources (such as naturalisation and enlistment records), Ikarian oral traditions, and existing histories. Archives compiled by the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood and its members, and by GOCSA, are additionally employed. Other important sources are also consulted to give further context and meaning to the oral traditions and self-published histories, which often can include unverified or 'mythicised' information. These include newspapers, gazettes, and the recent work on the Ikarian diaspora and community by Stylianos Simakis, which focusses particularly on the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia in the post-WWII period.¹ A unique addition to this chapter is the brief oral history study, conducted by the author. These interviews were conducted with key children and/or grandchildren of many of the migrants in question, and surrounded questions of community building, integration, and identity. Paired with the archival sources, the interviews helped to unravel and verify

¹ See: Stylianos I. Simakis, *EKATO XRONIA IKAPIAKΗΣ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΥΣΗΣ, 1892-1991 [One-Hundred Years of Ikarian Overseas Migration, 1892-1991]*, Dekalogos, Athens, 2015, 160-209.

certain aspects of the SA Ikarians that otherwise went unrecorded or unconfirmed in written records.

Long-term Community Building

Following the initial short-term community building exhibited by Ikarian migrants between the 1910s-30s, South Australian Ikarians slowly shifted towards an organised community. Initially, Ikarian community building had been concentrated on clusters of immigrants (centred around Florence St, Port Pirie, and the Adelaide CBD), and was dictated by the industries that the migrants worked in, including smelting, agriculture, fishing, and hospitality, and propelled by chain migration. Longer-term Ikarian community building, on the other hand, was centred on community structures, including churches, organisations, and community institutions (including *kafenía*) as well as on the existing clusters of migrants who were now engrained in their societies. In essence, the new generation of Ikarian migrants (1930s-40s and beyond) were now being drawn to Port Pirie and Adelaide because significant communities already existed there, while the older generation had been drawn firstly by largely economic push and pull factors. Tsounis named this era the 'rise of the Greek establishment in Australia'.²

The earliest community organisations that involved Ikarian members were the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie (established 1924 and discussed in the previous chapter), and the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia (GOCSA), centred on Franklin St, Adelaide. GOCSA was founded on 3 October 1930 at the Hellas Club, 122 Hindley St.³ The majority of the organisation's founding members originated from the Greek islands, and the pre-existing Castellorizian Brotherhood had taken charge and made up a third of the founding members.⁴ Other islanders also participated, including two Ikarians: Ilias Mourselas, an inaugural committee member; and Kostas Kotzamanis, who was active throughout the 1930s.⁵ By the 1940s, more Ikarians became involved in

² Michael P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1971, 196.

³ Michael P. Tsounis, *The Story of a Community: A short pictorial history of the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia*, Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia, Adelaide, 1991, 3-5.

⁴ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 5; George Kellis, 'The Orthodox Christian Church in South Australia', *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, 10, 1984, 55.

⁵ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 145-6.

GOCSA, most notably Antonios Carapetis and Kosmas Lesses.⁶ GOCSA's first priest was Archimandrite Heliou, who was already a prominent figure in the Greek community.

GOCSA's establishment in 1930 demonstrated a shift away from the established 'Port Pirie system'. This coincided with the Great Depression, as well as developments at the smelters which pushed migrants to seek new work in the larger, more urban, economic centres – in this case, Adelaide's CBD. These developments included the sale of the smelters to the North Broken Hill, Broken Hill South, and Zinc Corporation in 1926; a BHP mine closure between 1927-29 (which led to a compensation fund); and the increasing question of poor working conditions and unfair pay for workers, reflected by a Royal Commission into lead poisoning in 1925.⁷ The Royal Commission reported that the lead poisoning disproportionately affected Southern Europeans, particularly Greeks, which propelled the belief that "Southern Europeans are more susceptible to lead poisoning than Northern Europeans."⁸ Following the Royal Commission, there was a BHP workers strike in Port Pirie in 1926. Tsounis and Kellis have interpreted this as the 'end' of the smelting era, claiming numbers working in the BHP smelters dropped after 1926 as employment became 'scarce'.⁹ Others have shown that the smelting industry continued throughout the 1930s and beyond, and BHP's steel works were only minimally impacted by the Depression in comparison to other industries.¹⁰

Migrants moving away from Port Pirie and the smelters reflected a consciousness shift in the community, which focussed on stability of living environment, quality of work and working conditions, and the ability to envision prospects and opportunities, especially for possible future generations. It was at this time that there was a demographic change in the Ikarian community as more and more families began arriving,

⁶ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 146-7.

⁷ 'Pirie Smelters: The B.H.P. Share, Purchased by Three Companies', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 14 January 1926, 2; 'A Compensation Fund', *Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 26 March 1929, 2; 'Lead Poisoning: Condition at Port Pirie', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 2 May 1926, 17; 'May be Big Strike: B.H.P. and Port Pirie Men', *Labor Daily*, 14 September 1926, 5.

⁸ Report of the Royal Commission on Plumbism, together with minutes of evidence and appendices, R.E.E. Rogers, Government Printer, Adelaide, 1925, NLA: N 610.8 AUS v. 7, nla.obj-483628713, VII-X, 8, 104-6 & 119.

⁹ Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, 120; Kellis, 'The Orthodox Christian Church in South Australia', 54.

¹⁰ Monica O'Shea, '125 years of the Port Pirie smelter', *Port Pirie Recorder*, Port Pirie, 27 June 2014; The Broken Hill Proprietary Company Limited, 'Fifty Years of Industry and Enterprise, 1885 to 1935', *The B.H.P. Review: Jubilee Number*, J.T. Picken & Sons, Melbourne, June 1935, 26-7; D.H. O'Leary, April Dougal Gasbarre & M.L. Cohen, 'BHP Billiton', in Jay P. Pederson & Miranda H. Ferrara (eds.), *International Directory of Company Histories*, 67, Gale/St James Press, Detroit, 2005, 58-64.

settling, and integrating during the 1920s-30s. This contrasted with the single males of the 1910s-20s, who often left their families in Ikaria with the idea of returning 'wealthy' or bringing them later. This shift matches with Richards' idea of migrants seeking 'more'.¹¹ The increase of Ikarian and other Greek family units ultimately drove the formation of organisations and the establishment of churches, which reflected growing community needs and long-term or permanent settlement in SA.

In 1937, the Greek Women's Society of SA 'Taxiarchis' (meaning 'Archangels') was formed, under the umbrella of GOCSA by Katholiki Anastasas OAM, who arrived from Kastellorizo in 1926, along with her daughter-in-law Despina Kratsis and *sympethéra* ('in-law') Despina Tsakalos.¹² Some Ikarrians joined, including Maria Carapetis, and the society organised events throughout the late 1930s-40s, including the annual St Mary's festival day.¹³ However, Anastasas' initial aim for the society was to fund the building of a church, and within the first year they raised £36 which went toward purchasing the block at Franklin St, Adelaide. Other donors included the Castellorizian Brotherhood and the Apollon Society, a short-lived Greek cultural organisation founded by Archimandrite Heliou (1929-37).¹⁴

The Greek Women's Society and GOCSA quickly initiated the church's construction. They commissioned Adelaide-based architect Gordon Beaumont Smith to design the original church in 1937.¹⁵ By 11 April 1937 the foundation stone was laid, and the building was completed and opened on 27 March 1938.¹⁶ An image of the church was published in the *Adelaide Mail* in February 1938, claiming the building had a 'Mediterranean flavour' (Images 6.2-6.3). This mode of community building echoed the

¹¹ Eric Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750-1900*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2018, 5.

¹² Yianni Cartledge, 'Greek Islander Migration to South Australia 1919-1939: Emigration, Settlement and Community Building', in Caroline Adams & Brian Dickey (eds.), *South Australia 1919-1939: Essays from the Professional Historians Association (SA)*, PHA SA, Adelaide, 2022, 189.

¹³ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 161; 'Greek Ladies' Guild', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 10 August 1939, 10.

¹⁴ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 11; GOCSA Archives, Box No GSE-E, 1930-45.

¹⁵ Beaumont Smith and his firm had also designed St Jude's Church, Brighton, and the War Memorial, North Tce; and sections of St Michael's Church, Mitcham; St Paul's Retreat, Glen Osmond; Calvary Hospital, North Adelaide; Adelaide University (Refectory, Cloisters, & Barr Smith Library); and the Wayville Showgrounds (Australian Barley Board Pavilion & Trotting Track). He was also involved in numerous commercial buildings, including the Savings Bank of SA building, Hindley St; ETSA building, Eastwood; Chrysler automobile plant, Tonsley; and the RAA building, Melbourne St, North Adelaide. See: Julie Collins, 'Beaumont Smith, Gordon', *Architects of South Australia*, Architecture Museum, University of South Australia, 2013.

¹⁶ GOCSA Archives, Box No GSE-E, 1930-45.

Port Pirie community, who had previously purchased and rebuilt the church on Florence St in 1925-26.

The Adelaide church was dedicated to Archangels Gabriel and Michael (*Taxiarchis*), and its consecration was performed by Archimandrite Heliou and Archbishop Timotheos Evangelinidis, aided by Adelaide's Anglican clergy, including Dean of Adelaide Very Rev George Jose and Rev F.J. Price. In attendance were Greek Consul Oscar Benno Seppelt, Consul-General for Greece John Kokotakis, Adelaide Lord Mayor Sir Arthur Barrett, Greek Australian journalists Alexander Grivas and Leon Bizannes, and President of the Methodist Conference Rev S. Forsyth.¹⁷ Religious instruction and services were initially given in Greek, Arabic, and English in 1938, although the nature and extent of the use of all three languages is unclear, and Greek remained the most widely used language beyond this period.¹⁸ It is possible that Arabic was used due to Greek Egyptians (and maybe even Orthodox Lebanese) being part of the church's congregation.

The original church was demolished, and a new, updated church (now a 'cathedral') was built at the site in 1967, replacing Smith's original design (Image 6.4). This new church was designed by four young Greek South Australians, Stanley Psaltis, Hercules Tsakalidis, Michael Beltsos, and John Lentakis, all either recent graduates, or undergraduates, from Adelaide University; and its structural engineer was Ikarian migrant Vasilios (William) Gronthos.¹⁹ Both Psaltis and Gronthos had origins in the pre-WWII (and even pre-WWI) Greek community of SA.²⁰

¹⁷ 'New Greek Church Consecrated: Anglicans Assist in Service', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 28 March 1938, 21; Cartledge, 'Greek Islander Migration to South Australia 1919-1939', 189.

¹⁸ GOCSA Archives, Box No GSE-E, 1930-45.

¹⁹ Athan Anagnostou & Penny Anagnostou, 'The Cathedral of Archangels Michael & Gabriel (Taxiarchis)', in Athan N. Anagnostou & Penny Anagnostou (eds.), *Our Journey at a Glance: 1930-2010*, GOCSA, Adelaide, 2011, 147-52.

²⁰ Stanley Psaltis' father, Pantelis Psaltis, arrived in Melbourne aboard the *Cephee* in 1923: 'Incoming passenger list "Cephee" departed Dunkirk, arrived Fremantle 29 August 1923', NAA: K269, 29 AUG 1923 CEPHEE, 30151553, 1923. Other Psaltis (sometimes Protopsaltis or Saltis) family members (of unclear degrees of relation), from Mitata, Kythera, or from Sinope, Asia Minor, had been in SA since the 1900s-1920s, such as Athanasios Protopsaltis (arrived 1904), Charles Basil Psaltis (arrived 1906), Michel Protopsaltis and John and Nicholas Psaltis (all arrived 1908), Michael Psaltis (arrived 1912), Spiros and Arthur Basil Psaltis (arrived 1916), Athanasios Konstantinos Psaltis (arrived 1918), Philip Protosalti (arrived 1921), Demetrios Panagiotou Protopsaltis (nominated by Arthur Psaltis in 1925), John Psaltis (arrived 1924), and Emmanuel Psaltis, George Psaltis and John D. Protopsaltis (Psaltis), Parascos Psaltis and Theodosia Psaltis (all nominated in 1927). Sources: NAA search 'Psaltis', 'Saltis' & 'Protopsaltis': A1 series, A261 series, D4880 series & ST1233/1 series. Gronthos family members had been in SA since 1911 (see previous chapter). Vasilios Gronthos' father, Pantelis Gronthos, arrived in Sydney in 1938 and settled in Adelaide: 'GRONTHOS Pentelis Constantin', NAA: D4878, GRONTHOS P C, 4076664, 1942-50.

Neat Structure On Franklin St. Site

MEDITERRANEAN FLAVOR

A new church building for the Greek Orthodox Church of South Australia is being erected on a corner site in Franklin street, near West Terrace, at a cost of approximately £1,000.

The church, which will have a simple picturesqueness when completed, is reminiscent in general design of some of the Greek monastery structures on the Mediterranean coast.



AN EFFECTIVE SIMPLICITY is the keynote of the design of this new church which is being built for the Greek Orthodox Church of South Australia. The building is intended to accommodate 200 people.

Image 6.2: The Church of Archangels Gabriel and Michael (*Taxiarchis*), Franklin St, Adelaide, 1938.²¹

²¹ 'Neat Structure On Franklin St. Site: Mediterranean Flavor', *Mail*, Adelaide, 5 February 1938, 31.



Image 6.3: The Church of Archangels Gabriel and Michael (*Taxiarchis*), Franklin St, Adelaide, in use, c. 1940s.²²

²² *Λεύκομα: 60 Years of Service to the Community, 1930-1990*, Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia, 1990, 2.



Image 6.4: Architect Hercules Tsakalidis on site of the Cathedral of Archangels Gabriel and Michael (*Taxiarchis*), Franklin St, in 1967.²³

Prior to the mass institution of Greek regional community organisations of the 1940s and onwards, GOCSA acted as a ‘centralised’ umbrella community. Before GOCSA’s establishment, only one regional Greek fraternity existed, the Kastellorizian Brotherhood, founded in 1928. However, as mentioned, this fraternity became inextricably linked to GOCSA.²⁴ As part of GOCSA, Ikarians, Kastellorizians, and other Greek Orthodox migrants,

²³ ‘Photograph of Hercules Tsakalidis on site of the Cathedral of Archangels Gabriel and Michael’, Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), NAA: A12111, 1/1967/9/12, 8275315, Adelaide, 1967.

²⁴ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 5.

participated in intra-communal events, including ‘fellowship picnics’, dances, religious feasts, charity evenings, and Greek language schooling. Essentially, GOCSA was the nexus and founding community of SA’s Greeks, like the unincorporated Greek Brotherhood of London that was dominated by the Chiots.²⁵

One of GOCSA’s significant early community establishments was the Greek school at 215 Franklin St, which began in 1931.²⁶ The Greek school itself testified to a demographic shift in migrants arriving in SA, from single, labouring males to family units. The Greek school’s teacher was an Aegean islander, Michael Mouras of Nisyros, who held a teaching certificate from the Education Department of Greece and was previously in Port Pirie.²⁷ In 1935, the Greek school was commended in the *Advertiser* by Archbishop Timotheos. Lessons were held four nights a week from 5pm-7pm and included 123 students in 1935. It taught reading and writing in Modern Greek, Greek history, and religion. Mouras explained that “about two years ago (1933) there were only about 12 children who knew anything about their own country and language, but now (1935) a considerable advance has been made in that respect.”²⁸ The curriculum taught at the school likely mimicked the curriculum of Greece and focussed on cultivating and maintaining a Greek national identity within the community. There was also a Greek Athletics Club, including a soccer team, affiliated with GOCSA, active from 1939.²⁹

Ultimately, GOCSA acted as a centralised Greek community during the 1930s-40s, which the Ikarians and others utilised for their own communal needs. In this way Adelaide was unlike larger centres, such as Sydney and Melbourne, which boasted multiple communities forming in this period. Due to Adelaide’s comparatively small population sizes, as well as most Greeks living within proximity of *Taxiarchis*, this forwent the need for multiple Greek community establishments in SA until the population boom after WWII. However, there was a sense of an ‘Ikarian community’ in SA that was separate from organisations like GOCSA and the Community of Port Pirie, although it acted ‘unofficially’ and was not incorporated until the 1950s.

²⁵ For more on GOCSA’s history, see: Eleftherios Kostoglou & Eleni Kostoglou, ‘A short history of the Greek community in Adelaide’, *Greek Handi-craft Traditions: The Personal Treasures of Adelaide’s Greek Women*, “Paradosi” – The Greek Women’s Handi-craft Co-operative, Migration Museum, Adelaide, 1991, 1-4.

²⁶ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 5; GOCSA Archives, Box No GSE-E, 1930-45.

²⁷ ‘Michael MOURAS – Naturalisation certificate’, NAA: A1, 1930/3418, 1499546, 1930; GOCSA Archives, Box No GSE-E, 1930-45.

²⁸ ‘Greek School in Adelaide: Children Taught Own Language’, *Advertiser*, 2 August 1935, 20.

²⁹ GOCSA Archives, Box No GSE-E, 1930-45.

The Ikarian Brotherhood

The clearest evidence of long-term Ikarian community building were the fraternities, or 'brotherhoods', that the diaspora formed. These fraternities, which were based on region of origin, and were both separate and independent organisations from the Greek Orthodox communities, were a feature of many Greek diasporic communities.

The first Ikarian fraternities were formed in Egypt in 1898, and the US in 1903 (both discussed briefly in Chapter 4), and these ultimately laid the blueprint for future Ikarian brotherhoods. The brotherhoods were open to membership by anyone of Ikarian or Fournian descent, as well as those who had married into the community.³⁰ These organisations were centres of community engagement for the Ikarions, with regular activities including annual picnics, conventions, dances, networking, and cultural events, and in the US, the combined effort of publishing the *Ikaros* newspaper, which became the later annual *Ikaria* magazine.³¹

The establishment of Ikarian fraternities in Egypt and the US created a financial and charitable flow back to Ikaria. These flows were more community-focused than the initial individuals who were sending financial support back to their respective families, as well as those who had returned to the island with their wealth. One of the earliest mass charitable efforts saw the American brotherhoods offer subsidies to Ikarian farmers during an agricultural work shortage on the island in the 1930s.³² The most notable projects, however, were the building of a high school and a new hospital in Ikaria's capital, Agios Kirykos, in 1925 and 1959, respectively (Image 6.8), with the hospital supported by both the American and Australian brotherhoods.³³ Due to this, the Ikarian diaspora acted as a modernising force for Ikaria.³⁴

The fraternities, spurred on by their strong ideological roots, also focused on supporting Ikaria during political crises. This included the brotherhood in Alexandria,

³⁰ Nikitas J. Tripodes, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood', *Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of America*.

³¹ Tripodes, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood', n.d.

³² Anthony J. Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals: Icaria 1600-2000*, Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Wauconda, Illinois, 2005, 135-6.

³³ Tripodes, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood'; Nicholas H. Batouyios, 'The Early Ikarions of the United States and the Pan-Icarian Brotherhood of America "Icaros"', *Ikaria*, 24, 2002, 13.

³⁴ George Kaloudis, 'Greeks of the diaspora: modernizers or an obstacle to progress?', *International Journal on World Peace*, 23(2), June 2006, 49-70.

Egypt, who had donated a ship to the 1912 Ikarian Revolution;³⁵ and in 1940, when the American brotherhoods gathered relief funds which they sent to Axis-occupied Greece.³⁶ Taking into consideration the important role the diasporic fraternities played, Papalas emphasised that during the twentieth century Ikaria became a ‘frontier province’, reliant on the Ikarian diaspora to survive, especially after union with Greece.³⁷ Thus, diasporas became important investments for Ikaria’s future.

In Australia, the two Ikarian fraternities, the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia “Ikaros” (founded 1958), and the later Ikarian Brotherhood of New South Wales “Ikaria” (founded 1983), did not officially form as early as their American and Egyptian counterparts.³⁸ However, there was a sense of an ‘unofficial brotherhood’ in existence within the Ikarian community of SA. A photo from the 1930s attests to this, showing a gathering of Ikaros in SA (Image 6.5). This was a regular occurrence according to descendants, especially on name days, however, these events were more often in a ‘Pan-Greek’ setting (although Ikarian-only gatherings did occur).³⁹ Ikarian-owned cafés (*kafenía*), such as the Pantheon Club run by John Varsamis at 46-48 Florence St, Port Pirie, and Constantine Alexander (Fakaris) at 137 Hindley St, Adelaide, were other examples of early Ikarian gathering places (albeit with Pan-Greek clientele, particularly in Port Pirie). This ‘unofficial’ brotherhood was also examinable through chain migration behaviours, especially the sponsorship and temporary housing of new Ikarian migrants – which often occurred at *kafenía*, especially at 137 Hindley St.

³⁵ John Chrysochoos, *Ikaria: Paradise in Peril*, RoseDog Books, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 2010, 127-8 & 133-4.

³⁶ Tripodes, ‘A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood’.

³⁷ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 134.

³⁸ From this period, there are also Ikarian brotherhoods in Canada, including Toronto ‘Nisos Ikaria’ (1969) and ‘Ikaros’ of Montreal (1971) (both are chapters of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of America), as well as in Athens, including the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Athens (*Πανικαριακή Αδελφότητα Αθηνών*); Association of Ikaros of Perama & Surrounding Municipalities ‘Ikaros’ (*Σύλλογος Ικαριωτών Περάματος και Γύρω Δήμων ‘Ο Ικαρος’*); Association of Ikaros in Petroupolis (*Σύλλογος Ικαριωτών Πετρούπολης*); Pan-Ikarian Association ‘Artemis Tavropoulos’ (*Πανικάριος Σύλλογος ‘Αρτεμις Ταυροπόλος’*); Association of Ikarian Scientists ‘SIEP’ (*Σύλλογος Ικάρων Επιστημόνων ‘Σ.Ι.Ε.Π.’*); Icaria Festival (*Φεστιβάλ Ικαρίας*); Fournian Association of Athens – Piraeus ‘The Corsair’ (*Σύλλογος Φουρνιωτών Αθηνών - Πειραιώς ‘Ο Κουρσάρος’*); and at least 11 Ikarian village-based associations in Athens. There are also Ikarian associations in Crete and Rhodes: Association of Samians, Ikaros and Fournians of Crete (*Σύλλογος Σαμιωτών Ικαριωτών Φουρνιωτών Κρήτης*) and the Association of Samians and Ikaros of Rhodes ‘Pythagoras’ (*Σύλλογος Σαμιωτών και Ικαριωτών Ρόδου ‘Ο Πυθαγόρας’*). There is also a Switzerland-based ‘Club Ikaria’ founded 2004.

³⁹ Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 29 August 2022; Interview with John Gronthos, Westbourne Park SA, 15 October 2023.



Image 6.5: Ikarians in South Australia during the 1930s.⁴⁰

In addition to this, Ikarians also navigated GOCSA and other Greek organisations before the founding of their own Brotherhood. The GOCSA fellowship picnics were one such example of early community events; as were the earlier Port Pirie Greek community picnics of the 1930s, which were noted in the *Recorder* as being attended by “Practically the whole of the Greek community of Pirie”.⁴¹ Tony Carapetis and Stavros Carapetis reminisced about these picnics, noting that they often took place at the ‘Frenchman’s place’ at Nelshaby Park, and were attended by all of Pirie’s Greeks (most of whom were islanders or from Asia Minor).⁴² Although they had fond memories, they noted that the picnics occasionally lent towards violence between feuding members of the broader Greek community. They also reminisced on the wider social circles they participated in, noting that they would make trips from Port Pirie to Adelaide in their father’s fruit truck,

⁴⁰ Dr Themis P. Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, Icaria Festival, Fotolio & Typicon Printing House, United States, 2013, 148, image 194.

⁴¹ ‘Greek Community Goes to Picnic: 150 at Telowie Gorge Outing’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 8 November 1938, 4.

⁴² Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 29 August 2022.

visiting Ikarians along the way and staying with relatives in Adelaide, and emphasised that it was “Only Ikarians. We didn't associate in Adelaide with other people.”⁴³

During the 1930s-40s period, only a handful of regional fraternities existed in SA. This included: the Castellorizian Brotherhood (Adelaide, 1928-present); the Philanthropic Levisian Brotherhood, with S. Panagos as president (Adelaide, 1945-46); the Chios Society (or Brotherhood) (Adelaide, 1944-46); the Colossus Pan-Rhodian Society (1944-present); and the Cypriot Brotherhood of SA (now Cyprus Community of SA) (1947/48-present).⁴⁴ Ikarians made use of these communities, and likely attended the events and celebrations hosted by these organisations, especially as many had married Kastellorizians, Levisians, Chiots, Rhodians, and Cypriots.

By the post-War period, however, Ikarians were having their own fellowship picnics, *panigyria* (‘traditional festivals’), and other religious and cultural events. An ‘Ikarian picnic’ is shown here between 1953-54 (Image 6.6). Occasionally, Ikarians would combine with islanders from Chios in these events, possibly as their society only existed between 1944-46, and a new Chiot association would not be formed until 1961.⁴⁵

Ikarians also annually celebrated Ikarian Independence Day on 17 July, commemorating the Ikarian Revolution and independence from the Ottomans in 1912, as opposed to Greek Independence Day celebrated on 25 March by other Greek communities in SA, and worldwide.⁴⁶ The continued celebration of ‘Ikarian Independence Day’ spoke to the separate Ikarian identity which was parallel to their Greek and Orthodox identities. John Lesses noted this, stating that “My parents never lost their island identity and encouraged our family to stand up to any challenge that came our way...I live and breathe by my Ikarian heritage.”⁴⁷ Ikarian Independence Day was celebrated informally (much like a name day), until the formation of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood post-WWII.

This separate Ikarian identity was also coupled with village-based identities. Stavros Carapetis, when discussing his father and extended family, emphasised that: “They identified very much with Greece and particularly with Ikaria. And particularly

⁴³ Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 29 August 2022 & 17 October 2022.

⁴⁴ GOCSA Archives, Box No GSE-E, 1930-45; Tsounis, ‘Greek Communities in Australia’, 1971, 556-9.

⁴⁵ Tsounis, ‘Greek Communities in Australia’, 1971, 556-9.

⁴⁶ For a modern look at this, see: Zoe Thomaidou, ‘Why is the 200th anniversary of Greek independence so important for Greek Australians’, *SBS Greek*, 24 March 2021.

⁴⁷ Interview with John Kosmas Lesses of Unley SA, conducted via email 5 July 2022.

Monokampi. If there was any discussion about where you're from, he would always say Monokampi.”⁴⁸ Tsounis also exhibited this when reminiscing, especially when discussing *Frantiotes* (villagers from Frantato) as their own distinct diaspora; as well as the prolific migration of Ikarians from Monokampi, Perdiki, and Plomari.⁴⁹



Image 6.6: Ikarian picnic, Long Gully, Belair National Park, 1953-54. Photograph courtesy of John Lesses.

In 1958, the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia “Ikaros” Inc. was officially incorporated in Adelaide.⁵⁰ The inaugural committee consisted solely of Ikarian migrants, many arriving pre-WWII, including John Z. Carapetis (president), Kosmas Lesses (treasurer), Stamatis Vasilakis, Elias Tsantes, Paraschos Kalambogias (secretary),

⁴⁸ Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 29 August 2022.

⁴⁹ Christos N. Fifis, ‘Michael Tsounis, The Ikarian Greek Australian Historian’, *Greek Community Tribune*, issue 41244, 2012, 6; Michalis Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, self-published, Adelaide, Winter 1991, 38-9.

⁵⁰ See the earlier study, Yianni Cartledge, ‘Ikarians in South Australia: The origins of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of South Australia “Ikaros” Inc., and its connections with the community’, undergraduate research essay, Flinders University, 2014. See also: Constitution of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia “Ikaros” Inc., 1958, 1961, 1973-76, 1985.

Vasilios Karapetis (vice-president), Pantelis Gronthos, Stamatis Kalamaras, and George Tsounis (Image 6.7).⁵¹



Image 6.7: The inaugural Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia committee, 1958. Left to right: Stamatis Vasilakis, Elias Tsantes, Kosmas Lesses, Paraschos Kalambogias, John Z. Carapetis, Vasilios Karapetis, Pantelis Gronthos, Stamatis Kalamaras, and George Tsounis. Photo courtesy of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia.⁵²

The incorporation of the Brotherhood hinted at a formal move away from GOCSA being the centre of the Ikarian community. This move also preceded the major split in the SA Greek community between GOCSA's churches and the churches of the Archdiocese during 1960, which was in response to Archbishop Ezekiel's restructuring of Australian churches, which challenged church communities' independence, but was also fuelled by communist paranoia.⁵³ Although remaining closely aligned with GOCSA due to collaborative community efforts, many Ikarians straddled both ends of SA's Greek

⁵¹ *A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros": 50th Anniversary Jubilee 1958-2008 Commemorative Book*, Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros", Unley, South Australia, November 2008, 61.

⁵² Photograph of the inaugural Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia committee, 1958, courtesy of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros" Inc.

⁵³ Kellis, 'The Orthodox Christian Church in South Australia', 59-60; Nicholas Doumanis, 'Eastern Orthodoxy and Migrant Conflict: The Greek Church Schism in Australia, 1959-74', *The Journal of Religious History*, 17(1), 1992, 60-76; Demetrios Tsingris, 'The Power Struggle Between the Greek Church and the Established Greek Community Organizations in Australia', MA Thesis, University of Sydney, Sydney, 1986.

Orthodoxy, attending both GOCSA's *Taxiarchis* in Franklin St, and the Archdiocese's St Spyridon Church, Oxford Tce, Unley.⁵⁴

The Brotherhood, like the older Brotherhoods of the US and Egypt, aimed at community engagement and supporting charitable causes, including sending funds for a hospital to be built in Ikaria (£125.10.3 being sent in 1958 - Image 6.8); as well as providing "for local Ikarians living in Australia who for health reasons are in need of financial assistance."⁵⁵ Initially, the Ikarians rented the old hall next to the original *Taxiarchis*, Franklin St, as well as 'Liascos' Hall' (Greek Ex-Servicemen's Association), corner of Hindley St and West Tce, and the Olympic Hall, Franklin St, from GOCSA, until purchasing their own premises, the former Freemason Temple (built 1927) on Arthur St, Unley, in 1986 – renamed the 'Ikaros Hall' or often 'Ikaros House' (Images 6.9-6.10).⁵⁶



Image 6.8: Diaspora Ikarians, Yiannis and Sophia Vassilaros of New York, breaking ground for the new hospital at Agios Kirykos, as funded by the American and Australian communities, late-1950s.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Note: During the split, the Ikarian Brotherhood sided with GOCSA in its dispute with Archbishop Ezekiel. Eleni Apostolaki-Glaros, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia', Petro Alexiou (trans.), in *A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia "Ikaros"*, 51.

⁵⁵ Apostolaki-Glaros, 'A Brief History of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood of Australia', 51.

⁵⁶ Yianni Cartledge, '110 years of Ikarians in South Australia', *Historia*, 32, Professional Historians Association (PHA), June 2020; Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 17 October 2022.

⁵⁷ Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, 94, image 110.

NEW MASONIC TEMPLE FOR UNLEY.

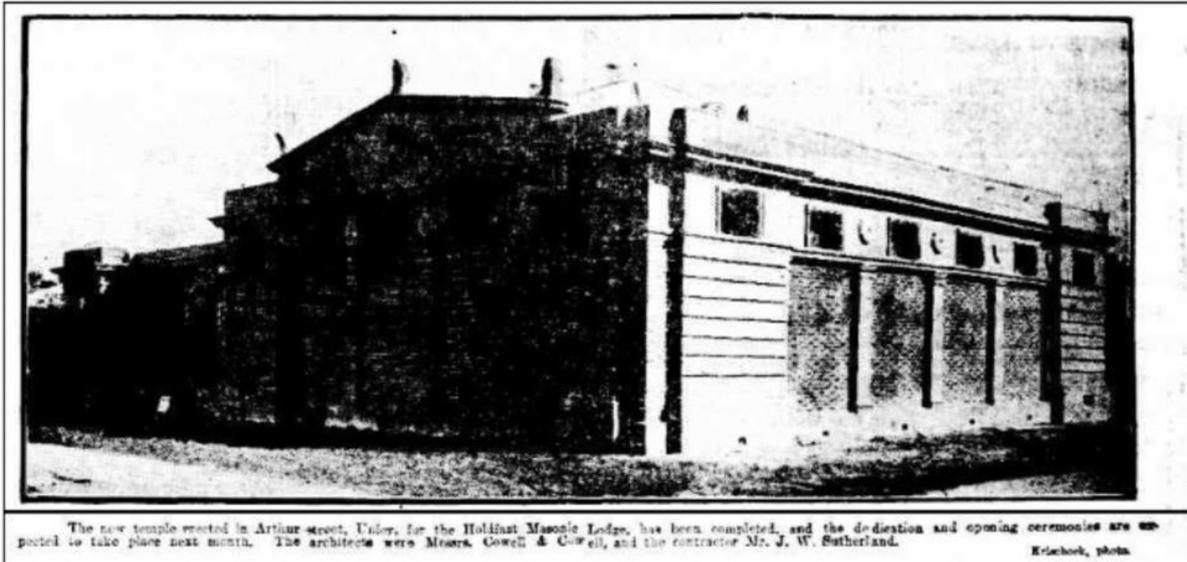


Image 6.9: Completion of the Masonic Temple, Arthur St, Unley, 1927.⁵⁸



Image 6.10: Ikaros Hall, Arthur St, Unley, 2023, captured by the author.

Ikarian Businesses

The other avenue of 'official' Ikarian long-term community building was exhibited through business establishments and enterprises. Ikarians were not prolific restaurateurs like the Kytherans, Ithacans, and other islanders,⁵⁹ and due to their

⁵⁸ 'New Masonic Temple for Unley', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 25 March 1927, 14.

⁵⁹ See: Effy Alexakis & Leonard Janiszewski, *Greek Cafés and Milk Bars of Australia*, Halstead Press, Sydney & Canberra, 2016.

labouring class origins, they were not necessarily merchants or shipping magnates like the nineteenth and twentieth century Chiots and Ionian islanders. However, some enterprises were observable, albeit on smaller scales in the interwar period. These businesses became centres of community.

Previously, it was noted that the extent of Ikarian contributions to the pre-WWII café culture included members of the Parianos family who owned the Athens Café on Peel St, Adelaide; and Mick Frangos who owned both the Alhambra Café, King William St, Adelaide, and the Oceanic Café, Ellen St, Port Pirie.⁶⁰ All these *kafenía* acted as important meeting places for the Greek community. Despite these few establishments, the vast majority of Ikarrians were labourers, as noted in the 1916 ‘secret census’ – although, there was also an Adelaide-based watchmaker, John Angelo Majaris.⁶¹ The Carapetis family also ran a fruitful grocery business, which contributed to Port Pirie and broader SA society by supplying wholesale fruit and vegetables between Pirie, Adelaide, Whyalla, and towns in between.⁶² Post-WWII, however, Ikarian-owned businesses expanded, such as the Chapley Group (Tsapaliaris family), Maras Group (Kalamaras/Maras family), and others – many of which were mentioned as sponsors of the ‘Golden Jubilee’ event.

In addition to the Frangos, Parianos, and Carapetis families, there was another Ikarian family, the Varsamis family of Port Pirie, who notably displayed a combination of business and community life. The family’s patriarch, John Varsamis, arrived at Port Adelaide in 1910, seeking labouring work at the Port Pirie smelters. At the time, he was 35 years old, and his wife and three children remained in Ikaria. Customs authorities had also questioned him on whether he was “a coloured man”.⁶³ His family joined him in 1921. After a career at the smelters, John eventually opened the Pantheon Club at 46-48 Florence St, Port Pirie, which became a centre of Greek community activities. The club served food, coffee, and other beverages, and was called a ‘meeting place’ for the Greek

⁶⁰ It is unclear if either of these families were from Samos or Ikaria – as discussed, Ikarrians often listed ‘Samos’ as their place of origin (Samos being the nearest major island). However, the ‘Parianos’ and ‘Frangos’ surnames are traditionally thought of as Ikarian in origin.

⁶¹ ‘Greek – South Australia – Greeks Resident in Metropolitan Police Division’, NAA: A385, 10B, 65706, 1916; ‘Greek – South Australia – Particulars of’, NAA: A385, 10A, 65705, 1916.

⁶² ‘Mr. John Carapetis Dies at 66: Came from Greece in 1923’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 15 November 1943, 2; Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 29 August & 17 October 2022.

⁶³ ‘John VARSAMIS - Naturalization’, NAA: A1, 1912/17500, 14182, 1912.

community in the Port Pirie *Recorder*.⁶⁴ He also ran an assorted store in the neighbouring shop.

Unfortunately, many reports that existed about the club between the 1920s-40s portrayed it in a negative or controversial way. This included reports of one member of the family, Matthew Varsamis, who had been fined in 1934 for operating a wireless receiving set without a license; as well as allegedly selling alcohol without a license in 1939 – however, this appeared to be part of targeted raids on Greek establishments in the 1930s (due to both xenophobia and decisive gambling and illegal alcohol crackdowns), and the two bottles of beer in question were noted as being only kept at the premise for personal consumption and not intended for sale.⁶⁵ Fights were also described at the club, breaking out between drunk patrons.⁶⁶ In contrast to the controversy, in 1934, the club's balcony was used as a refuge for townfolk during mass-flooding in Port Pirie, as photographed and noted in the *Recorder* (Image 6.11).⁶⁷

The Varsamis family, however, were portrayed in a more positive way than their business, and they had also taken an active role in the community. The Port Pirie *Recorder* noted that they had donated floral tributes at the funeral of the victim of a smelter accident, Leonardos Halas.⁶⁸ Evangelia Varsamis was even crowned 'Queen of Flowers' in 1939 at a fundraising event for the Greek Church and Greek School, held at St Paul's Parish Hall.⁶⁹ Similarly, A. Varsamis won a 'bathing beauty' competition in 1937.⁷⁰ Additionally, in 1933, after the death of John Varsamis, the *Recorder* published an unusual article describing his wife as the 'Woman in Black' and the 'Greek Widow who Never Forgets', as she visited the cemetery twice a week.⁷¹ The article continued to describe the Varsamis family as assimilated, hardworking, happy, and devoted to each other and the

⁶⁴ 'Trouble at a Greek Club', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 11 May 1928, 15.

⁶⁵ 'Breaches of Wireless Act', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 9 February 1934, 2; 'History of two bottles of beer: Pantheon Club cook says he held them for dinner', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 5 May 1939, 1; 'Story of Police Raid on Florence Street Club', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 4 May 1939, 4; 'Fined £50, Reduced To £25 On Sly Grog Charge', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 6 May 1939, 19.

⁶⁶ 'Trouble at a Greek Club', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 11 May 1928, 15; 'Two Months for Resisting: Sequel to Florence Street Disturbance', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 25 November 1936, 2.

⁶⁷ 'Celebrating 115 years of The Recorder in Port Pirie', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 23 December 2013.

⁶⁸ '200 at funeral of smelters accident victim', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 4 January 1940, 1.

⁶⁹ 'Greek Community Celebrates: Miss E. Varsamis Queen of Flowers', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 29 August 1939, 2.

⁷⁰ 'Bathing Beauty Competition: Misses A. Varsamis and A. Schubert Win', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 9 April 1937, 1.

⁷¹ 'Woman in Black: Greek Widow who Never Forgets: Pilgrimage to Pirie Cemetery Twice a Week', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 14 December 1933, 2.

community. The family eventually sold the Pantheon Club to the Cypriot Mihalis Haji Kyriakou by the 1950s.⁷²



Image 6.11: Pantheon Club on Florence St, Port Pirie, flooded during the 1934 Port Pirie floods. Courtesy of the *Port Pirie Recorder*.⁷³

Additionally, around 1930 an Ikarian-run *kafenío* opened at 137 Hindley St, Adelaide. The premise had also developed into a lodging house for new Ikarian arrivals and other Greek migrants, with Constantine Alexander (Fakaris) of Raches, Ikaria, as the keeper.⁷⁴ The address had previously been used as a boarding house and greengrocer during the 1910-20s by proprietors Peter and Elizabeth Salotti.⁷⁵ Between the 1930s-40s, Fakaris housed many Ikarians at 137 Hindley St, including Kostas Gronthos, Stamatios Vasilakis, Charilaos Cozamanis, and Dimitrios Gaglias;⁷⁶ as well as other Greeks, including

⁷² 'Sold Beer to Police', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 5 September 1951, 1.

⁷³ 'Celebrating 115 years of The Recorder in Port Pirie', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 23 December 2013.

⁷⁴ 'Fakaris, C A [aka Alexander, C] - Naturalisation', NAA: A659, 1940/1/871, 1708075, 1939-40; 'Public Notices', *News*, Adelaide, 21 November 1939, 2.

⁷⁵ 'Sly Grog Again', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 2 March 1920, 12; 'Fires: Boarding House Damaged', *Daily Herald*, Adelaide, 3 February 1915, 3; 'Fatal Fall from a Dray', *Express & Telegraph*, Adelaide, 23 December 1918, 1.

⁷⁶ 'GRONTHOS Kostos', NAA: D4878, GRONTHOS K, 4076663, 1939-52; 'Fakaris, C A [aka Alexander, C] - Naturalisation', NAA: A659, 1940/1/871, 1708075, 1939-40; 'Stamatios VASSILAKIS - Greek deserter permanent resident status granted', NAA: D1976, SB1941/49, 1047542, 1938-41; 'COZAMANIS Charilaos', NAA: D4878, COZAMANIS C, 4073943, 1947-51; 'Public Notices', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 22 November 1939, 6; 'Certificates of Naturalization', *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, 248, 12 December 1940, 2646; 'Public Notices', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 21 May 1953, 16; 'Public Notices', *News*, Adelaide, 21 May 1953, 17.

Constantine Liapis and Jim Paras of Limnos, Theodoros N. Pappas of Pontikatis, Eleftherios George Peppas of Evia, Peter Kalabak of Kastoria, Carlos Gianaros of Astypalaia, and Dick Collivas of Ithaca.⁷⁷ A man named Pal Singh, likely an Indian Sikh, also resided there until his death in 1939.⁷⁸ Fakaris operated 137 Hindley St up until the 1960s, during which it also serviced the numerous post-War migrants.

Cases like Fakaris' *kafenío*, the Varsamis family, and the Pantheon Club, along with the other Ikarian-owned cafés, are notable examples of Ikarian businesses contributing to wider community building in SA. These establishments aided the integration process of new arrivals and served as centres of community.

'Hidden' Long-term Community Building

While Ikarian and wider Greek community building is best discernible in the organisations and businesses founded with the help of (and supported by) Ikarrians, there was 'hidden' long-term community building of Ikarian South Australians which is observable in the archival record. This is seen through three methods: congregation (i.e., Ikarrians living near one another); intermarriage (also exhibited by the Chiots and other diasporas); and continued chain migration, ultimately linking the early community to the post-WWII community.

One feature of the 'hidden' long-term community building exhibited by Ikarrians in SA was settlement around specific locations for extended periods. Like the Chiots of London who centred themselves on Finsbury Circus and then Bayswater, the Ikarrians centred themselves on locations such as Port Pirie (and particularly Florence St), the Adelaide CBD, Port Lincoln, and the West Coast towns. The areas the Ikarrians lived, however, were not unique, as they were following the path of most Greek (and especially islander) migrants of the era. However, there were key locations of Greek migrant congregation where Ikarrians did not leave a significant imprint, including much of the Riverland and Adelaide's North (especially Port Adelaide and Virginia).

⁷⁷ 'Public Notices', *News*, Adelaide, 31 January 1941, 2; 'Public Notices', *News*, Adelaide, 20 November 1944, 4; 'Public Notices', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 17 December 1945, 11; 'Public Notices', *News*, Adelaide, 21 January 1936, 2; 'Public Notices', *News*, Adelaide, 6 September 1939, 3; 'Public Notices', *The Register News-Pictorial*, Adelaide, 29 April 1930, 27; 'Certificates of Naturalization', *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, 145, 24 July 1941, 1613-4; 'Certificates of Naturalization', *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, 204, 31 October 1946, 3053; 'Funeral Notices', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 7 July 1943, 8.

⁷⁸ 'Births, Marriages, And Deaths Notices', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 22 November 1939, 12.

The most common location by far was Port Pirie. Between 1910-45, there were at least 68 Ikarian residents, many of whom were eventually joined by their families, living within vicinity of each other. Most listed addresses on Florence St, or on nearby streets, including David St. The West Coast towns also held many Ikarians – the most numerous being Port Lincoln with 22, and Thevenard with 11 – many of these were likely with their families who often went unrecorded. There were also 10 Ikarians living across the Victorian border in Mildura, and at least 7 across the NSW border in Broken Hill. The Adelaide CBD initially had 39 Ikarians, Thebarton had 12, and Woodville had 2, however, with the era’s demographic shift, by the end of 1945, many of the Port Pirie and West Coast Ikarians had moved to Adelaide. In the 35-year period that this study has examined, between 250-300 Ikarians had emigrated to Australia, and 195 of them had settled and built their lives around a handful of South Australian localities (Table 6.1).⁷⁹

⁷⁹ This has been drawn from data collected during this project. 257 Ikarians are identifiable in Australia during this period – a conservative 20% has been added to account for unrecorded women, children, and ship jumpers, bringing the number to 310. The number of 195 SA Ikarians also includes 19 Ikarians who were listed as living in just ‘South Australia’. It is not adjusted for women, children, or ship jumpers. This number is much greater than Simakis’ estimate, who notes only 56 Ikarians arriving in Australia between 1911-1945: Simakis, *EKATO XRONIA IKAPIAKΗΣ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΥΣΗΣ, 1892-1991*, 160-209.

Table 6.1: Number of Ikarians in South Australia and nearby locations by places of residence between 1910-45.

Location	Number of Ikarians between 1910-45
Port Pirie	68
Adelaide CBD	39
Port Lincoln	22
SA (broadly)	19
Thebarton	12
Thevenard	11
Mildura, VIC	10
Broken Hill, NSW	7
Port Kenny	6
SA 'West Coast'	5
Sleaford Bay	4
Iron Knob	3
Woodville	2
Paringa	2
Beards Bay (near Baird Bay)	1
Louth Bay	1
SA total during 1910-1945	195
Australia total during 1910-1945	257

The areas where Ikarians congregated also hosted churches that represented the centrality of these locations to the community. Before 1945, the two churches explored in this study were based in central locales: Port Pirie's St George Church (1924); and *Taxiarchis* on Franklin St, Adelaide (community 1930, building 1937). Most SA churches eventuated post-War, albeit with origins in the pre-War community. This included: Saints Constantine and Helen, Goodwood (community 1930, building 1969); St Spyridon, Unley and St George, Thebarton (communities 1959, buildings 1962); St Nicholas at Thevenard (community 1945, building 1966);⁸⁰ and Port Lincoln (1961-64).⁸¹

⁸⁰ It should be noted that there were at least 70 Greeks in Thevenard in 1935, and Archimandrite Heliou paid regular visits. See: GOCSA Archives, Box No GSE-E, 1930-45.

⁸¹ Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, 537-8.

In a different sense, many Ikarians also practiced congregation not just by living in the vicinity of each other, but by living together in single residential homes. This practice had stemmed from the 1910s and continued until the 40s. For instance, Louis Papas (Elias Papamichalis) of Ikaria, who arrived in SA in 1914 and settled in Adelaide, and his wife Maria (or Despina) of Levisi, hosted many Ikarians at their 227 Waymouth St home between the 1920s-40s, as noted by Tsounis.⁸² This included members of the Tsounis and Mourselas families, among others. The Tsounis family in Port Lincoln lived with and in vicinity of other Ikarians, such as George Karas (Tsamoutalis), the Lesses family, and “four or five [fishermen] from Ikaria.”⁸³ Similarly, members of both the Carapetis and Tsantes families lived nearby at 151 Hindley St.⁸⁴ 62 Florence St, Port Pirie, housed members of the Carapetis, Tsantes, Malahias, and possibly Frangos families.⁸⁵ And John Varsamis’ Pantheon Club at 46-48 Florence St hosted members of the Varsamis, Speis, and Poulianos families.⁸⁶ In 1949, supported by her father John Z. Carapetis, Ikarian woman Eleftheria Hatzi launched a successful claim for her own home, due to there being ‘12 persons in four rooms’, including at least three generations, and no heating besides the kitchen stove, at their Nelshaby residence, just outside Port Pirie.⁸⁷

It is evident that there were many reasons for multiple generations and families living in the same homes. Initially, it originated in the communal nature of Ikaria and the lifestyle on the island, where this was common.⁸⁸ Secondly, it spoke to an era of Greek

⁸² ‘PAPAS Louis born 1887’, NAA: D4878, PAPAS, L, 4298334, 1914-1951; South Australia Indexes to Marriage 1917-1927, volume 305, 550. Later, other Ikarians similarly housed new arrivals, such as Menelaos Parianos who housed Stamatis Kalamaras in Walkerville in 1952: ‘KALAMARAS STAMATIS - Application for Naturalisation - [Box 100]’, NAA: D400, SA1958/8009, 202815211, 1952-59.

⁸³ Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, 27.

⁸⁴ ‘SURNAME – TSANTES’, NAA: A714, 48/16556, 32094892, 1946-48; TSANTES ELIAS : Service Number - S82965’, NAA: B884, S82965, 6412802, 1939-48; ‘Applicant - TSANTES Elias; Nominee - TSANTES Artemis E; Christos E; Demetrios E; Sevasti E; KARAPETI Stamatia; nationality Greek’, NAA: A261, 1943/27, 7881325, 1943.

⁸⁵ ‘Applicant - KARABETIS John Zacharia; Nominee - FRANKOS Photios; FRANKOS Coula; FRANKOS Vasilios; FRANKOS Irini; FRANKOS Haritini; nationality Greek’, NAA: A261, 1938/1036, 7916527, 1938; ‘George MALAHIAS’, NAA: SP11/5, MALAHIAS, GEORGE, 30421729, 1940-47.

⁸⁶ Australian Electoral Commission; Canberra, Australia; Electoral Rolls, 1903-80; ‘POULIANOU Efthymia’, NAA: D4881, POULIANOU EFTHYMIA, 9233232, 1949-76; ‘POULIANOS Emmanuel’, NAA: D4881, POULIANOS EMMANUEL, 9233231, 1949-76.

⁸⁷ ‘12 Persons in Four Rooms: Woman Succeeds in Claim for Home’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 11 July 1949, 1.

⁸⁸ This has been established in recent studies of traditional Ikarian lifestyle: Romain Legrand, Gilles Nuemi, Michel Poulain & Patrick Manckoundia, ‘Description of Lifestyle, Including Social Life, Diet and Physical Activity, of People ≥90 years Living in Ikaria, a Longevity Blue Zone’, *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 18(12), 2021; Demosthenes B. Panagiotakos, Christina Chrysohoou, Gerasimos Siasos, Konstantinos Zisimos, John Skoumas, Christos Pitsavos & Christodoulos Stefanidis, ‘Sociodemographic and lifestyle statistics of oldest old people (>80 years) living in Ikaria

'clanship' that eventually was replaced with the nuclear family during the twentieth century.⁸⁹ And thirdly, it was also an economic necessity that other migrants practiced when moving abroad, especially during turbulent times, including the 1930s-40s.⁹⁰ This practice essentially maintained a sense of Ikarian identity and community in a foreign setting.

Going forward into the century, there was no single 'centre point' of the Ikarian community which mimicked the earlier congregation on Florence St, Port Pirie during the 1910s-20s. Rather, Adelaide more broadly became a general destination of Ikarian settlement and community. This distinction is important to make, as by the 1930s, it was no longer a single street (e.g., Florence St), town (e.g., Port Pirie), or suburb that received the bulk of Ikarian migrants, but instead the general ideas of 'Adelaide' and 'South Australia' as broader regions containing 'Ikarian compatriots.' Due to this, Adelaide was also later adopted as the destination of choice by the overwhelming majority of post-WWII Ikarian migrants.

Like other islander migrants, levels of intermarriage were evident among the Ikarians. However, they were not as overtly endogamous as the Chiots or similar groups – likely due to the working-class nature of the community. The need to preserve wealth or bloodlines was not evident amongst the Ikarians. However, many did marry fellow Ikarians or at least other islanders. For example, one of John Varsamis of Port Pirie's daughters married into the Speis family;⁹¹ while Evangelia Varsamis married Adam Monogios of Chios in 1945.⁹² John Marsellas (Mourselas) of Ikaria married Maria Paxinos of Ithaca in Adelaide, 1941, with their islands of origin being noted in the *Advertiser*.⁹³ In 1940, Evangelos Kourakis married Roxani (Roxy) Tsounis, both of Ikaria, in Port Lincoln.⁹⁴ Their son, Chris Kourakis, born in 1958, would later serve as South Australia's

Island: the Ikaria Study', *Cardiology Research & Practice*, 2011. See also: Maria G. Bareli, 'Facets of Crisis in a Greek Island: The Ikarian Case', *Practicing Anthropology*, 36(1), Winter 2014, 21-7.

⁸⁹ See: Michael Herzfeld, 'Seeing Like a Village: Contesting Hegemonic Modernity in Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 38, 2020, 43-58; Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou, 'Women and Family Capitalism in Greece, c.1780-1940', *Business History Review*, 81(3), 2007, 517-38; Peter Loizos & Evthymios Papataxiarchis, *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1991.

⁹⁰ See: Mirjana Lozanovska, *Migrant Housing: Architecture, Dwelling, Migration*, Routledge, London, 2019.

⁹¹ 'John Varsamis Dead', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 23 October 1930, 2.

⁹² 'Monogios-Varsamis', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 14 February 1945, 3.

⁹³ 'Paxinos-Marsellas', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 4 July 1941, 14.

⁹⁴ 'Korakis-Tunis', *Chronicle*, Adelaide, 2 May 1940, 55; 'Korakis-Tunis', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 23 April 1940, 9.

9th Chief Justice.⁹⁵ Following WWII, George Manias of Symi married Angelina Makris of Ikaria in 1949 at Port Kenny;⁹⁶ and Koula Antonias of Port Pirie West, of Cypriot and Kastellorizian descent, married Ikarian Andrew Carapetis of Adelaide in 1947.⁹⁷

Some also married into the growing community of Asia Minor refugees, including John Tsiros of Ikaria who married Eirini Vilaras of Levisi, Asia Minor; and John Z. Carapetis of Ikaria who married Eirini's niece, Eleni Santixis (Santisan) of Levisi (or Kalamaki).⁹⁸ The well-known businessman Con Polites, born to Asia Minor parents, was also a nephew of Eirini Vilaras and cousin of Eleni Santixis.⁹⁹ This practice, although not unusual within diasporas, hints at a tightknit community and that the early Ikarian community was heavily intertwined with the wider Port Pirie and Adelaide Greek communities.

'Hidden' community building can also be examined through the continued practice of chain migration beyond the 20s and through the 1930s-40s. Most Ikarians arriving in this period hailed from two regions – the island's central-northern coast, centred on the town of Evidilos (particularly the villages of Frantato and Kampos), and the island's far eastern villages centred on Perdiki. There were also a handful of families from the far western Raches region. The most numerous surnames being unique to these regions, including Tsounis and Lesses from the central-north, Frangos, Speis and Carapetis/Karapetis from the east, and Fakaris from Raches. Many also arrived with their immediate and extended families – a change that has been noted from the initial single, labouring males.

They also continued the sponsorship and nomination process. For example, one man, Stamatis Vasilakis, sponsored Anastasios Vasilakis in 1937 and Maria Karnavas in 1946.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned, others, like John Z. Carapetis, had long lists of migrants that they had nominated between the 1920s-40s. Carapetis alone had sponsored at least nine

⁹⁵ Richard Fidler, 'Supreme Court Justice Chris Kourakis on growing up in a migrant family', *Conversations*, ABC, 2 April 2012; John Emerson, *History of the Independent Bar of South Australia*, University of Adelaide Barr Smith Press, Adelaide, 2006, 179.

⁹⁶ 'Approaching Marriages', *West Coast Sentinel*, Streaky Bay, SA, 10 August 1949, 8. See: 'Reflections of a blue zone centenarian', *Resthaven News*, 7 January 2023.

⁹⁷ 'Antonias-Carapetis', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 9 July 1947, 3.

⁹⁸ Information taken from the Agapitos family tree, accessed via ancestry.com.

⁹⁹ Stavros Carapetis, 'Brief History of Karapetis (Carapetis) Arrival and Life in Port Pirie Area', 4 October 2022.

¹⁰⁰ 'Applicant - VASILAKIS Stamatis; Nominee - VASILAKIS Anastasios; nationality Italian', NAA: A261, 1937/1080, 7919552, 1937; 'Applicant - VASILAKIS Stamatis; Nominee - KARNAVA Maria; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1946/4944, 7892112, 1946.

Ikarian relatives and friends outside of his immediate family, ranging from the Carapetis, Frangos, Gronthos, Kalambogias, and Hatzigeorgiou families.¹⁰¹ In 1927, John Varsamis had sponsored the migration of five members of the Sorano family of Tanta, Egypt.¹⁰² This hinted at links with the Ikarian diaspora in Egypt. The continual chain migration created a tangible link between the interwar and post-War migrations – with many of the earlier Ikarrians even acting as sponsors for the later migrants. The culmination of this period of community building was the eventual Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood, with the initial committee being made up of both pre- and post-WWII Ikarian migrants.

Ikarian Diaspora Political Activism

When analysing community mobilisation in the early Greek community of SA, Nicolacopoulos and Vassilacopoulos have viewed ethnicity as an organisational concept in the life of these early migrant communities. They acknowledged the establishment of Greek Orthodox Communities being the first stage of organisation, which drew on a 'static' model of a 'universal' Greek ethnicity and acted as the mouthpiece of the community and preserver of language, religion, and culture.¹⁰³ This was naturally followed by Greek Australian ethnicity becoming progressively 'dynamic' and complex, as seen through the establishment of activist communities and organisations, such as workers leagues and political think tanks – organisations without cultural preservation as a central focus, but rather collective community democracy.

No doubt stemming from Ikaria's history as a left-leaning island, many members of the early Ikarian South Australian community became involved (and even spearheaded) post-WWII workers and unionist movements in South Australia. Notable

¹⁰¹ 'Applicant - KARABETIS John Zacharia; Nominee - FRANKOS Photios; FRANKOS Coula; FRANKOS Vasilios; FRANKOS Irini; FRANKOS Haritini; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1938/1036, 7916527, 1938; 'Applicant - CARAPETIS John Zacharias; Nominee - GROTHOU George John; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1936/92, 8196071, 1936; 'Applicant - CARAPETIS John Zacharia; Nominee - KALAMBOGIAS Antonias; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1945/199, 7890883, 1945; 'Applicant - CARAPETIS John Zacharia; Nominee - HAGIGEORGIOU Georges Theodorou; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1946/625, 7878040, 1946.

¹⁰² It is unclear whether the Soranos (Androniki, Melina, Dimitroula, Fillipo, and Lavoretta), were of Ikarian descent, however, they were listed as 'Greeks'. Androniki's maiden name, Xenakis, is common in Ikaria. See: 'Applicant - VARSAMIS John; Nominee - SORANO Androniki; SORANO Melina; SORANO Dimitroula; SORANO Fillipo; SORANO Lavoretta; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1927/3052, 8165640, 1927.

¹⁰³ Toulia Nicolacopoulos & George Vassilacopoulos, 'Ethnicity as an Organisational Concept in the Life of Community', in E. Close, M. Tsianikas & G. Frazis (eds.), *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, April 2003, 263-74.

examples included the Panhellenic Society of Greeks (1946-56), the Greek Workers Educational Association 'Platon' (founded 1957), and Hellenic Artistic Association 'Aristophanes' (1955) (renamed Hellenic Progressive Association 'Aristophanes' in 1964).¹⁰⁴ Prior to the 1940s, Ikarians were not politically active in Australia, possibly due to a preference for integration, which included naturalisation and displays of allegiance.¹⁰⁵ Although, naturalisation did empower migrants with voting rights.

During the 1940s, however, left wing attitudes became prevalent in many Ikarian circles, stemming in part from their working-class origins and hardships in the 1920s-30s, as well as the transformative and tumultuous WWII period. Zangalis emphasised this, using Michael Tsounis as a case study:

Tsounis...began to learn his Marxism in the early 1940s from ordinary working class Greek migrants...Before World War Two they [the South Australian Greek community] were very poor and mostly unemployed – hard times. When the war broke out, people spoke up on politics.¹⁰⁶

Tsounis and Zangalis further detailed the post-WWII activism thoroughly, noting key Ikarian families integral to leftist movements in the state, including the Tsounis, Lesses, Speis, Papas, Apostolakis, Mavrogiorgis, Tsapaliaris, Kalambogias, and Kourakis families, many of whom were also members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA).¹⁰⁷ By the post-War era, members of the Ikarian Brotherhood were being invited to participate in CPA Australia Day picnics at Loftia Park, Mount Lofty, where they entered a 'Greek Icarian' volleyball team in 1960.¹⁰⁸ The CPA's newspaper, the *Tribune*, also intently followed developments during the Greek Civil War (1946-49), including making connections between the Ikarians of SA and the Greek Communist Party (KKE), such as

¹⁰⁴ Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, 568; Toulia Nicolacopoulos & George Vassilacopoulos, 'Platon: Adelaide's Greek Workers' League', in *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the 7th Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, Adelaide, June 2007, 173-82.

¹⁰⁵ Although, Greek communists were active in Australia in the pre-WWII period, with one, Achilles Demetriades, being deported as early as 1925. See: 'Deportation of Greek Communist', *Register*, Adelaide, 2 April 1925, 11.

¹⁰⁶ George Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities: Their Struggles for Social Justice and Cultural Rights: The Role of Greek-Australians*, Common Ground, Australia, 2009, 183-4.

¹⁰⁷ Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971; Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities*, 183-91. For migrant involvement in political parties see: Andrekos Varnava, 'Understanding the support from the Australian far-left and ALP-Left for Greek Cypriot enosis during the EOKA period (1955-59): migrant workers, anti-imperialism and national liberation in Australia', *Labor History*, 64(2), 2023, 165-84.

¹⁰⁸ 'Adelaide picnic next Monday', *Tribune*, Sydney, 27 January 1960, 9.

Fotini Lesses of Adelaide, sister-in-law of KKE revolutionary leader 'Kapetan' Markos Vafeiadis;¹⁰⁹ as well as following the exile of Greek communists to Ikaria.¹¹⁰

ASIO kept files on certain Ikarians of interest, including George Tunis and Triantafilos N. Kotsornithis, with mention of other Ikarians, such as Michael Tsounis.¹¹¹ Files were also kept on the Greek Youth League SA, the *Neos Kosmos* newspaper, the 'Greek Brotherhood', the Greek community of Melbourne, and Greek organisations in general, between the 40s-60s.¹¹² On the Platon society, ASIO kept lists of key meeting attendees, many of whom were Ikarians, including Jack Kalambogias and his wife, Paraschos Kalambogias, Sophia Kalambogias, George Tsounis and his wife, Dimitrios Tsounis, Myrofora Tsounis, Michael Tsounis, and Mary Tsounis.¹¹³ They had also focussed on gathering intelligence on other key members, especially Evangelos Kourakis, who arrived in Australia in 1940, and settled in Port Lincoln, SA; and Kosmas Lesses, who arrived in Australia in 1924 and settled in Adelaide.¹¹⁴ Of most interest appeared to be the Evian islander Stavros Papavassiliou (Steve Pappas), who arrived in SA in 1927.¹¹⁵ Pappas eventually became the chairman of the Adelaide CPA branch, leading to him being blacklisted from naturalising by ASIO for 43 years.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Ikarian activist Antonios Kalambogias, author of *Ικαρία – Ο «Κόκκινος Βράχος»* ('Ikaria – The Red Rock'), was

¹⁰⁹ 'Sister-In-Law of Markos in Adelaide', *Tribune*, Sydney, 28 July 1948, 3.

¹¹⁰ 'Greek Hero Dies in Jail Camp', *Tribune*, Sydney, 4 July 1947, 2; 'Greek Writes to Australia from Exile', *Tribune*, Sydney, 27 September 1947, 4; "'Greek Nazis Cannot Win"-Sheppard', *Tribune*, Sydney, 21 January 1948, 5; Colonel A.W. Sheppard, 'Mitsos Patsalides now Premier in Free Greece', *Tribune*, Sydney, 30 April 1949, 4; 'This is "Democracy" in Mr. Bevin's Greece', *Tribune*, Sydney, 20 December 1947, 4.

¹¹¹ 'Tunis, George - Volume 1', NAA: A6119, 2163, 1784136, 1949-61; 'Tunis, George - Volume 2', NAA: A6119, 2164, 1784137, 1961-64; 'Triantafilias Nikolas KOTSORNITHIS', NAA: A6119, 691, 786068, 1949-61.

¹¹² 'Greek Youth League, South Australia', NAA: A6119, 1427, 1145022, 1950-63; 'Greek language newspaper 'NEOS KOSMOS' (NEW WORLD)', NAA: A6119, 1435-1436, 1144933, & 1144928, 1957-63; 'Greek Brotherhood', NAA: A6119, 1426, 1145009, 1962-3; 'Greek community, Victoria', NAA: A6119, 1428-1432, 1145025, 1145030, 1145038, 1145052, & 1145063, 1952-63; 'Greek Organisations', NAA: A6119, 1433-1434, 1145069, & 1145077, 1944-63.

¹¹³ 'Greek Organisations, Volume 2', NAA: A6119, 1434, 1145077, 1944-63.

¹¹⁴ 'Greek Organisations, Volume 1', NAA: A6119, 1433, 1145069, 1944-61. See: 'Application for Naturalisation - LESSES Kesmas born 11 December 1900', NAA: A446, 1955/30919, 8871712, 1923-67; 'Incoming passenger list to Fremantle "Remo" arrived 4 February 1940', NAA: K269, 4 FEB 1940 REMO, 12135672, 1940; 'SURNAME - KOURAKIS; GIVEN NAMES- Evangelos', NAA: A714, 62/20060, 31674797, 1946-49.

¹¹⁵ 'PAPPAS Stavros Jean - Nationality: Greek', NAA: D4881, PAPPAS STAVROS JEAN, 7220190, 1927-76; 'PAPAVASSILIOU Stravos Jean - Nationality: Greek', NAA: D4881, PAPAVASSILIOU STRAVOS JEAN, 9236603, 1927-76.

¹¹⁶ SBS, 'Stavros Papavassiliou (transcription)', *Unwanted Australians Series*, 2016; 'PAPAVASSILIOU, Stavros Jean', NAA: A6980, S201787, 6967028, 1929-78; 'PAPPAS Steve [application for naturalization]', NAA: D400, SA1961/10669, 33106078, 1956-62.

removed from the prospective sponsored migrants list due to his communist associations.¹¹⁷

The leftist political networks traversed by Ikarians even expanded beyond South Australia. For example, one Ikarian, Kay Alexiou (née Tsounis) served as the secretary of Melbourne's Greek Democritus League in 1942.¹¹⁸ While Triantafilos Kotsornithis was noted as being an active member of the CPA's Greek faction in Sydney.¹¹⁹ Kosmas Lesses was a founder of the Pan-Hellenic Enosis Society (1946-56), which "was intended to be an activist working class organisation that would take up serious political issues concerning social and economic rights."¹²⁰ Many of the Society's members went on to join the Platon Society.¹²¹ Kosmas' son, John Lesses, discussed that "Ikarians in Adelaide contributed to founding the *Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece*" during the Greek Military Junta 1967-74. John Lesses also noted that during the Junta era, "Ikarians were stigmatised due to the Islanders voting for predominantly left political parties during Greek government elections".¹²²

As Tsounis and Zangalis discussed, the roots of Ikarian political activism in SA had stemmed from the early settlement period.¹²³ Some of these developments that 'awoke' Ikarian left-wing consciousness in SA originated on the island itself. Besides its history with communism and socialism, during the 1930s, Ikaria experienced an extreme shift in activism under the fascist dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas. In 1936, an Ikarian villager (likely of Frantato), Stamatis (or Ioannis) Salas, was shot and wounded by police due to not paying taxes.¹²⁴ Salas' shooting caused his fellow villagers to protest, leading to the arrest of 35 Ikarians, including 9 women, who were all sentenced to imprisonment in Samos for 6 months. Among them were many Ikarians who had already lived in SA, and would return to SA not long afterwards, including Kosmas Lesses, who was in Greece between 1932-38 to be married; his wife Fotini Lesses; and Roxani Tsounis, who arrived

¹¹⁷ Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 17 October 2022. See also: Antonis Kalampogias (Antonios Kalambogias), *Ikaria – O «Κόκκινος Βράχος»: Χρονικό [Ikaria – The 'Red Rock': A Chronicle]*, Sygchroni Epochi Ekdotiki, Athens, 2016.

¹¹⁸ Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities*, 188.

¹¹⁹ 'Triantafilias Nikolas KOTSORNITHIS', NAA: A6119, 691, 786068, 1949-61.

¹²⁰ Interview with John Kosmas Lesses of Unley SA, conducted via email 5 July 2022; Mick Tsounis, 'The Greek Left in Australia', *Australian Left Review*, 1(29), March 1971, 53-60.

¹²¹ Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', 1971, 320, 395 & 568.

¹²² Interview with John Kosmas Lesses of Unley SA, conducted via email 5 July 2022.

¹²³ Zangalis, *Migrant Workers & Ethnic Communities*, 183-4.

¹²⁴ Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, 19; Fifis, 'Michael Tsounis, The Ikarian Greek Australian Historian', 6. Tsounis recounted the name differently in each source.

in Australia in 1938 (Image 6.12).¹²⁵ Thirteen years later, in 1949, during the Greek Civil War, Ioannis Salas (either the same man or a relative of the earlier Salas), an Ikarian KKE commissar, was brutally assassinated by the KKE in Samos, where his body was displayed publicly, after accusations of being a British agent. It is unclear if the allegations were true, however, many have speculated the assassination was due to ideological differences between Salas and the KKE General Secretary, Nikos Zachariadis.¹²⁶



Image 6.12: Ikarian political prisoners in Samos Gaol, 1936, photograph courtesy of John Lesses.

Developments in South Australia leading to a strong political consciousness among migrants were more obvious. The difficult working conditions endured by Ikarian labourers, especially in the smelters, and anti-immigrant sentiments, led to an awareness of the importance of workers' rights. These were coupled with a sense of isolation from their home and familial networks, and the growing strains caused by the Great

¹²⁵ See also: 'Application for Naturalisation - LESSES Kesmas born 11 December 1900', NAA: A446, 1955/30919, 8871712, 1923-67; 'TSOUNIS Roxane born 23 February 1918', NAA: A12508, 22/2522, 7113771, 1938.

¹²⁶ Papalas, *Rebels and Radicals*, 258-60; Kalamvogias, *Ikaria – O «Κόκκινος Βράχος»*, 77-80 & 113-7. See also: Antonis Liakos & Nicholas Doumanis, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 20th and Early 21st Centuries: Global Perspectives*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2023, 164-9, 215-6 & 226-8.

Depression. These pressures caused a shift that was not only seen in Greek migrants, but others, including the Italian diaspora and other non-English speaking migrants.¹²⁷

At the same time, other members of the Ikarian diaspora were politically active during the interwar period. Ikarian steel workers in the US were actively joining their local Communist Party branches as well as unions. Ikarian clubs in Warren, Ohio, and Youngstown, Ohio, were hosting speeches from the General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, Gus Hall (born Arvo Kustaa Halberg), as organised by Elias Viores, P. Tsarnas, and Stephanos Tsermengas. Hall, Viores, Tsarnas, and Tsermengas would further this by organising the Little Steel Strike of 1937 against the Republic Steel Corporation, where ten strikers were killed by police, and Tsermengas was deported due to his involvement.¹²⁸

Essentially, both the Ikarian and the Chiot communities were left-leaning diasporas, with Ikarrians leaning toward communism and the Chiots toward liberalism. Involvement in local and national politics ultimately was a method of integration and important for acceptance into society. Politics also became key parts of both diasporas' identities.

Methods of Integration

Ikarian integration into Australian society came in various forms and differed to varying degrees. There are two 'types' of integration exhibited by Ikarrians in Australia. Firstly, individualistic integration, as seen through the practices and behaviours of individuals within the Ikarian Australian diaspora. These are diverse, and can be examined case-by-case, and in many ways their integration into society is somewhat subjective and based on an interpretation of events and behaviours, as in most cases no memoirs or oral histories exist. The second type of integration, community integration, is broader and more overt. This is the integration of the Ikarian community into wider society and can

¹²⁷ Evan Smith, 'Shifting Undesirability: Italian Migration, Political Activism and the Australian Authorities from the 1920s to the 1950s', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 2021, 1-26; Jon Piccini & Evan Smith, 'The "White Australia" Policy Must Go': The Communist Party of Australia and immigration restriction', in Evan Smith, Matthew Worley & Jon Piccini (eds.), *The Far Left in Australia since 1945*, 1st edn., Routledge, 2018, 77-96.

¹²⁸ Papalás, *Rebels and Radicals*, 133. Note: Stephanos Tsermengas went on to volunteer in the Spanish Civil War: Stephanos Tsermengas, *No Pasaran: Έλληνες Αντιφασίστες Εθελοντές στην Ισπανία*, Synchroni Epochi, Athens, 1987.

be examined through societal participation and cross-societal connections. This can also be uncovered by weighing the community's insularity against its cosmopolitanism.

On migrant and diaspora integration, scholars have pondered the role of policy and the conflict of identity it has caused.¹²⁹ Particularly, questions of assimilation and preservation of 'self-identity' have become prominent, as opposed to stories of successes and contributions. These ideas link the Ikarian community to the societal integration of individuals and communities, as well as to the parallel identities at play. Furthermore, as discussed by Piperoglou, when integrating, Greek migrants adapted and contributed to their new land, while also being elements of settler-colonialism.¹³⁰

Individualistic Integration: Ikarian Australians in WWII

The clearest record of individualistic integration can be seen through Ikarrians enlisting in the Australian armed forces during WWII. A 2012 study by Steve Kyritsis detailed the extent of Greek Australian war service, stating that over 1,500 Greek-born Australians enlisted during WWII, as well as a further 1,000 of Greek descent,¹³¹ and that many:

...had to make many changes, whether by choice or necessity, to fit in with the Australian way of life (war service being one change)...many young Greek men enlisted during the depression years in the 1930s in order to earn a living because there was little work available.¹³²

Although, in comparison to other Greek-speakers, Ikarian Australian participation in WWII was significantly less than members of the larger, more established communities such as Kytherans, Ithacans, Kastellorizians, Chiots, Cypriots, and Macedonians.¹³³

¹²⁹ See the following studies: James Jupp, *Immigration*, 2nd edn., Oxford University Press Australia, Melbourne, 1998; Eric Richards, *Destination Australia: Migration to Australia since 1901*, UNSW Press, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2008; Robert Winder, *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain*, Little, Brown, London, 2004; Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 2014; Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain: 1815-1945*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1994; Andonis Piperoglou, 'Greeks or Turks, "White" or "Asiatic": Historicising Castellorizian Racial-Consciousness, 1916-1920', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 40(4), 1 October 2016, 387-402.

¹³⁰ Andonis Piperoglou, 'Rethinking Greek Migration as Settler-Colonialism', *Ergon: Greek/American Arts and Letters*, 2018, 80-4.

¹³¹ See NAA series B883-B884. Kyritsis notes 2,500 total Greek-Australians serving in WWII. See: Steve Kyritsis, *Greek-Australians in the Australian Armed Forces: World War I & World War II*, SK Publishing, Melbourne, 2012, ix.

¹³² Kyritsis, *Greek-Australians in the Australian Armed Forces*, 131.

¹³³ See the study by Kyritsis, *Greek-Australians in the Australian Armed Forces*.

Although, those that enlisted exhibited a sense of 'belonging' to Australia, albeit on a personal level.

In the US, Ikarians also served in the armed forces during WWII (and earlier due to the interwar economic pressures), which cultivated a similar sense of identity and fostered integration. The existing registers of enlisted military personnel during WWII gives a large picture of Ikarian American enlistment, with multiple members of various Ikarian families being identifiable in the register.¹³⁴ Ikarian service in the Australian army was nowhere near as prolific, however, similar patterns of reason and behaviour can be seen, albeit on a smaller scale.

There is record of at least fourteen Ikarians enlisted in the Australian forces during WWII. These included George Charnas, Nicholas Triantafilos Kotsornithis, Manio Glaros, Steven Tunis (Tsounis), Theos Trikoris, Leonidas George Koundoupis, Christos Mick Douris, Andros Carapetis, Manoul Panteladis, John Canares, Elias Tsantes, Arthur John Tsiros, and brothers Jack and Paul Lucas (Loucadakis) (Table 6.2).¹³⁵ A handful with Ikarian connections also served. This included the former priest of the Port Pirie community Christophoros Manassis; Robert J. McLaughlan, whose mother was listed as Eunice Kathleen Panteladis – although, it is unclear whether she was Ikarian or married to an Ikarian; Chris Hatzi (Christos Hatzis), who was born in Athens, but married to Port Pirie Ikarian Eleftheria (Ella) Carapetis, daughter of John Carapetis;¹³⁶ and smelter-

¹³⁴ Frangos/Fragos family members: George N. Frangos, Angelo J. Fangos, Angelo J. Frangos, Louis G. Frangos, Zacharias Frangos, Gus Frangos, Costas G. Frangos, Theodore G. Frangos, Athanasios Frangos, Theodore W. Frangos, Anthony D. Frangos, John A. Frangos, Costas S. Frangos, Peter W. Frangos, Chris J. Frangos, Denny L. Frangos, Eleftherios P. Frangos, Steve Frangos, James Frangos, Stavros M. Frangos, Nick A. Frangos, John Fragos, Vicente Fragos, Louis J. Fragos. Tsarnas/Charnas family members: Nick A. Tsarnas, Elias Tsarnas, John T. Tsarnas, Stephen E. Tsarnas, John E. Tsarnas, Leonard J. Charnas, David E. Charnas, Alexander W. Charnas, Stephen C. Charnas, Bennett Charnas, and Isidor Charnas. Safos/Saffos/Saphos family members: John S. Safos, Arthur S. Safos, Anthony V. Safos, Constantine V. Safos, Steve A. Safos, Alexandros A. Safos, Vangelo S. Safos, William S. Safos, John N. Safo, Nicolas K. Saffos, Apostolos G. Saffos, Stelios Saffos, Paul N. Saphos, and George S. Saphos. Xenakis: George P. Xenakis, Gus Xenakis, Nicholas Xenakis, Nick J. Xenakis, James Xenakis, Stelios S. Xenakis, George Xenakis, Thomas A. Xenakis, Stanley S. Xenakis, Steven J. Xenakis. Other Ikarians in the register (this list is not exhaustive): Zacharias Malachias, T.G. Panteladis, Jack Panteladis, George E. Speis, Francis H. Speis, Peter A. Pasvanis, Leo A. Tripoulas, Peter A. Tripoulas, Nick A. Tripoulas, William Papalás, Alex S. Papalás, Marino Papalás, Constantine J. Tsimbidis, Terry T. Tsantes, John F. Tsantes, Gus J. Tsantes, James J. Tsantes, George Tsantes, Emanuel Mavrikis, Sam C. Mavrikis, Peter C. Mavrikis, George P. Mavrikis, Constantino N. Mavrikis, Stephen Kassotis, John P. Carnavas, Konstantinos D. Gaglias, Constantine S. Horaites, Angelos G. Horaites, Paul P. Tsakos, Tom G. Chakos, Nickolas A. Chakos, Harry Chakos, Theodore G. Chakos, George Chakos. See: U.S., World War II Army Enlistment Records, 1938-1946, accessed via Ancestry.com.

¹³⁵ A man named Nicholas Aivaliotis of Wayville, SA, also served, although it is unclear if he is of Ikarian descent: 'AIVALIOTIS NICHOLAS : Service Number – SX', NAA: B883, SX4, 6641326, 1939-48.

¹³⁶ 'Nelshaby Jottings: Hatzi-Carapetis Wedding', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 4 December 1946, 3.

worker John Kleanthis Malas, born in Kampos, Cyprus,¹³⁷ who was married to Aglaia Varsamis of Pirie, daughter of Ikarian John Varsamis. Malas served from 1942 onwards – his large farewell was described in the *Recorder*.¹³⁸ Malas also sponsored the migration of 19-year-old Argyro Speis of Ikaria in 1946, who was listed as his ‘step-daughter’.¹³⁹ There may also have been other Ikarians, including women, involved in the war effort in different ways, however, this is harder to determine due to lack of record.

The majority of Ikarian Australians unsurprisingly served in labour companies. Three in fact served together, Kotsornithis, Panteladis, and Canares, who all were in the 2 Employment Company, thus being able to help each other through the experience. Few made it overseas, and those that did served in the Asia-Pacific region. George Charnas served as a gunner in the 2/1 Anti-Aircraft Regiment in New Guinea and then Borneo, Netherlands East Indies. Christos Mick Douris of Akamatra, Ikaria, served as a private in the 17 Works Company in New Guinea. 19-year-old Arthur John Tsiros, born in Port Pirie, served as a private in the 2/12 and 31/51 Australian Infantry Battalion in New Guinea, New Britain, Ambon, and Borneo, and received the Pacific Star Medal, the War Medal, and the Australia Service Medal. Arthur had previously lost a thumb in a work accident in 1941, prior to enlisting.¹⁴⁰ Private Robert J. McLaughlan served in Japan as a cook with the AGT Company, however, his service was between 1946-47. McLaughlan was awarded the Australia Service Medal for his efforts. Only one went beyond the Asia-Pacific region – Jack Lucas (Loucadakis) who served in the 246 Australian Supply Depot (AIF) in New Guinea and the Middle East and received five medals.

As with all military personnel, some Ikarians did not conform to the protocols and procedures of the military. Charnas, for instance, was fined £5 and given 28 days detachment while in New Guinea for “conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline” – it is unclear what he did to receive this charge. Tsantes also received a fine and dishonourable discharge due to conduct, although only of £1, after he had disobeyed

¹³⁷ Not to be confused with Kampos, Ikaria.

¹³⁸ ‘Presentation to Mr. John Malis: Marries and Joins A.I.F.’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 23 February 1942, 2; ‘MALAS JOHN KLEANTHE : Service Number - SX16909’, NAA: B883, SX16909, 6410104, 1939-48; ‘MALAS John Kleanthe - Service Number: SX16909’, NAA: D1358, SX16909, 22618125, 1939-45.

¹³⁹ ‘Applicant - MALAS John Kleanthe; Nominee - SPEIS Argyro; nationality Greek’, NAA: A261, 1946/2788, 7886010, 1946.

¹⁴⁰ ‘£120 for Loss of Thumb’, *News*, Adelaide, 30 June 1941, 2.

a 'lawful command by his superior'.¹⁴¹ Steven Tunis received a larger sentence of 90 days detention and a dishonourable discharge after being absent without leave. He was also charged with losing his clothing and equipment at Northam, however, this turned out to be untrue. At the District Courts Martial regarding his case, Defending Officer Major D.J. Benjamin argued for 'leniency', noting "That he (Tunis) is likely to do far more for the Allied war effort as a sailor than he is as a soldier...He has told on oath that he desires to serve at sea rather than in the Army."¹⁴² The judge agreed with this recommendation and that if he could be employed in the Australian Merchant Marines, his 90-day sentence would be suspended. However, it is unclear whether Tunis joined the Australian Navy following this case.

Immediately following WWII, many Ikarians also joined the National Service Register especially after the 1951 National Service Act. The Act, which was instituted by the Menzies government in the wake of the Korean War and Cold War communist paranoia, called for Australian men turning 18 after 1 November 1950, to register for 176 days of compulsory service training. Others who were older could voluntarily complete the 176 days training – many of whom were too young at the time of WWII to enlist, and likely still felt a societal pressure to 'serve their country', or perhaps to not miss out on their chance to serve. Ikarians that registered included J.M. Varsamis (1941-56), George Varsamis (1958), S. Carapetis (1951-56), Demetrius A. Carapetis (1958), D. Tsantes (1941-56), C. Tsantes (1951-56), George Cozamanis (1941-56), and A. Kourakis (1959), no doubt among others.¹⁴³

This coerced registration also hinted at an existing romance with war service. As Jay Winter discussed, the romantic war memory from WWI and WWII became part of a

¹⁴¹ 'TSANTES ELIAS : Service Number - S82965', NAA: B884, S82965, 6412802, 1939-48; 'TSANTES Elias - Service Number: S82965', NAA: D1357, S82965, 24064870, 1939-45.

¹⁴² '[TUNIS Steven (Private) : Service Number - W57239', [TUNIS Steven (Private) : Service Number - W57239', NAA: A471, 49246, 8898181, 1944; 'TUNIS STEVEN : Service Number - W57239', NAA: B884, W57239, 6501452, 1939-48.

¹⁴³ 'National service registration file of J.M. VARSAMIS', NAA: AT11/2, S12904, 20418788, 1941-56; 'National Service Registration File for George VARSAMIS [box 3]', NAA: AT76/1, S32961, 20734341, 1958; 'National Service Registration File of S. CARAPETIS', NAA: AT25/3, S03143, 32104559, 1951-56; 'National Service Registration File for Demetrius Anthony CARAPETIS [box 1]', NAA: AT76/1, S20976, 20734099, 1958; 'National service registration file of D. TSANTES', NAA: AT11/2, S09129, 20418765, 1941-56; 'National Service Registration File of C TSANTES', NAA: AT25/1, S03106, 32896569, 1951-56; 'National service registration file of G. COZAMANIS', NAA: AT11/2, S17969, 20419348, 1941-56; 'National Service Registration File of A KOURAKIS - registration number S37845', NAA: AT120/2, KOURAKIS, A, 32666744, 1959.

'memory boom' in the twentieth century.¹⁴⁴ Contributing to this was Anzac veneration, which was (and is) prevalent in Australia, and has been described by some as a 'civil religion'.¹⁴⁵ Alistair Thompson emphasised WWII as a boost to the Anzac legend in public discourse, which led a steady growth of public focus up until the 1990s.¹⁴⁶ This veneration extended to the Greek community, who themselves participated in Anzac commemoration from as early as the late-1920s, where Greek Orthodox commemoration services were being held in honour of war veterans, the Anzacs, and Anzac Day.¹⁴⁷ The WWII Crete campaign was particularly venerated among Greeks in Australia, and a memorial to this campaign was opened on Anzac walk in 1988 by Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Greek Deputy Prime Minister Ioannis Haralambopoulos, attended by leaders and members of various Greek communities.¹⁴⁸ Kyritsis listed the Honour Roll of Greek-Australians who served in World Wars I and II, further illustrating the emphasis placed on 'being part' of the Anzac legend.¹⁴⁹ For many Ikarians and other 'new Australians', military participation was a rite of passage and a contribution to their new identity, as well as to its most 'sacred' national mythology.

Additionally, following the War, a Greek Ex-Servicemen's Association (or League) was active in SA from 1948 onwards.¹⁵⁰ The League's president was Con Liascos, and it was based at West Tce, Adelaide. The club, which became an RSL branch, began with 50 members, and regularly hosted notable army personnel and clergy, and celebrated Greek

¹⁴⁴ Jay Winter, 'The Generation of Memory': Reflections on the "Memory Boom" in Contemporary Historical Studies', *Archives & Social Studies*, 1, 2007, 363-97; Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2006. See also: Joy Damousi, *Memory and Migration in the Shadow of War: Australia's Greek Immigrants after World War II and the Greek Civil War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2015.

¹⁴⁵ Brad West & Haydn Aarons, 'War memory, national attachment and generational identity in Australia', *Journal of Sociology*, 52(3), 2016, 586-604.

¹⁴⁶ Alistair Thompson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*, new edn., Monash University Publishing, Clayton, Victoria, 2013, 181-93.

¹⁴⁷ 'Greek Recognition', *Brisbane Courier*, Brisbane, 26 April 1929, 19; 'Greek Community: Commemoration Service', *Telegraph*, Brisbane, 25 April 1932, 10; 'Greek Community', *West Australian*, Perth, 26 April 1932, 14; 'Greek Commemoration: An Impressive Service', *Daily News*, Perth, 25 April 1933, 2; 'Greek Community's Tribute', *Western Mail*, Perth, 3 May 1934, 6; 'Greek Community Hold Anzac Day Ceremony', *Telegraph*, Brisbane, 25 April 1939, 2; 'Greek Monument to Anzac Forces', *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, Townsville, 3 April 1952, 3; 'Greek Ceremony At War Memorial On Anzac Day', *Canberra Times*, Canberra, 20 April 1950, 4.

¹⁴⁸ 'Australian-Hellenic Memorial: Memorial honours heroes of Greek campaign', *Canberra Times*, Canberra, 22 May 1988, 12.

¹⁴⁹ Kyritsis, *Greek-Australians in the Australian Armed Forces*, 21-2 & 173-5.

¹⁵⁰ 'Greek R.S.L. Sub-Branch', *Mail*, Adelaide, 6 March 1948, 8.

Independence Day.¹⁵¹ After the purchase of two houses on West Tce, the League's clubrooms were officiated by Major E. Hattam, Greek Consul Seppelt, and Con Liascos in December 1950 (Image 6.13).¹⁵² Many Ikarians and other Greek-speakers frequented the establishment, which acted as an integration 'enabler' and pathway to societal 'acceptance', as Varnava has discussed in relation to Cypriots.¹⁵³ The Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood also used the premise, colloquially known as 'Liascos' Hall', between the 1950s-80s, until the purchase of the Ikaros Hall.¹⁵⁴

Table 6.2: List of Ikarian Australians and their connections who served in the Australian Defence Force during WWII.

	Age	Date of Enlistment	Place of Enlistment	Rank	Unit	Time served	Place Served (AUS)	Overseas	Discharge date
George Charnas	28	25-Aug-43	Scheyville NSW	Gunner	2/1 Anti Aircraft Regiment - Australian Mobile SL Battery/Citizen Military Force/Australian Imperial Force - rank GNR	1308 Days	NSW, QLD	New Guinea & Borneo, Netherlands East Indies	21-Jan-45
Nicholas Triantafilos Kotsornithis	21	24-Mar-42	Paddington NSW	Private	2 Employment Company	1336 Days	NSW	NA	22-Nov-45
Manio Glaros	29	19-May-42	Torrens Hall SA	Private	10 Labour Company	74 Days	SA	NA	31-Jul-42
Steven Tunis	18	3-Aug-43	Karrakatta WA	Private	35 Australian Infantry Battalion	148 Days	Northam, WA	NA	4-Apr-44
Theos Trikoris	39	23-Feb-42	Swan Hill VIC	Private	4 Employment Company	1338 Days	NSW	NA	16-Nov-45
Leonida George Koundoupis (Koundonpis)	27	18-Aug-42	Annerley QLD	Private	9 Works Company	1263 Days	QLD	NA	31-Jan-46

¹⁵¹ 'Greek R.S.L. Sub-Branch', *Mail*, Adelaide, 6 March 1948, 8; 'Greek Archbishop', *News*, Adelaide, 28 November 1951, 8; 'Greek Ex-Servicemen Honor Army Minister', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 23 May 1949, 4; 'Greek Service', *Mail*, Adelaide, 27 March 1948, 8.

¹⁵² 'Greek Ex-servicemen Buy H.Q.', *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 26 July 1950, 4.

¹⁵³ Andrekos Varnava, *Serving the Empire in the Great War: The Cypriot Mule Corps, imperial loyalty and silenced memory*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2017, 180-223.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 17 October 2022.

Christos Mick Douris	39	10-Jan-42	Paddington NSW	Private	17 Works Company	1474 Days	QLD, NSW	New Guinea	19-Feb-46
Andros Carapetis	27	3-Mar-42	SA	Private	29 Employment Company	652 Days	SA	NA	29-Feb-44
Manoul Panteladis	39	25-Mar-42	Paddington NSW	Private	2 Australian Employment Company	626 Days	NSW	NA	13-Dec-43
John Canares	45	23-Jul-43	Newcastle NSW or Paddington NSW	Private	2 Employment Company	998 Days	NSW	NA	14-Apr-46
Elias Tsantes	36	16-Feb-42	Port Pirie SA	Private	27 Australian Works Company	1278 Days	SA, NT	NA	16-Nov-45
Jack Lucas	22	9-Jul-41	Claremont WA	Private	246 Australian Supply Depot AIF	1715 Days	WA	Middle East, New Guinea, Morotai, Tarakan	9-Mar-46
Paul Lucas	20	15-Dec-42	Claremont WA	Private	124 Australian General Transport Company	1372 Days	NSW, WA	NA	16-Sep-46
Arthur John Tsiros	19	23-Aug-44	Canungra QLD	Private	2/12 & 31/51 Australian Infantry Battalion	1162 Days	NSW, QLD	New Guinea, New Britain, Ambon & Borneo	13-Dec-46
Christopher Manessis	~45	23-Nov-43	WA	Lieutenant	AA CHAP D - Chaplain	More than 10 months	WA	NA	NA
Robert J. McLaughlan	19	20-Mar-46	Liverpool NSW	Private	124 AGT Company (Australian General Transport) - Cook	738 Days	NSW	Japan	15-Apr-48
John Kleanthe Malas	37	10-Jan-41	Port Pirie SA/Wayville SA	Private	AIF 1 Beach W/Shop	1414 Days	SA, NT	Borneo & Morotai	2-Jan-46
Chris Hatzi	24	23-Mar-42	Area 29A, VIC	Private	6 Employment Company	1223 Days	VIC	NA	13-Jun-46



Image 6.13: Opening of the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Association Clubrooms, West Tce, Adelaide, December 1950.¹⁵⁵

Other Methods of Individualistic Integration

In addition to war participation – which no doubt heavily shaped the era in question – other practices exhibited by the Ikarians also contributed to their individualistic integration. Anglicisation of names was one such practice adopted not only by Ikarians and other Greeks, including the Chiots in the UK, but by many migrants throughout Australia and the Western World.¹⁵⁶ For example, traditional Ikarian names like Aivaliotis, Tsounis, Tsapaliaris, Loukadakis, Papamichalis, Karneris, Kalamaras, Kandias, and Kakouratos, eventually became Avalon/Avion, Tunis, Chapley, Lucas, Papas, Canares, Maras, Candum, and Curtis.¹⁵⁷ 137 Hindley St *kafenío* owner Konstantinos Alexandros

¹⁵⁵ 'Opening of Clubrooms', *News*, Adelaide, 11 December 1950, 21.

¹⁵⁶ See: Scott Baird, 'Anglicizing Ethnic Surnames', *A Journal of Onomastics*, 54(2), 2006, 173-92; Melissa N. Afentoulis, *Greek Islander Migration to Australia since the 1950s: (Re)discovering Limnian Identity, Belonging and Home*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, 2022, 99-100; Petro Alexiou, 'Diaspora and colonialism in Australia in the 1920s: the case of Alekos Doukas's migrant 'voyage south'', *Modern Greek Studies (Australia & New Zealand)*, 13, 2005, 209.

¹⁵⁷ 'Tsounis, D – Naturalisation', NAA: A659, 1942/1/7957, 1824498, 1942-3; 'Applicant - TSAPALIARIS Spiridon; Nominee - TSAPALIARIS LEMONIA; John; Nicholas; nationality Greek', NAA: A261, 1947/2445, 7868275, 1947; Theodora Maios, 'The poor boy from Ikaria celebrating 70 yers of success in Australia',

Fakaris, went by Constantine Alexander on his 1940 naturalisation application.¹⁵⁸ Others opted to use more 'pronounceable' and 'familiar' spellings, which was especially seen when swapping 'Ts' for 'Ch' (such as Tsarnas becoming Charnas, and Tsakalos becoming Chakalos), and 'Tz' or 'Z' for 'J' (such as Hatzinakis becoming Hajinakis, and Mazaris becoming Majaris); and, most commonly, 'K' for 'C', such as Karapetis to Carapetis, Fakaris to Facaris, Karnavas to Carnavas, and Kozamanis to Cozamanis. Some of these name changes may have been unintentional on the part of the migrant, but they certainly were maintained due to the ease they provided.

This may have been the case with one Ikarian man, Manolis Tsimpidis of Swift St, Port Pirie West, who was naturalised in 1930 as 'Manos Tismpidis', likely an error, however, 'Tism' would have been slightly more pronounceable than 'Tsim'.¹⁵⁹ Tony Carapetis and Stavros Carapetis also noted their father and grandfather adopted 'Carapetis' over 'Karapetis', which had possibly been changed on one of their grandfather's trips to the US, prior to his arrival in SA. Although, Stavros Carapetis remembered interchangeable use of the 'C' and 'K', with one of their grocery trucks reading 'Karapetis' instead of 'Carapetis' like the other trucks.¹⁶⁰

Many Ikarian names, however, were not as linguistically 'imposing' as those from other regions of Greece and were generally 'easier' to pronounce by English speakers. This included the two-syllabic Gronthos, Frangos, Karas, Lesses, Kotses, Glaros, Makris, Rantas, Vlachos, and Safos, and single-syllabic Speis. These names were thus less likely to be altered, shortened, or anglicised.

Ikarian first names also underwent metamorphoses. Typical anglicisations of Greek names (albeit many being of Hebrew origin) were commonplace – such Ioannis to John, Dimitrios to James or Jim, Konstantinos and Kosmas to Con, Angeliki to Angela or

Neos Kosmos, 26 August 2021; 'Antonios Loucadakis Naturalization', NAA: A1, 1920/22312, 39387, 1920-21; 'PAPAS Louis born 1887', NAA: D4878, PAPAS, L, 4298334, 1914-51; 'John D Canares [Karneris] [Application for Naturalisation] [Box 6]', NAA: ST1233/1, N2544, 450214, October 1916-February 1925; 'KALAMARAS STAMATIS - Application for Naturalisation - [Box 100]', NAA: D400, SA1958/8009, 202815211, 1952-59; 'A List of the Crew and Passengers arrived in the Ship *Ras Elba*', Sydney, 6 November 1901; 'CURTIS, Alexandre - born 1919 Egypt', NAA: J25, 1980/10580, 12336204, 1920-81.

¹⁵⁸ 'Fakaris, C A [aka Alexander, C] – Naturalisation', NAA: A659, 1940/1/871, 1708075, 1939-40; 'Public Notices', *News*, Adelaide, 21 November 1939, 2.

¹⁵⁹ 'Nationalisation', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 9 December 1930, 2; 'TISMPIDIS M – naturalization', NAA: D1915, SA2731, 887670, 1931. Note: Tsimpidis had been mentioned in the 1916 'secret census' as 'Manolio Tsibidas'.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 29 August 2022.

Kiki, Elias to Louis, and Athanasios to Arthur.¹⁶¹ However, some more unique changes were also exhibited – an Eleftheria went by Ella, a number of men named Zacharias went by Jack instead of Zachary, Haritini became Teeny or Haridine, Angeliki and Kalliopi became Kay, Kyriaki became Cula or Kula, and Stamatis was most commonly Stan (unlike ‘Steve’ in other parts of the Anglosphere).¹⁶²

In all, both Ikarian surnames and first names were movable and dynamic. While the majority remained intact or close to the original, the changes that were made contributed to their integration into Anglophone society.¹⁶³ John Lesses noted his father Kosmas, who retained his Greek name, but often “went along with Con as a means of least possible resistance.”¹⁶⁴

There were also instances of Ikarians marrying non-Greek Australians, exemplifying further integration into wider Australian society, and a move away from living and associating solely within their religion and community. Theodore Aivaliotis had married Linda Rose Perryman in Adelaide in 1913.¹⁶⁵ George Charnas married Claire Mavis of Hay NSW, and it was noted on his 1940 naturalisation papers that “He is married to an Australian girl and wished to be an English subject.”¹⁶⁶ John Simos, of Fourni, married Swedish-Australian, Sylvia May Soderlund in 1941.¹⁶⁷ George Tsiros of Port Pirie married Scottish-born Anne Sutherland at *Taxiarchis*, Franklin St, on 4 December 1954.¹⁶⁸ Tsiros and Sutherland’s ceremony incorporated a Scottish bagpiper, which was noted in the *Advertiser*, likely for its unusual blending of cultures.¹⁶⁹ George’s brother Arthur Tsiros was engaged to Mitzi (Mitse) Conns of Melbourne (of unclear origins), in 1950 –

¹⁶¹ See: Basil Zafiriou, ‘Demetrios is now Jimmy: Problems and Pitfalls Translating Proper Names’, *National Herald*, New York, 3 September 2019; Interview with John Kosmas Lesses of Unley SA, conducted via email 5 July 2022.

¹⁶² ‘Evening for Miss Ella Carapetis At Nelshaby’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 20 November 1946, 3; ‘Nelshaby Jottings’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 4 December 1946, 3; ‘Napperby School Picnic’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 3 November 1944, 4; ‘Mr. John Carapetis Dies At 66’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 15 November 1943, 2; ‘Applicant - KARABETIS John Zacharia; Nominee - FRANKOS Photios; FRANKOS Coula; FRANKOS Vasilios; FRANKOS Irini; FRANKOS Haritini; nationality Greek’, NAA: A261, 1938/1036, 7916527, 1938; ‘Applicant - TRIPOULAS Elias’, NAA: A261, 1943/26, 7881324, 1943; Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, 11 & 28.

¹⁶³ For comparison, see: Dr Phil Kafcaloudes, ‘Anglicisation of Greek family names: How Greeks went English to survive in Australia’, *Neos Kosmos*, 7 December 2022.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with John Kosmas Lesses of Unley SA, conducted via email 5 July 2022.

¹⁶⁵ ‘AIVALIOTIS Theodore born 1885’, NAA: D4881, AIVALIOTIS THEODORE, 8108149, 1911-76.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Charnas, G – Naturalisation’, NAA: A659, 1940/1/4783, 1719626, 1940-41.

¹⁶⁷ Australia, Marriage Index, 1788-1950; *NSW Pioneer Index - Between the Wars Series 1919-1945*; ‘SURNAME – SIMOS’, NAA: A714, 21/9868, 31529816, 1944-48.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Approaching Marriage: Sutherland-Tsiros’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 1 December 1954, 12.

¹⁶⁹ ‘Piper For Scottish Bride’, *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 6 December 1954, 9.

the couple had a son, John Arthur Tsiros, on 22 May 1953.¹⁷⁰ These marriages spoke to a willingness to participate and join in with wider Anglophone society, albeit on a family level.

In some cases, the Anglo-Celtic wives of Ikarians were counted as 'Greek by marriage' or having Greek nationality (although, they did not have Greek nationality) – in a sense, they 'lost' their own Anglo-Celtic status. This included British-born Gladys Clarke from Birmingham, UK, who married Demetrius (Adam) Caneris-Hajinakis of Negia, Ikaria, and was listed as of Greek nationality in 1940.¹⁷¹ The couple adopted Gladys' niece, June (or Jane), before having at least three other children in Carrington, NSW – Stella, Harry, and John (who died as an infant).¹⁷² Similarly, Elva Jean Watson, wife of Theos Trikoris, was registered as an alien and a 'Greek by marriage' in NSW in 1944, despite being Australian-born, from Albury, NSW.¹⁷³ This cross-cultural and cross-national confusion was one of the many challenges faced during integration, however, it did not seem to hinder the societal participation of these families.

Some Ikarians became involved in wider Australian public life. This was exemplified through the memory and legacy of certain early migrants, and the way they were portrayed in Australian media. Obituaries in the Port Pirie *Recorder* clearly illustrated how prominent certain Ikarians were in their communities, including John Varsamis "who was most popular in Australia", Zacharias (Jack) Carapetis (mistakenly called who 'John') who received a large article in tribute, and Mick Frangos, who was "highly respected".¹⁷⁴ Similarly, one Ikarian represented Australia in cycling, Nick Lucas (Loucadakis), and was ordained by the Perth *Daily News* with the headline 'Lucas seen as an Empire Games Star' and comments such as "The sky is the limit for Lucas".¹⁷⁵ Lucas was an Australian champion, winning many races including the Australian road race cycling Championship in Melbourne in 1952, and becoming a regular candidate for the

¹⁷⁰ The Conns family were either of Irish, German, Austrian, or Greek ancestry (the latter three being so if the name was anglicised in some form). 'Engagements: Conns-Tsiros', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 30 August 1950, 3; 'Births: Tsiros', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 25 May 1953, 4.

¹⁷¹ 'Caneris-Hajinakis, Mrs G', NAA: A659, 1939/1/11028, 79012, 1938-40.

¹⁷² Sadly, both Adam and Gladys passed away young, in 1938 and 1940 respectively.

¹⁷³ 'Trikoris, Elva Jean [Greek by marriage - Australian born - NSW WWII alien registration form]', NAA: SP1732/1, TRIKORIS, ELVA JEAN, 31819493, 1944; 'TRIKORIS Theos - born 26 October 1908 - Greek', NAA: A435, 1949/4/1370, 7035801, 1948-49.

¹⁷⁴ 'John Varsamis Dead', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 23 October 1930, 2; 'Mr. John Carapetis Dies At 66', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 15 November 1943, 2; 'Obituary: Mr. Michel Frangos', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 27 August 1925, 2.

¹⁷⁵ 'Lucas seen as an Empire Games Star', *Daily News*, Perth, 6 September 1952, 10; 'Title won by Lucas: Manager's faith in W.A. cyclist', *West Australian*, Perth, 1 September 1952, 20.

British Empire Games during the 1950s. Another Ikarian, Peter Frangos, was also a national level cyclist and was called a 'likely future champion' in 1946.¹⁷⁶ Some also made headlines in newspapers, including Port Pirie-based Steve Carapetis who topped the country list in high school leaving bursaries in 1950, and Ella Carapetis, who had an evening hosted in her honour in 1946 for "recognition of the assistance Miss Carapetis had given Red Cross and in sewing instruction to schoolchildren".¹⁷⁷

The examples given here are not to overstate migrant achievements, but rather to illustrate the individualistic integration Ikarrians enacted. It also demonstrates the willingness (and double standard) of Australian society to embrace and assimilate migrants and their children when they were perceived as being 'productive' or 'successful' members, in contrast to much of the era's discrimination and anti-immigrant sentiments. This was explored by Piperoglou, who summarised that "The story of migrant labour has long been held as a saga of migrant contribution, a complex interplay between labour and capital, and as a story of exclusion and inclusion."¹⁷⁸ This was true of the Ikarrians, who transitioned from questionable and sometimes 'undesirables' to societal 'contributors'.¹⁷⁹

Despite these examples, however, the involvement of early Ikarian community members in Australian society was still minimal in comparison to other islanders of the era, such as the Kastellorizians, Kytherans, and Ithacans, and to the post-WWII Ikarian migrants.¹⁸⁰ On an individual level, most Ikarrians remained quite insular and reliant on their families and the Greek community in the pre-WWII era, as was hinted at by brothers

¹⁷⁶ 'Cycling: Frangos and Johnson show promise', *Cairns Post*, Cairns, 12 June 1946, 2.

¹⁷⁷ 'Record number of 12 scholarships awarded to Pirie High School: Steve Carapetis tops country list in leaving bursaries', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 13 February 1950, 1; 'Evening for Miss Ella Carapetis At Nelshaby', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 20 November 1946, 3.

¹⁷⁸ Andonis Piperoglou, 'Migrant labour and their "capitalist compatriots": Towards a history of ethnic capitalism', *Labour History*, 121, 2021, 194.

¹⁷⁹ See also: Smith, 'Shifting Undesirability', 1-26; Andrekos Varnava & Evan Smith, 'Dealing with Destitute Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1914-1931', in Philip Payton & Andrekos Varnava (eds.), *Australia, Migration and Empire: Immigrants in a Globalised World*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2019, 277-312; Evan Smith, Andrekos Varnava & Marinella Marmo, 'The Interconnectedness of British and Australian Immigration Controls in the 20th Century: Between Convergence and Divergence', *The International History Review*, 21 February 2021, 1-21; Andonis Piperoglou, 'Favoured 'Nordics' and 'Mediterranean scum': transpacific hierarchies of desirability and immigration restriction', *History Australia*, 2020, 1-15.

¹⁸⁰ See: Alexakis & Janiszewski, *Greek Cafés and Milk Bars of Australia*; John N. Yiannakis, 'Parochialism in Perth: aspects of regionalism amongst Western Australia's Castellorizian community', in *Reading, Interpreting, Experiencing: An Inter-Cultural Journey into Greek letters, Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, special issue, Adelaide, 2015, 97-111; Anastasios Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005.

Tony Carapetis and Stavros Carapetis, who described Greeks and Molfettese Italians in Port Pirie who worked together and had “this sort of unwritten bond between them”;¹⁸¹ and John Lesses, who noted that “My mother instructed us to be proud to be Ikarians but to never forget that GOCSA was the sole community organisation that supported the family during a time of great need.”¹⁸²

Community Integration

The integration of Ikarians (and other Greeks) as a community into Australian society was more pronounced during the 1930s-40s than individualistic integration. They exhibited an awareness of having a broader, ‘Australian’ community consciousness, outside of their own diasporic community identity. This consciousness saw them actively participate in Australian celebrations and concur with broader Australian issues.

For example, in 1934, GOCSA joined the royal marriage celebrations, and telegraphed (via Greek Consul Seppelt) the Duke and Duchess of Kent congratulating them of their marriage, stating that the “South Australian Greek community wishes you and the Duchess long life and happiness.”¹⁸³ Princess Marina, Duchess of Kent, was the daughter of Prince Nicholas of Greece and Denmark, and granddaughter of King George I of Greece. Unusually, in 1941, the Greek communities of Australia backed an appeal “to approach the British Government with the object of forming a union of the Greek and British nations, or, failing that, the incorporation of Greece as a unit of the British Commonwealth” – this did not come to any significant fruition.¹⁸⁴ This request likely stemmed from the Italian occupation of Greece in 1941 and may have been a far-fetched attempt at preventing Greece from being annexed by the Axis. However, it does also illustrate the Greek community having a self-perception as ‘settlers’ in Australia and fellow members of the British Empire, even to the point of identifying with the British monarchy when it suited them. Furthermore, at a 1937 fundraising event, the Port Pirie Greeks displayed three flags (British, Australian, and Greek), and stated publicly that

¹⁸¹ Interview with Tony Carapetis & Stavros Carapetis, West Beach SA, 29 August 2022.

¹⁸² Interview with John Kosmas Lesses of Unley SA, conducted via email 5 July 2022.

¹⁸³ ‘Greek Community Sends Goodwill Message’, *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 5 December 1934, 22.

¹⁸⁴ ‘Greeks Want To Join Empire’, *News*, Adelaide, 1 March 1941, 3.

“Good Greeks...living in Australia become good Australians. He who is not a good citizen of his native land cannot expect to become a good citizen of his adopted country.”¹⁸⁵

As mentioned, Greek Orthodox churches around Australia commemorated and honoured war veterans, the Anzacs, and Anzac Day. This veneration only increased leading towards and after WWII, with Adelaide’s *Advertiser* and *News* claiming that Greeks ‘idolised’ Anzacs and began participating in Anzac marches.¹⁸⁶ The extent at which these comments were true, or simply just persuasions to gain political sympathies from the Greek community, is unclear, however, it is likely that the writers did draw on the existing sense of veneration within the community.

Prior to WWII, in 1936, a commemoration event was held in Adelaide for simultaneously the Anzacs and the Greek monarchy.¹⁸⁷ This was likely due to George II of Greece’s return to the throne on 25 November 1935. There was also an intercession event held at *Taxiarchis* in 1938 for world peace and avoidance of WWII. It was to be “in accordance with the suggestion made by the Prime Minister (Mr Lyons)”, who instituted a day of prayer and ‘divine guidance’ for the nation on 3 September 1938.¹⁸⁸ These events showed a unique blend of Australian public culture and Greek Orthodoxy, as well as an Australian ‘societal consciousness’ in the Greek community.

WWII would, however, become the key integrating factor and unifying moment for the SA Greek community, which created a shared ‘goal’ and sense of an ‘alliance’ between the community and Australia as a nation, as part of the ‘war effort’. This ‘effort’ was a display of allegiance, and most often came in the form of community fundraising and donation appeals. In Port Pirie, some Ikarians were noted for collecting donations for the war effort. For instance, in January 1939, Mrs Varsamis donated £2/2 and John Z. Carapetis donated £1/1, among other prominent Greeks, for the ‘defence of Australia’. This was noted in the *Recorder* as “Expressing in a practical manner their allegiance to

¹⁸⁵ ‘Happy Night for Greeks: Unusual Social At Parish Hall: Queen Crowned Amid Enthusiasm’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 29 November 1937, 2.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Greeks Idolise Anzacs’, *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 10 May 1952, 2; ‘Canadians, Greeks in Anzac March’, *News*, Adelaide, 24 April 1948, 3.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Special Service to Honor Greek King and Anzac’, *News*, Adelaide, 24 April 1936, 9.

¹⁸⁸ ‘Peace Intercession at Greek Orthodox Church’, *News*, Adelaide, 17 September 1938, 4. See: David Samuel Bird, ‘J.A. Lyons, the ‘Tame Tasmanian’; A Study in Australian Foreign and Defence Policy, 1932-39’, PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, May 2004, 287-8.

the country of their adoption”.¹⁸⁹ Further donations were made by the Carapetis, Varsamis, and Tsiros families of Pirie later that year.¹⁹⁰

Similarly, in October 1939, donations were collected among the Greeks of Adelaide for the Red Cross “fund for assistance to sick and wounded soldiers”. Many Ikarians made the list of donors, including, Con Alexander (Fakaris), Antonios Karapetis, Nick Parianos, Stelios Karapetis, M. Tsiros, and John Mourselas (Mousellas); as did Archimandrite Heliou, and many of Adelaide’s prominent Greek café owners, fishmongers, and other community figures, such as Greek teacher Michael Mouras.¹⁹¹ This fundraising caught particular attention when SA Governor Sir Charles Malcolm Barclay-Harvey and his wife Lady Muriel attended a morning service at *Taxiarchis* “to show their deep interest in the above fund and the cause for which it is being raised.”¹⁹²

In 1945, during the last months of WWII, various efforts were made to raise funds for relief for Greece, including a ‘button day’, a Greek dance held at the Adelaide Town Hall, and a ‘paddy’s market’ organised by the Greek Women’s Society. Other donors in 1945 included Nick Parianos, Greek Consul Seppelt, former Consul George Nicolaidis, the Thebarton Women’s Service, and the Women’s Australia National Service.¹⁹³ Nearly £2,000 were raised that year. Other creative funding efforts were made during the period, including a well-attended ‘Hellenic Ball’ in Adelaide to raise funds for the Red Cross in 1939.¹⁹⁴ Also in 1939, GOCSA formed a fundraising committee, in order for the Greek community to provide humanitarian aid for the War.¹⁹⁵ Ikarians Antonios Karapetis and Kosmas Lesses were members of that committee between 1941-46.¹⁹⁶

Kostoglou & Kostoglou noted that GOCSA’s membership nearly tripled in numbers during the War, possibly due to a perceived community ‘unity’ and ‘effort’. This increase in funds from a larger member base allowed the community to pay off the loan taken to build *Taxiarchis* on Franklin St.¹⁹⁷ A Port Pirie Junior Red Cross was also founded during

¹⁸⁹ ‘For Defence of Australia: Pirie Greeks Start Collection’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 9 January 1939, 1.

¹⁹⁰ ‘£47 0/6 From Pirie Greek Community’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 17 October 1939, 1.

¹⁹¹ ‘Greek People Give £111: Red Cross Appeal’, *News*, Adelaide, 11 October 1939, 6.

¹⁹² ‘Greek Fund Appeal: Appreciation of Viceregal Help’, *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 15 January 1941, 19.

¹⁹³ ‘Greek Relief Appeal’, *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 12 January 1945, 8.

¹⁹⁴ ‘Greek Community Aids Red Cross’, *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 25 October 1939, 7; ‘Red Cross Fund £8,059: Greek Community to Hold Dance: Aid for Appeal’, *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 21 September 1939, 14; ‘Greek Ball to Aid Red Cross’, *Mail*, Adelaide, 21 October 1939, 9

¹⁹⁵ ‘Greek Community Offers Help: Formation of Committee’, *Advertiser*, 20 September 1939, 16.

¹⁹⁶ Tsounis, *The Story of a Community*, 147.

¹⁹⁷ Kostoglou & Kostoglou, ‘A short history of the Greek community in Adelaide’, 2.

the period, which collected funds “to send to Pirie soldiers in military hospitals” and stood “loyally behind the “Food for Britain” appeal” – the leader of the Napperby branch (just outside Pirie) being Steve Carapetis.¹⁹⁸ Fundraising remained a part of the Ikarian South Australian community and the wider Greek community, and they donated largely to the Lord Mayor’s Cancer Appeal and Clarke Trust Fund Appeal in 1950, with the *Recorder* listing the names of J. Carapetis, J. Malas, D. Varsamis, F. Frangos, J. Tsiros, A.J. Tsiros, and C. Hatzis, among the various donors.¹⁹⁹

Cosmopolitanism vs Insularity

The integration of early Ikarian migrants into SA exemplifies that they were simultaneously a cosmopolitan and an insular diaspora. In many ways, they consciously participated in wider Australian culture (both as individuals and as a community) in order to integrate and demonstrate allegiance, however, key elements of their community building were ultimately focused within the Ikarian and broader Greek communities.

The insular practices of Ikarrians came from two directions. Firstly, from innate Ikarian cultural practices, often driven by necessity and an independent identity. This led to Ikarrians marrying other Ikarrians and other islanders (however, they were not uniquely endogamous, and many also married Anglo-Celtic Australians); the congregation of Ikarrians in neighbourhoods and in residences and continued chain migration; and the eventual establishment of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood. The persistence of the Ikarian identity helped propel these insular practices and foster a unique diasporic sub-culture within the wider Greek and Orthodox diasporas. This can even be seen when Fifis named Michael Tsounis as the ‘Ikarian *Greek Australian Historian*’.²⁰⁰

Secondly, some insularity stemmed from external pressures, such as the isolating factors of anti-immigrant attacks and targeted raids on Greek establishments, and prejudice-driven monitoring policies such as the 1916 ‘secret census’. These were also coupled with questions of desirability and ultimately migrant ‘productivity’ (i.e., whether the Ikarrians ‘contributed’ to society as a measure of integration); as well as Ikarian

¹⁹⁸ ‘Junior Red Cross in Pirie District: Vigorous Young Branch Works Well’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 19 December 1945, 1.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Greek Community Boosts Clarke Fund’, *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 30 August 1950, 1.

²⁰⁰ Fifis, ‘Michael Tsounis, The Ikarian *Greek Australian Historian*’, 6.

political activism which led to monitoring members of the community. This insularity was also seen through a lack of significant links with existing Ikarian diasporas, such as those in the US and Egypt, until after WWII.

Despite these elements, there appears to be a stronger leaning towards cosmopolitanism among the Ikarians, as Tsounis has described.²⁰¹ This was seen through participation in café culture and public life, anglicisation of names, and political activism and unionism. However, the defining factor that propelled Ikarian integration in SA was WWII. On both an individualistic and community level, Ikarians participated in the war effort through enlistments, donations, and ideology-driven commemorations. This was also due to the behaviour of the broader Greek communities in both Port Pirie and Adelaide, who had been participating in Anzac veneration during the interwar period. This era, along with the productive businesses, ultimately deemed the Ikarians as 'societal contributors.' In all, the late-1930s and early-1940s was a transitional period from a closed, growing community into an integrated, established community.

Conclusion

Ultimately, long-term Ikarian community building and societal integration can be seen as interconnected stages of the diaspora process. The key factors discussed in this chapter paint the picture of a community that adapted culturally, and changed demographically, ideologically, and practically, between the 1910s-40s. Initially, during the 1910s, Ikarians mostly behaved as transient labouring emigrants, which slowly shifted to permanent settler families, and eventually became an integrated, cosmopolitan community. In doing so, the Ikarians of SA ultimately established Port Pirie and Adelaide (and SA more broadly) as the central locations for the Ikarian diaspora in the Southern Hemisphere, making it the most popular destination for post-War Ikarian migrants.

Ikarians both adapted and contributed to their new land, and acted as settlers, benefitting from the broader settler-colonial systems. Australian policies of naturalisation and societal assimilation were evident in the Ikarian integration process, and the community participated in 'Australian' behaviours – the most notable of these, however, were WWI commemoration, the WWII period, and the war effort, which

²⁰¹ Tsounis, *Icarus in the Antipodes*, 9.

propelled Ikarians beyond an insular diaspora, 'united' them in a joint cause with wider Australian society, and allowed them to demonstrate allegiance to their new nation.

Ikarians were not dissimilar from the wider Greek community and followed the same patterns as other Greek islanders in SA. Thus, their early organised community history in the state is inseparable from the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie, GOCSA, and other organisations, as well as the *kafenía* and clubs they attended (although there were Ikarian-specific examples of these). In most ways, Ikarians can be seen as a typical example of Greek migration to Australian between 1900-45.

However, one major differentiating factor between Ikarians and other Greeks was the complex Ikarian 'identity' and how this guided their migrations. All Southern European migrants arrived in SA with a multiplicity of identities, each one shaping their community in its own way. In terms of identity, Ikarians balanced their nationalities with their Ikarian islander identity, which took precedence, like the Chiotis of London, as well as more localised identities based on villages. These were simultaneous to political identities and an Orthodox Christian identity. This dissertation argues that these multiple identities aided Ikarian settlement, community building, and integration into South Australian society – becoming 'Australian' was adding just one more layer to the tapestry of being an Ikarian.

Conclusion

During my candidature, Flinders University published an article titled 'Family Ties', looking at the story of my great-great grandfather, John Gronthos, who arrived in Port Pirie in 1911 from Ikaria, and was mentioned in this thesis.¹ The story was picked up by Greek Australian diaspora newspapers *Neos Kosmos* and the *Greek Herald*.² The interest in this research and in my personal connection to it demonstrates a resonance in the story of early migrants and the way they contributed to the developing tapestry of the lands that they settled. It has also made me reflect on the differences in the migrant experience between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and our present, interconnected, digital day, which can often feel worlds apart. These differences make exploring the patterns of the past even more important, spurring us to understand migration and its integral place in global history.

In the beginning of this dissertation, I posed the question: How did early Greek Aegean islanders emigrate, settle, and build communities that both integrated into the Anglo-speaking world and retained Greek and regional, including islander, identities? It is evident that Aegean islander emigration was spurred on by a variety of reasons, sometimes economic and aspirational, and sometimes coerced. In settling, they navigated often contradictory policies, and even settled in stages, although 'chain migration' and sponsorships from existing relatives and compatriots enabled most of their movements. They ultimately diverted to building communities as an act of establishing permanency in their new homes. It also served as their way of maintaining some level of their previous socio-cultural identities in this foreign space.

When building communities, Aegean islanders appeared to be centralised and active, with smaller scale events and celebrations at first, and an established long-term, generational community coming later. This was driven by community being a centre of support, a propeller of further migration, an enabler to integration, a maintainer of

¹ Melissa Keogh & Matthew Westley, 'Family ties', *Flinders University*, 11 November 2022: <https://www.flinders.edu.au/fearless/family-ties>

² Nelly Skoufatoglou, 'Researcher into Ikarian migration to Adelaide discovers long lost relative', *Neos Kosmos*, 7 December 2022; Greek Herald, 'Yianni Cartledge discovers long-lost ancestor during PhD research at SA university', *Greek Herald*, 2 December 2022.

islander, Greek, and diasporic identities, and the nexus of the diaspora. Their community building is categorised into two phases – initial and long-term, which emphasises these ideas. Identity remained at the heart of the diaspora, with Aegean islanders bouncing between local islander, Greek, Orthodox, British, Australian, and ‘nostalgic’ identities. This plurality of identities evidently comprises a unique ‘diasporic identity’, which hinges on their memories, as seen through microhistories and oral histories. These identities are shaped by both the islanders’ internal insularity, as well as their innate cosmopolitanism that drove their emigrations initially. This pattern is in essence a blueprint that others from the region no doubt followed in their own migrations, settlements, communities, and integrations. The following sub-sections explore these ideas and the similarities and differences both case studies displayed within this Aegean islander framework.

Emigration

The emigration exhibited by both case studies ultimately mirrors their origins. Despite being geographic neighbours in the North Aegean Sea space, Ikarians and Chiots both existed within different island spaces contextually and had different reasons for leaving. Both islands historically had varying levels of local autonomy and insularities, which made them localised, unique ‘laboratories’ for examination,³ however both also had a mix of outside forces that propelled their cultures in different directions. Chios’ history of Genoese occupation under the *Maonesi*, to Ottoman, to autonomous within the Empire under the *demogerontes* system, caused a ‘cosmopolitan’ mobile merchant culture to form on the island, as well as the prominence of the mercantile elite, who often became elected local leaders. The Chiots initially left to further their mercantile endeavours, and utilised Ottoman and wider European trade networks (especially the Levant Company).

Ikaria, on the other hand, remained more isolated as it was relatively untouched by the Genoese (despite being indirectly ruled by the *Maonesi*) due to the lack of natural harbours and resources. Their administration then moved from Ottoman, to autonomous in 1830, then to the independent Free State of Ikaria in 1912. Both islands ultimately joined Greece in late-1912. The Ikarians, like the Chiots, became mobile throughout the nineteenth century, and utilised Ottoman and Atlantic networks. This mobility was not to

³ Gloria Pungetti, ‘Islands, culture, landscape and seascape’, *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, 1(2), December 2012, 51-4.

further their mercantilism, but to bring wealth back to the island, which was poor by comparison. The main difference in their mobility can be seen by the classes they inhabited – the Chiots, a merchant elite and middle-class, and the Ikarians, a movable working-class. This fits with Richards' assessments that it was not necessarily the poor, but rather those that wanted “economic advantage – for better living standards, a better future for the next generation...This is the universal driver of emigration”.⁴

Both emigrations involved levels of coerced and free socio-economic movement. Chiot emigration shifted from being socio-economic (which maintained and extended their social status) to a coerced movement following the Chios Massacre of 1822. The massacre, combined with past economic migrations, periodised the movement of the Chiots into distinct migrations: pre-1822, a shift propelled by the Napoleonic Wars and growing Chiot mercantilism; and post-1822, with Chiot refugees being driven to the ports of Europe by the massacre. The pre-1822 London Chiots gave the refugees the option to settle successfully in London, a similar method of chain migration to the Ikarians in Port Pirie and SA more broadly. For Ikarian emigration, the driving external factors stemmed from the tumultuous period and space they inhabited, which caused them to be economic migrants. Between the 1910s-30s this constituted the Balkan Wars, WWI, the Great Depression, and other localised hardships including a phylloxera plague. In essence, both cases were driven by catastrophe – the Chiots by the massacre, and the Ikarians by a series of events.

These events ultimately pushed the Ikarians to utilise the established trade and transport networks of the Aegean, which then extended to the wider Mediterranean, Atlantic, and most relevant to this study, Indian Ocean, especially via the Suez Canal system. These imperial-dominated networks were the same ones that the Chiots had originally travelled and traded between during the nineteenth century; however, there was a shift in how and who were using the networks. This shift is best reflected in the demographic differences in both sets of islanders – the Chiots were mostly administrative-class merchants and professionals, moving in family units and settling within family networks at key ports; the Ikarians were mostly working-class single male labourers and maritime workers, although still moving within kinship and village-based

⁴ Eric Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750-1900*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2018, 5.

units (e.g., sets of brothers or cousins), and settling amongst fellow Ikarians in places dominated by labour trade.

Settlement

When settling, both sets of islanders relied on and used pre-existing communities. Chain migration was a key aspect of both stories. They also navigated different policies that reflected both the nations of settlement and the periods. This also echoed their reception in both the UK and Australia, and how that played into their settlement practices.

Both cases were drawn to their locations for a variety of reasons. While Chiot settlement in Britain post-1822 was driven by the profound disruption and displacement of the Chios Massacre, they were drawn to London due to the existing mercantile community there. Ikarian settlement throughout the 1910s and into the 1920s-30s, although driven by emigratory factors including economic and periodical hardships, was ultimately centred on Port Pirie (via the Port Pirie system) and Adelaide due to the existing settlers. These initial migrants supported the immigration and settlement of other Ikarians, especially through the sponsorship system. In this way, chain migration was a key aspect of both cases. On their way to London, the Chiots navigated a range of Mediterranean ports, where they settled short-term before using them as springboards to London. Similarly, the Ikarians used Egypt as a type of intermediary place of abode, however, with clearer end goals of settling in SA.

While Britain had a somewhat 'open door' policy during the nineteenth century, there was a tightening of restrictions (including the Alien Act and Bills between 1793-1826) that shifted terminology from 'foreigner' to 'alien' over the course of the century leading up to the Aliens Act (1905). The Chiots, however, avoided the brunt of most restrictions due mostly to their class, especially their mercantile nature and 'quick' assimilation into British society, as well as their Christian religion and the general Philhellenism within upper-class Britain. Australian policy was far more complex in the context of the White Australia Policy (1901-73) and Immigration Restriction Act (1901-58). Questions of race and language, and the implementation of quotas, made settlement especially difficult for Ikarians and other Greeks. This certainly drove illegal 'ship jumping' as a common means of settlement for many Ikarians and fuelled racial violence and discourse.

Migrant reception also differed between the cases. Chiots were received in two very different ways in Britain. On one hand, they were seen as wealthy, foreign elites, and aristocratic Europeans, with links to classical Greek culture and history. On the other, they were sometimes portrayed as untrustworthy and 'oriental', with occasional accusations of being 'swarthy woman stealers.' Romanticist and orientalist conceptions were common and formed a blurred line between prejudice and Philhellenism. The Ikarians were not received as warmly, especially in the period they arrived. In many instances, there were accusations of being 'lazy' and 'stealing jobs' from Anglo-Celtic Australians, which was realised in the multiple anti-Greek riots and demonstrations of the 1910s and beyond. The 'secret census' and WWI period also raised questions of Greek Australian loyalties, even though clear loyalties had been demonstrated. The differences in reception between the 'cultivated elite' Chiots and labouring Ikarians ultimately hinged on class, which is one of the key distinguishing factors between the two case studies, as well as the overt policies at play.

Community Building

Methods of building community were ultimately the shared features of both case studies. Both diasporas had a need to build strong, close-knit communities. These communities were quickly formed, with community organisations and structures also eventually formed. Both relied on activities to foster community engagement, such as events, celebrations, and memorials. The scope of activities was different, however. The Chiots celebrated Greek national holidays (especially Greek Independence Day), had visits from British and Greek royals, aristocrats, and politicians, and attended elitist British events. The Ikarians organised smaller scale gatherings, such as picnics and dances, however, Ikarian Independence Day was also a staple event.

One of the first steps for both communities was founding organisations and religious institutions. These establishments drove community consolidation and became bastions of culture for the 'imagined' diaspora. In London, the Greek Brotherhood (formed 1830s) was a driving force behind initiating community events and structures. Offshoot organisations were also formed, including the Byron Club. The Brotherhood was intertwined with the Greek consular service in London, with key Chiot family heads acting as Consul General throughout the nineteenth century. Essentially, the community was

headed by both the president of the Brotherhood, and the Consul General, who usually were either relatives, compatriots, or close acquaintances. Alternatively, the Ikarians did not form a Brotherhood in SA until 1958. Instead, the early Ikarians integrated into the Greek Orthodox Community of Port Pirie (formed 1924) and Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia (formed 1930), based at Franklin St, Adelaide. In the period before the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood, the Ikarians of SA also practiced 'hidden' community building. This included Ikarian-based gatherings, events, celebrations, and general support for each other, despite not having an official organisation yet. The Ikarians would eventually shift to an organised community, which categorised their long-term community building, with the 'hidden' community being the transitional period.

Both cases established churches quite early in their settlement and community building periods. The Chiots, via the Greek Brotherhood, established several churches (although viewed as a continuation of each other due to community growth): the Greek Chapel, Finsbury Circus (1837); the Greek Church of Our Saviour, London Wall (1849); and St Sophia, Bayswater (1879). They also founded St Stephens Chapel (1872) and a Greek cemetery plot at West Norwood Cemetery (1837). The Ikarians, as part of the wider Greek community, contributed to the establishing of the Church of St George, David St, Port Pirie (1926), and *Taxiarchis*, Franklin St, Adelaide (1938). Both the Chiots and the Ikarians also established language schools, which maintained culture, religion, and taught a nationalistic Greek history. These institutions all acted as centres of community engagement, cultural maintenance, and diasporic identity.

Chiot community building in London was not fully centred on the Brotherhood, but also on the businesses and family firms that they formed. The most notable of these being Ralli Bros merchants and the Baltic Exchange, which acted as a financial base for the larger Chiot families, as a means of employment for new Chiot arrivals, and a financial backing for community and Brotherhood projects, such as the building of churches and large events. Ikarian businesses, although in existence (such as the various Ikarian-owned cafés and grocers), were not to the extent of the Chiot merchants, and were not extremely significant drivers of migration and settlement. However, the Ikarians helped each other gain employment, such as at the smelters. The cafés (*kafenía*) did play a role in fostering Ikarian community and acted as meeting places for Ikarians, and occasionally lodging places for new migrants.

Both had similar living practices and family structures, such as living nearby to one another and marrying within the diaspora, albeit to varying degrees. The Chiots congregated around Finsbury Circus and then moved to the more affluent Bayswater, while maintaining a type of clanship.⁵ This involved not only marrying almost exclusively within the London Greek and Chiot community, but significant levels of family and family-clan endogamy as well. The Chiots also developed 'outpost' communities in Liverpool and Manchester, and later beyond Britain to India and elsewhere as part of their colonial endeavours via the Ralli Bros. The Ikarians, congregating on Port Pirie, the Adelaide CBD, the inner suburbs, and to a lesser extent the SA West Coast, initially intermarried mostly with other Ikarians or other Greek islanders. Both cases also exhibited multiple families living together in single homes, although the Ikarians to a much greater extent do to their lower economic status. During the 1930s-40s, the Ikarians also had a demographic shift, with more and more family units arriving in SA, rather than the traditional single labouring males of the 1910s-20s. This solidified them as a community, and spoke to a permanent view of settlement, with less return migration eventuating.

Integration

Integration also followed similar patterns for both case studies, albeit with key differences driven by class, race, gender, and family demographics. Both the Chiots and the Ikarians used similar methods of societal integration, which included assimilation practices such as name anglicisation, appeals to loyalties, entering public life, and utilising their settler-colonial position. The Chiots, however, also uniquely traversed the wider imperial networks and entered the administrative middle-class and upper-class, while the Ikarians remained within the working-class, which sparked on counter-cultural leftist political activism and small businesses.

Different methods of integration were utilised by the case studies; however, the end goal was similar. London's Chiots integrated swiftly into British society, especially becoming part of the 'cultivated elite', and 'migratory elite'.⁶ They ultimately established

⁵ See: Michael Herzfeld, 'Seeing Like a Village: Contesting Hegemonic Modernity in Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 38, 2020, 43-58; Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou & Stavros Ioannides, 'Market-Embedded Clans in Theory and History: Greek Diaspora Trading Companies in the Nineteenth Century', *Business and Economic History On-Line*, 2, 2004, 1-26.

⁶ See: F. Musgrove, *The Migratory Elite*, Heinemann, London, 1963.

themselves in Finsbury Circus during the 1820s-30s, where they formed prolific trading houses that also interacted with the broader community. Their shift to Bayswater during the second half of the nineteenth century ultimately solidified them as part of affluent upper-middle class society. The Ikarians exhibited integration in two streams: individualistic and societal. On individual levels, Ikarians assimilated into Australian society through methods such as anglicisation of names, active war service, political activism, and marrying both within and outside the Ikarian community. Many Ikarian first names were anglicised, and often surnames were either anglicised, or spelt and pronounced in more 'acceptable' ways for English speakers. Many Ikarian names, however, were already shorter and did not undergo significant shifts. Chiots somewhat anglicised their names, but more often italicised their names via their Genoese connections.

Both communities displayed 'loyalties' to their new countries, albeit in different ways. As a community, the Chiots demonstrated both loyalties to Britain and the Crown, as well as to Britain's Liberal Party and Greece's English Party (and broadly to liberal democratic values). They participated in the activities of the 'cultivated elite', including attending bourgeois events (including royal visits and deputations), participating in sports and the arts, receiving peerage titles, and taking roles in public life, such as running for political offices and becoming Consul Generals. The Chiots eventually spread beyond London by traversing and utilising imperial networks, while participating in settler-colonialism. Contrastingly, for the Ikarians, war service was significant, especially during WWII, when individual Ikarian Australians enlisted and donated to the war effort, and the wider community venerated Anzacs and contributed to relief funds. This was both an act of 'belonging' to Australia, as well as a 'rite of passage' toward integration. The WWII period itself was transformative for Ikarians, and aided their integration, as well as their community and political mobilisation. This can be seen in the creation of the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood post-WWII, as well as various Greek-led union and left-wing activities and societies, and a Greek RSL branch. Both cases began more 'endogamous' within their communities, however, by the latter periods of their settlement, they were marrying regularly outside their circles. Both were also on the left of politics – the Chiots being mostly liberals (with some liberal unionists), and the Ikarians mostly communists and unionists.

Ultimately, the Chiots and Ikarians integrated ‘successfully’ into their respective societies. However, this leaves questions of whether contribution to society was the only factor that ‘opened the door’ to integration, and if those that were not viewed as ‘contributors’ felt as integrated as those that were openly embraced. This spurs on further questions of the ‘good migrant’ and migrant acceptance, reception, and desirability in the English-speaking world, and how the Chiots and Ikarians interacted with these ideas. It is evident, however, that both the Chiots and Ikarians benefited from settler-colonialism in their efforts to integrate into mainstream society, which, as a system, ultimately enabled them to become ‘successful migrants’, and toe a blurred line between marginalised migrants and settler beneficiaries.

Identity

Despite significant integration into Anglophone society, identity remained at the forefront of both the Ikarians and the Chiots. In essence, both exhibited plural identities – firstly, their local island identities; secondly, their Greek identity (tied with their Orthodox identity); and thirdly, their British or Australian identity.

Local islander identities remained as the constant throughout the migration experience, especially as both cases exemplified a desire to maintain identity for as long as possible. Chiot identity was particularly strong, even more than 100 years after the initial migrations of Chiots to London. The Chiot identity ultimately acted as a sub-ethnicity, with memory of the massacre being an important origin story and nostalgia for Chios being evident in descendants. Chiots remained connected to Chios, seen through their concern for the island, such as by MP Pandeli Ralli and in wealthy Chiots’ wills and bequests.⁷ ‘Chiot’ also became a type of ‘branding’ for merchants, as it became synonymous with ‘success’. Maintaining a Chiot identity was important, and many remained connected within their own circles even multiple generations following the first migrations, and even after generations of marrying non-Chiots – especially seen in the self-sufficient ‘ghetto’ of Bayswater.⁸ Similarly, Ikarian identity was a constant, and was

⁷ See for example: Hansard – ‘Treaty of Berlin—Article XXIII—The Island off Chios’, House of Commons, vol. 281, cc1508-9, United Kingdom, 16 July 1883; *Illustrated London News*, 2258 (LXXXI), London, 12 August 1882, 184; ‘Will of the Late Mr. Eustratios Ralli’, *Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser*, Manchester, 6 December 1884, 8.

⁸ See: Colin Holmes, ‘Introduction: Immigrants and Minorities in Britain’, in Colin Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, George Allen & Unwin, London, Boston, & Sydney, 1978, 18.

solidified in the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood, and evident in the descendants of even the earliest migrants to SA. These island identities in a sense were both insular and examples of localism, and cosmopolitan, being flexible and applicable in many different contexts.

Greek identity, and relationship with Greece, were dynamic for both communities. The Chiots essentially were 'Greek' when acting as part of the wider Greek community of London, as well in their allegiances, particularly to the new Greek nation-state, key Greek political figures, and to the monarchy. They also had a particular reverence for Byron and British Philhellenes. This is despite Chios not becoming part of Greece until 1912. Both the Chiots and the Ikarians during WWI overtly supported Venizelos, which illustrates their western democratic ideologies, possibly linked to their migration experience and integration into their respective societies. The Ikarians were generally connected to the wider Greek Australian identity, participating in the Greek Australian community, and especially tied to the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia. This saw less endogamy amongst uniquely Ikarians (although there was still significant intermarriage amongst Ikarians, and between Ikarians and other Aegean islanders) and a slower move towards establishing the Pan-Ikarian Brotherhood. Overall, however, Ikarian and (especially) Chiot identity took precedence for both communities.

Finally, their new adopted identities, British and Australian, created more complex relationships. The Chiots embraced Britishness and being part of the British Empire, especially as they benefited from the mercantile and imperial networks available. They actively identified as British and intertwined their communal practices into British society, seen most notably in their move away from endogamy, by joining and participating in the peerage and 'elite' society (such as by sending regular deputations to key British royals and politicians). This identity was solidified through the ways they were embraced by British society, which at times was complex with anti-migrant sentiments evident but leant closer to Philhellenic concepts and the idea of 'exotic Occidentals'. In fact, the shift in British categorisations from 'foreigner' to 'alien', led to a quicker 'need' for assimilation, which the Chiots capitalised on.⁹

The Ikarians through integration and participation in wider Australian public life and culture, adopted an Australian identity, however, this was often challenged, especially

⁹ See: Ben Braber, *Changes in Attitudes to Immigrants in Britain, 1841-1921: From Foreigner to Alien*, Anthem Press, London, 2020.

when migrating and navigating policy. Questions of 'whiteness' and migrant character were often posed to those seeking settlement and naturalisation. Ikarians actively sought to solidify their place in Australia through acts such as Anzac veneration and commemoration, appealing to shared alliances and allegiances on migration applications, and ultimately war service. Ultimately, there was a strong sense of the Ikarians being Australians while also being a diasporic community within Australia. Eventually, both cases navigated hybrid identities – British Chiot and Ikarian Australian. In all, for both communities, the fluidity of identity was a key element in enabling and facilitating a successful migration and spurring on diaspora.

Comparatively, the two case studies examined in this dissertation – the Chiots of London and Ikarians of South Australia – demonstrated a range of evident similarities and differences. Both cases had economic and aspirational motivations for their emigrations. Both also experienced significant turmoil that coerced their movements, especially the Chiots via the Chios Massacre, but also the Ikarians during the 1910s, albeit more gradually. Despite their similar origins, the largest differences between the two cases were their class, and the composition of their migrants, with the Chiots being middle- and upper-class family units, and the Ikarians being working-class male labourers, moving slowly to include family units. Once settled, the Chiots and Ikarians were focused on establishing themselves and building communities. They both shared a strong sense of their local identities (Chiot and Ikarian) which took precedence over being Greek, British, or Australian. However, eventually, through integration, the identities of their new nations took the forefront, alongside hybrid diasporic identities, such as British Chiot and Ikarian Australian. Their diaspora communities differed, however, as the Ikarians were a facet of the larger Greek community of SA, while the Chiots were not within a larger community, as they were the main Greek element in British society, thus they maintained their island identity longer. In all, their practices and the ways in which community and identity were fostered followed a pattern that many other diasporas displayed during the examined periods, however, their base differences made them and their stories unique. This caused them to be intriguing island 'laboratories' of study.

Appendices

Appendix 1.1

Families listed as being employed by Chiot trading houses in Calcutta between 1852-1902
by Paul Byron Norris in *Ulysses in the Raj*.¹

Acatos, Andreades, Anninos, Apostolides, Assilanopoulos

Beinoglou, Brouzis

Calomiris, Calvocoressi, Camillatos, Candia, Caridia, Carras, Carrimatis, Casanova, Cocolas,
Condoleon, Consolo, Constanidi, Contarini, Convelos, Coroneos, Couvela, Coveos

Dalbusset, Damala, Damiano, Demetriadi, Desylla, Dimoca

Elefteriades, Eliopolos

Falle, Fardulides, Flamburiari, Fotiades, Fraghiadis, Frangopoulos

Georgacopulos, Giannacopulos, Gino, Grimaldi

Handris, Hilduvachi

Kalageros, Kalomiris, Kazakos, Klemis, Konios, Kyprianados, Kyriazi

Lambrinudi, Lambropoulos, Logothetis, Lutrari, Lyrioti

Macrinos, Magariti, Mamachi, Mangakis, Mangana, Mangos, Maniachi, Marchetti,
Massaouti, Masson, Mavrogortlah, Mayorachis, Melanos, Menelas, Michellatos, Micrulachi,
Mikas, Millacludes, Minghis, Minettos

Nicholas, Nicolaidis, Nicolini, Nomicos

Orimaldi, Orvanitelis

Pallachi, Panas, Papachistopulo, Parodi, Paspatti, Pendelides, Phardonlida, Phocas, Pitta,
Proios, Proveggios

Ralli, Raphael, Rizo

Sackerlaropolos, Salamora, Samiotakis, Scouloudi, Scoursos, Scrini, Sergiades,
Sevastopulo, Skyridos, Sophianopoulos, Spanos, Stavrides, Stephanides, Sypsomo, Syrioti
Takidelos, Triandos

Vafiadis, Valetta, Vassilopoulo, Velisariados, Verdeau, Vermadachi, Vertannes, Vlasto

Xenos

Yakinthes

Zalichi, Zanapulo, Zenos, Zevelachi, Ziffo

¹ Paul Byron Norris, *Ulysses in the Raj*, Bacsá, Putney, London, 1992, 125-6. Note: Not all these families originated in Chios.

Appendix 1.2

Transcription of: INSURED: MESSRS RALLI AND CO UNION COURT BROAD STREET MERCHANTS', London, 17 March 1819, LMA:

CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/479/953478, ROYAL AND SUN ALLIANCE INSURANCE GROUP Collection.

953478 Messrs Ralli & Co. of Union Court Broad Street Merchants

£2"10 On their stock options as goods in trust or in commissions not hazardous
July day 1820

in the warehouse of Misses Parr a loyal packer to Great Trinity

£2"15"2

saved a steam engine therein brick one thousand pounds

?

£ 1"13"1

M Ladbroke?

C Bolton

B Pearce

5/-333

Appendix 2.1

24 Original Members of the unincorporated Greek Brotherhood of London, established in the late-1930s. From: Michael Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1933, 21 & 33.

The Members (as noted in 1839-40).

Pandias S. Ralli (Pandia S. Ralli)
Spyridon Mavrojani (Spyridon Mavrojanni)
Eustratius S. Ralli
Michael D. Spartali
Alexander Ionides
Emmanuel Z. Franghiadi (Emmanuel Z. Franghiades)
Nicholas Tamvaco (Nicholas Tambacos)
Demetrius N. Tamvaco (Demetrius N. Tambacos)
Matthew Schilizzi
Paul Negroponte
Xenophon Balli
Antony T. Ralli
Demetrius Cassavetti
George Papayanni (or Constantine Geralopoulos)
Antony A. Ralli
Ambrose Argenti
Ambrose Sechiari
Constantine T. Ralli
John Rodocanachi
Pandia T. Ralli
Demetrius Spartali
Apostolos Scouloudi
Alexander Ralli (Alex. Ralli)
S. Eftychides

Churchwardens appointed by the Brotherhood (1839-47).

1839: D. Spartali and N. Tambacos (Tamvaco)
1840: P. Ralli and S. Mavrojanni (Mavrojani)
1841: A.C. Ionides and A.T. Ralli
1842: A. Argenti and P. Lascarides
1843: C. Geralopoulos and A.A. Ralli
1844: D. Cassavetti and C.T. Ralli
1845: X. Balli and P.T. Ralli
1846: I.S. Schilizzi and D. Georgiades
1847: A. Rossetos and S. Zizinias
1848-1849: A.P. Petrocochino and I. Abet

Appendix 2.2

The 21 firms listed on the Brotherhood Committee in 1839 by Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, self-published, London, 1993, 45-6.

Ralli Bros	25 Finsbury Circus
Ralli Pandia, Greek Consul	25 Finsbury Circus
Ionidis (Ionides) & Co. Turkey Merchants	9 Finsbury Circus
Franghiadis (Franghiadi) Bros Merchants	18 Finsbury Circus
Rodocanachi Sons & Co.	26 Finsbury Circus
Negreponi (Negroponte) James Co. Merchants	27 Finsbury Circus
Ralli Pandia Theodore	30 Finsbury Circus
Spartali & Lascaridi Merchants	38 Finsbury Circus
Argenti, Sechiari & Co.	43 Finsbury Circus
Scouloudis (Scouloudi) Apostolos Merchants	43 Finsbury Circus
Rodocanachi Giovanni Merchants	9 North Buildings, Finsbury Circus
Schilizzi & Co. Merchants	3 Circus Place, London Wall
Mavrocordato (Mavrogordato) & Scanavi	4 North Buildings, Finsbury Circus
Geralopoulos C. Merchants	4 North Buildings, Finsbury Circus
Tamvaco & Microulaki (Micrulachi)	18 South Street
Ralli Antonio & Co.	42 Albion Place, London Wall
Ralli Karati	18 Blomfield Street, Finsbury
Ralli & Mavroyanni (Mavrojani)	1 Jeffrey Square, Saint Mary Axe
Hadjimoissi Bros Merchants	3 Union Court, Old Broad Street
Cassavetti D.G. & Co. Merchants	4 Union Court, Old Broad Street
Ziffo & Co. Merchants	8 Blomfield Street, Finsbury Circus

Appendix 2.3

Transcription of: J. Timbs, 'Greek Church', *Curiosities of London*, London Metropolitan Archives, SC/PZ/CT/01/0751, London, 1855.

GREEK CHURCH.

Greek Church, London Wall, the first ecclesiastical structure erected by the Greek residents in London, was opened in 1850, on Sunday, Jan. 6, o.s., and in the Greek Kalendar, Christmas-day. The edifice is Byzantine, (from Byzantium, the capital of the Lower Greek Empire,) with Italian interior details. The north front has three horse-shoe arches fringed, and Byzantine columns, between which are the entrance-doorways; and in the upper story is a similar arcade, containing three windows: above is this inscription, in Greek characters:

“During the reign of the august Victoria, who governs the great people of Britain, and also other nations scattered over the earth, the Greeks sojourning here erected this church to the Divine Saviour, in veneration of the rights of their fathers.”

Above is a pediment surmounted with a cross. In plan, the church is a cross of equal parts; the ceiling is domed in the centre: on the north and south sides are galleries, with flower-ornamented fronts, and supported on decorated arches and pillars, with fine capitals. The altar-screen has these panel pictures, painted in Russia: the Annunciation; the Virgin holding the infant Jesus; Jesus sitting on a throne; and St John the Baptist. In a centre panel is inscribed, in Greek:

“O Lord, the strength of those who trust in Thee, uphold the Church which Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood.”

Within the iconostasis, or screen, is the altar in “the holy place,” symbolic of the Holy of Holies in the Jewish ritual. A magnificent chandelier, with wax-lights, is suspended from the ceiling. The congregation stand during the whole service; but there are seats made to turn up, as in our cathedral stalls; and knobs are placed on the upper arms, to serve as rests. The officiating priest is richly robed, and attended by boys bearing a wax taper, each in a surplice with a blue cross on the back. Upon the high altar is placed a large crucifix, candelabra with lights, &c. At a portion of the Mass, a curtain is drawn before the altar, whilst the priest silently and alone prays for the sanctification of the Sacrament; he then re-appears, “bids peace to all the people,” and blesses them. The sermon is preached in the pulpit, the priest wearing a black robe and a black hat; this is covered with the *καλυπτρα*, or veil,² to indicate that the wearer is under the influence of the Gospel. The church at London Wall (designed by T. E. Owen, of Portsmouth,) cost about 10,000*l.*; yet the number of Greek residents at the date of its opening, in 1850, did not exceed 220.

Curiosities of London (J. Timbs) 1855.

² *Καλυπτρα* (*καλύπτρα*) translates as ‘veil’.

Appendix 3.1

Hansard - 'Treaty of Berlin—Article XXIII—The Island off Chios', House of Commons, vol. 281, cc1508-9, United Kingdom, 16 July 1883.

MR. RALLI asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been directed to the recent acts of the Ottoman Government in the Island of Chios (Scio), such as the imposition of double taxation since the earthquake of 1881, instead of a remission thereof as promised at the time; the substitution of the Turkish for the Greek language in the Law Courts; and the suppression of all the printing presses in the Island; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will impress on the Porte the necessity of restoring the autonomous Government of Scio as existing until 1866, and still in force in the neighbouring Island of Samos, or at least the advisability of appointing a Christian as Governor of the Island, which is computed to contain 50,000 Christian and about 1,500 Turkish inhabitants?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE Sir, the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been drawn to the condition of affairs in the Island of Scio, and they have been in communication with Lord Dufferin and Mr. Wyndham on the subject. The European Commission of Reforms, by the Collective Declaration of August 22, 1880, resolved that all the Islands of the Archipelago were entitled to the benefit of the scheme of reforms drawn up by them under Article XXIII. of the Treaty of Berlin.

Appendix 3.2

Surnames on Helen Long's list 'Members of the London Greek Community known to me during my Childhood' (1932-48).³

Agelasto, Alexandroff, Argenti

Bowhill

Caclamano, Caldis, Calvocoressi, Cassavetti, Cawadias (Kavadias), Constantinidi

Demetriadi, Dracoulis

Economos, Eugenidi, Eumorfopoulos

Fachiri

George

Ionides

Lambrinudi, Likiardopoulos

Mavrogordato, Metaxas, Michalopoulos, Moncreiffe

Petrocochino, Pfister

Ralli, Rodocanachi

Schilizzi, Scouloudi, Scrini, Sechiari, Sevastopoulos, Simopoulos, Stavridi, Stewart-Richardson

Vassiliadi (Vassiliathi), Vlasto

Yorke

Zarifi, Ziffo

³ Greek Diaspora Archives, Kings College London: GDA 14/1, 1978-2000.

Appendix 4.1

Anthem of the Free State of Icaria, titled *The Hymn of Icaria*, attributed to Ionian Island poet Freiderikos Carrer, 1912. It was set to music by the Anatolian composer Konstantinos Psachos.

Ο Ύμνος της Ικαρίας

(προσωρινά ανεξάρτητης το 1912)

Απ' το δώμα του Πλάστη σταλμένη,
η θεά η γλυκειά κατεβαίνει,
με ρομφαία στο ένα της χέρι
και στο άλλο αναμμένο δαδί,
τη χαρά και το φως για να φέρει
στο μικρό άλλ' ανδρείο νησί.

Και τα σίδερα, σκίζει, σκορπάει,
καίει, τα ραίνει, μακρυά τα πετάει,
που από χρόνια ήταν ζωσμένο
το νησάκι τ' ωραίο σφικτά,
γιατί ήτο το μαύρο δεμένο
στη σκληρή τού βαρβάρου σκλαβιά.

Και κινώντας το κατάσπρο χέρι,
με το πύρινο που 'χε μαχαίρι,
με ολόχρυσα γράφει ψηφία,
στου μαρμάρου την πλάκα βαθειά:
«Είσαι αθάνατη, ναι, ω, Ικαρία,
και στεφάνια σου πρόπον πολλά.»

The Hymn of Ikaria⁴

(Temporarily independent in 1912)

Sent from the roof of Plastis,
the sweet goddess descends,
with a sword in one hand
and in the other a lit torch,
she brings joy and light
to the other small brave island.

And the irons are torn and scattered,
burned, spread, thrown far away,
which for years belted
the nice, firm, little island,
because it was darkly tied
in the cruel slavery of the barbarian.

And moving her snow-white hand,
with the fiery knife,
with all-gold she writes digits (letters),
on the deep marble slab:
“You are immortal, yes, oh, Ikaria,
and you need many crowns.”

⁴ Translation from Modern Greek to English by the author.

Appendix 5.1

FOREIGNERS IN PORT PIRIE. ALLEGATIONS AGAINST GREEKS.

Statements Strongly Resented.

At a deputation to Senator Pearce (Minister for Home and Territories) recently regarding the influx of foreigners. Mr. A. W. Lacey, M.H.R. stated that aliens were continually coming to Port Pirie. They depreciated the locality and properties by their mode of living which was not up to the Australian standard. This, he said, applied especially to the Greeks who had unclean habits.

Mr. T. C. George, (President of the Greek Orthodox in Port Pirie), repudiated these statements yesterday. He said that the Australian Government was to blame for the influx of foreigners.

“Mr. Lacey’s allegations,” Mr. George said, “are an insult to the Greek people in this town.”

There are about 500 Greeks in Port Pirie.

The deputation, which comprised Senators J. V. O’Loughlin, C. S. McHugh, A. A. Hoare, and Mr. A. W. Lacey, M.H.R, waited on the Minister in compliance with a request from the Electoral Committee of the Port Pirie branch of the Australian Labor Party, drawing attention to a number of foreigners arriving in Australia. The local branch asked that the matter be brought under the notice of the Federal authorities. Attention was drawn to the large number of aliens that have recently arrived in Port Pirie.

It was pointed out that no matter what part of Australia the aliens landed at, they eventually found their way to large industrial towns such as Port Pirie.

Mr. W. Threadgold (secretary of the A.L.P.) has received a full report of the deputation.

Mr. Lacey told the Minister that objections were continually being made to members of Parliament against the continued flow of immigrants to Australia from Italy, Greece and Malta. The last complaint he had received was one from Port Pirie, where he knew the position well, and knew that batches of foreigners were continually coming in.

They settled in small communities, said Mr. Lacey, and immediately depreciated the locality and properties by their mode of living, which was not up to the Australian standard. They were not nearly as good citizens as the Australians.

“UNCLEAN HABITS.”

Mr. Lacey said that his statements applied especially to the Greeks, who had unclean habits. The matter was continually bobbing up, and the last letter he had received from Port Pirie drew attention to the large number of foreigners who are arriving in Australia by almost every foreign boat. He had been asked to draw attention to this matter in the House.

It was pointed out that the foreigners always made for the big industrial towns, such as Port Pirie—which had more than its quote of the foreign element. Some of these men knew nothing of the English language.

Was there not an educational test, he asked, for foreigners to pass before they are permitted to land in the Commonwealth?

THE INDUSTRIAL ASPECT.

These people, Mr. Lacey said, were coming in and filling positions formerly occupied by Australians in the industrial world. In all the States there was a large number of unemployed. If these were all employed it might be argued that these foreigners should be allowed to take their places. In South Australia deputations were constantly waiting on the authorities seeking work, and the same applied to Victoria and New South Wales.

These foreigners, he said, because of their perseverance and willingness to work anywhere were obtaining work while Australians were unemployed.

He would like to know whether it was a fact that a larger number of these foreigners were now entering Australia than was allowed, but even if this were not so, there were still far too many coming in, and in his opinion it should be stopped.

The majority of foreign people did not stay in Australia longer than six or eight years, when they would return to their own country, taking with them the money they had earned in the Commonwealth.

Senator O’Loughlin said he had received representations similar to those outlined by Mr. Lacey.

PURPOSE OF DICTATION TEST.

In reply, the Minister said that there seemed to be an impression that the Department had a general power to deal with this influx under the Immigration Act. Such, however, was not the case. The Act did not mention any particular races, and imposed no special restrictions on immigrants from these countries other than those imposed on all European countries. This had been the policy ever since the Act was passed. The purpose

of the dictation test was only to keep out colored immigrants. There was no educational test for Europeans. The only difference was in connection with the restriction place on those who are undesirable, but this was applied only to paupers, deserters, and criminals.

The Contract Immigrants Act was limited, too, he said, in its scope. The Minister must be satisfied that the Contract Immigrants are going to be paid the same rate of wages, and that other conditions of service will be at least as advantageous as those current workers of the same class in Australia.

“Also,” said the Minister, “there are restrictions place on those who were our enemies during the way, and from these countries no people are allowed to enter the Commonwealth without the approval of the Government.”

ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS.

Figures in regard to immigrants to the Commonwealth from Italy during the last four years, he said, did not disclose anything alarming. The arrivals and departures during that period were:—

(6 months)	1924	1923	1922	1921
Arrivals	1407	1739	3367	4278
Departures	306	455	666	551

PENILESS FOREIGNERS.

During 1922 (error?), continued the Minister, a number of Italians had arrived here in indigent circumstances, On examination on the steamer it was found that the majority were penniless and could not speak a word of English. They undoubtedly constituted a menace, and a good number of them were sent back to Italy.

As a result of representations to the Italian Government, a satisfactory arrangement was made, under which the Italian authorities refrained from issuing passports unless the migrants are nominated by residents in Australia.

The Government recently had a Commonwealth representative in Italy and he had been instructed to look into the question.

“NOTHING OVERLOOKED.”

He had reported, the Minister said, that immigration has been recognised as a matter for State control, and the State had become responsible for the selection of the individual.

The Director-General of Emigration told the representative that the family and medical history of the person was investigated; also his general conduct, ability, thrift,

personal habits, cleanliness, and even his clothing received attentions. It was desired not only that he should secure admission, but that he should make good and become a national asset.

EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYED.

Employment was facilitated by making demand regulate supply, and by developing the technical education of the migrant before embarkation, by means of special but simple courses. Trades were taught; women were taught nursing and domestic science.

PROHIBITION.

“From the report it will be evident,” said the Minister, “that short of prohibition the Government has done all that reasonably could be done. Prohibition is a very serious matter, as was shown recently when American took action in regard to the Japanese.”

The only other course, he said, was the American quota system, which was not as simply as it looked. The Americans were able to carry out such a system because they had Consuls in all parts of the world. It was doubtful whether the British Government would be willing to allow its Consuls to act for the Commonwealth in carrying out a quota system.

NOT ALARMING.

The census for 1921 showed that there were 4,903 Italians in Australia—about .07 per cent. Of the total population—so that the figures were not alarming.

At the same census the percentage of British inhabitants was more than 99 per cent. Australia was therefore the most British country in the world—more British than Great Britain herself.

The 1921 census showed that there were 2,639 residents of Greek nationality, and, including the Mediterranean races, altogether the percentages of arrivals during 1910-23 were 1.6 per cent.; 1920-23, 2 per cent.; and 1924 (first quarter), 3.7 per cent.

While there was a slight increase, the figures showed no cause for concern at present. The question of Greek immigration was receiving careful consideration.

MALTESE IMMIGRANTS.

In regard to Maltese immigrants, the Government had an arrangement somewhat similar to the one with Italy, with the addition that while there was no fixed quota for any year, the number who could come out by any steamer was strictly limited, and in working this out it was found that the number could not exceed 900 in any one year. Indications were that a number took advantage of this arrangement.

There were not nearly as many Italian coming to Australia now as in 1922. This showed that the Italian agreement was working satisfactorily.

The Government had no evidence that Southern Europeans were being brought out under contract.

The deputation, said the Minister, could rely on the Government keeping a very close watch on the position and doing all it could to maintain the high British percentage.⁵

– *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 3 September 1924, 1 & 4.

⁵ 'Foreigners in Port Pirie: Allegations Against Greeks: Statements Strongly Resented', *Recorder*, Port Pirie, 3 September 1924, 1 & 4.

Appendix 5.2

List of Ikarians in Australia between 1897-1921

Year of Arrival	Name	State of arrival or settlement
1897	Christopher Frangos	VIC
1901	George Candum	NSW
1901	Stamatius Lofou	NSW
1910s (during)	Georgios Karras (Tsamoutalis)	SA
1910s (during)	Stavros Rantas	NSW
1910	John Varsamis	SA
1910	A. Gronthos	NSW
1911	John Gronthos	SA
1911	Kostas Gronthos	SA
1911	Christos Safos	SA
1911	Kostas Safos	SA
1911	Theodore Aivaliotis	SA
1911	Antonios Loucadakis (Loukadakis/Lucas/Parianos)	SA & WA
1911	G. Mourselas	SA
1911	Stamatis Stamoulis	NSW
1912	John Tsiros	SA
1913	George Lesses	SA
1913	Stamatis Spanos	NSW & VIC
1914	Filipos Mantagas	SA
1914	John Mantagas	SA
1914	Evangelos Carnavas	SA
1914	Apostolos Parianos	VIC
1914	Stamatios Vasilaros	SA
1914	Manos Tsimpidis	SA
1914	John Hatzinakis	SA
1914	Vasilios Hatzinakis	SA

1914 (or 1912)	Louis Papas (Elias Papamichalis)	SA
1914	John D. Canares (Karneris)	SA
1914	Aristotelis Tsapaliaris	NSW
1914	Elias Kastanes	SA
1915	Glaros family (George Glaros & Androniki Kakouratos)	NSW or QLD
1915 (born in Aus)	Alexander Glaros	NSW or QLD
1916	Peter Mantagas	SA
1916	Ch. Frangos	SA
1916	Dimitrios Sallas	VIC
1916 (born in Aus)	Calliope Loucadakis (Lucas)	WA
1917	Christos Glaros	NSW
1918	Adam (Dimitrios) Caneris-Hajinakis	NSW
1918 (born in Aus)	Jack Loucadakis (Lucas)	WA
1919	Julius Karneri	VIC
1919 (died in Aus)	John Hatzinakis	SA
1919 (died in Aus)	Dimitrios Speis	SA
1921	Frosiny Spanos	VIC
1921 (born in Aus)	Constance Despina Glaros	NSW

Listed in 1916 Secret Census

Name	Place
John Angelos Majaris	Adelaide SA
Stamatios Vasilaros	Port Pirie SA
Themistocles Speis	Port Pirie SA
James Speis	Port Pirie SA
Con Safos	Port Pirie SA
John Gronthos	Port Pirie SA
Angelos Frangos	Port Pirie SA
Christos Frangos	Port Pirie SA
Philip Mantagas	Port Pirie SA
John Mantagas	Port Pirie SA

John Varsamis	Port Pirie SA
Manolio Tsimpidis	Port Pirie SA
John Tsimpidis	Port Pirie SA
Dimitrios Hatzinakis	Port Pirie SA
Dimitrios Hajinakis	Port Pirie SA
John Tsiros	Port Pirie SA
John Tsiros	Port Pirie SA
Athanasios Tsiros	Port Pirie SA
George Tsamoutalis (Karas)	Port Pirie SA
Elias Kastanes	Port Pirie SA
John Curtis (Kakouratos)	Cloncurry QLD
Antonio Loucadakis	Mornington WA
Savos (Safos)	Barrabupp WA
Apostolos Parianos	Melbourne VIC

Identified by Simakis in photo of 18 Ikarian workers in Port Pirie SA (or Kandos NSW), 1910s⁶

Elias John Tripoulas
John George Gronthos
George Themistocles Speis
Nikolaos Triantafilos Kotsornithis
Antonios Ilias Speis
Stamatis Zacharias Stamoulos

⁶ Identified in: Stylianos I. Simakis, *EKATO XPONIA IKAPIAKHES EΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΥΣΗΣ, 1892-1991 [One-Hundred Years of Ikarian Overseas Migration, 1892-1991]*, Dekalogos, Athens, 2015, 195. Tradition holds all in photo are Ikarian. Also see: Themis P. Speis, *Journey with the Icarians in the 20th Century*, Icaria Festival, Fotolio & Typicon Printing House, United States, 2013, 26, image 17. Note: Here, Simakis appears to contradict his claim of only 3 Icarians in SA between 1911-20.

Appendix 5.3

The Attitude of Greece.

AS VIEWED BY GREEKS IN PORT PIRIE.

A well-informed Greek resident, speaking on behalf of his fellow-countrymen in Port Pirie, and having just come from a meeting of them, wished to put Greece's position clearly before the people through the medium of the Recorder. He states the case as it is put in the Greek newspapers. He says that Greece is only a little nation, having but six and a half million people, but there are over a million Greeks in Turkey. If Greece joined in the war with Great Britain and her Allies, with whom the people are strongly in sympathy, all her people in Turkey would be massacred. Nothing is surer than that, and the people of Greece would be in grave danger of a similar fate, as in Greece the feeling was that up to now the Allies had not been getting the better of the war. (This he said by implication rather than straight out, to avoid wounding us.) Unless the war changed greatly in favor of the Allies Greece would simply be committing suicide by joining them, though she was heart and soul with them and earnestly desired their success.

In regard to the Gallipoli campaign, he said the Greek authorities strongly advised the Allies to attack Constantinople through Dede Agatch (Dedeagaç or Alexandroupoli) and thence through Bulgaria. After the capture of the Turkish capital it would be easy to starve them out along the Dardanelles. Greece strongly urged them not to attempt the enterprise through the Gallipoli Peninsula, as that way they could not hope for success. When asked what he thought would be the ultimate result of the war, our informant expressed the firm conviction that success would be with the Allies. "But you don't think they are winning now?" He laughed and shrugged his shoulders, and said - "Well-you know-- Dinkum!"⁷

- *Recorder & North Western Mail*, Port Pirie, 22 October 1915, 2.

⁷ 'The Attitude of Greece: As Viewed by Greeks in Port Pirie', *Recorder & North Western Mail*, Port Pirie, 22 October 1915, 2.

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Photograph of Port Pirie's Greeks celebrating the end of WWI on Ellen St, 1918. Courtesy of Stv Sard & Nick Seindanis.

Photograph of the Dr. Ioannis Malachias bust. Captured by Rob Cartledge & Yianni Cartledge, Agios Kirykos, Ikaria, Greece, July 2013.

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