Tasmanian Society: Interaction between Migrants and Place

Greek Migrants as a Case- Study

By

Georgia Fountoulaki, Master of Arts (University of Tasmania)

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University of Tasmania

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Contact Details:

E-mail: gfountoulaki@yahoo.gr

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Acknowledgements

Contents

Abbreviations

DPs   Displaced Persons

ESB   English Speaking Background

HEC   Hydro-Electric Commission

ICEM   Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration

IRO   International Refugee Organisation

NAA   National Australian Archives

NESB   Non English Speaking Background

WWI   World War I

WWII   World War II

SHP   Special Humanitarian Program

SAC   Special Assistance Category

TAHO   Tasmania Archive and Heritage Office

List of Illustrations

Introduction

The argument contained within this thesis is influenced by key scholarly work and in particular the work of Norman Pounds,[1] supported by Massey and Allen, who argue that "space is a social construction".[2] More specifically the thesis suggests that migration, of small ethnic groups or even individuals, contributes substantial elements for the empowerment of society and consequently of the place. Tasmania, as place, has been affected by the human influence on it,[3] by the interaction between people and by the particular geographical environment. This interaction determines the community life and culture that is typical within a place.

Because migrants have different social practices and ways of living, they alter the economic and social environment of a host country by reshaping the place. Accordingly, the social reality of Tasmanian cities cannot be seen as an entity existed independently,[4] and this thesis argument suggests that the social reality is a crucial synthesis of innumerable small or large –

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[1] N. Pounds, *A Historical Geography of Europe, Vol.* I & II, (Patra, 2001), (Read in the Greek version).

[2] As Massey and Allen noted: "The Spatial…does not exist as a separate realm. Space is a social construction", D. Massey and J. Allen, (eds), *Geography Matters*, (Patra, 2001), p. 3. (Read in the Greek version). The word 'space', as an abstract location, is used by social cultural geographers in model-building cases in order to simulate conditions that can focus on one or more of the casual forces affecting the real world. According to this, spatial models are identified both by different ideas and people who are transferred in different places, as in every distinct culture there are "spatial principles" that influence these spatial models. However, for some human cultural geographers the most appropriate word to express this human-geography aspect is the word "place". M. Domosh, R.P. Neumann, P.L. Price, and T.G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Human Mosaic, A Cultural Approach to Human Geography,* (New York, 2010), p. 5. For this reason in this thesis the word "space" used by the above scholars will change to "place".

[3] G. Kanarakis, *In The Wake of Odysseus, Portraits of Greek Settlers in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1997), p. 11.

[4] H. Kourliouros, *Διαδρομές στις Θεωρίες του Χώρου: Οικονομικές Γεωγραφίες της Παραγωγής και της Ανάπτυξης,* (Αθήνα, 2001), p. 65.

scale activities by its social subjects. A place is influenced by social interaction, by the blend between natural environment and human societies. Pounds had traced the formation of the European environment during different historical periods via this interaction. He lists three interacting axes: people, the technological innovations produced by people, and the natural environment.[5] Introducing a "vertical study"[6] that was related to topics moving from political geography, through population, settlement and agriculture, to industry and trade, Pounds highlighted how, from the above interaction, these topics have led to the different historical periods.

Pounds' work has been criticised, by Davis, Herlihy and Glick, as lacking argument and historical systematic analysis, as well as explanation of the truly significant factors that make one historical period more creative than another.[7] The scholars argue that this happened because historical geography is based more on "hard facts"[8]: the numbers of population figure, urban and rural settlement, agriculture, industry and trade due to Pounds' interest in the European economic history. What Clout imputes to Pounds is that he failed to search how his three axes – natural environment, forms of social organisation and technology – "were perceived, appraised and utilized differently by

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[5] Pounds, *A Historical Geography of Europe,* p. 1.

[6] A.S. Milward, "Review of An Historical Geography of Europe, 1800-1914 by N.J.G. Pounds", *English Historical Review*, Vol. 103(409), (October, 1988), pp. 1071-73.

[7] R.H.C. Davis, "Review of An Historical Geography of Europe 450 B. C.-A. D. 1330 by N. J. G. Pounds", *English Historical Review,* Vol. 89(353), (October, 1974), pp. 873-874; D. Herlihy, "Review of An Historical Geography of Europe, 450 B.C.-A.D. 1330 by N. J.G. Pounds", *Agricultural History*, Vol. 48(4), (October, 1974), pp. 594-595; T.F. Glick, "Review of An Historical Geography of Europe 450 BC-AD 1330 by N.J.G. Pounds", *Speculum*, Vol. 51(2), (April, 1976), p. 348.

[8] R.H.C. Davis, "Review of An Historical Geography of Europe 450 B. C.-A. D. 1330 by N. J. G. Pounds", *English Historical Review*, Vol. 89(353), (October, 1974), p. 874.

various human groups through time".[9] This is an extremely interesting and relevant aspect to a society formed by migration, but is not the scope of this thesis.

This thesis argument is well stated as it is focusing on the role of migrants in a society. The use of Pounds' approach is not suggesting a structured approach to Tasmanian progress over the years, but enables me to construct a framework within which to discuss migration as a crucial key in the shaping of a society and consequently of place. The focus here is clearly to underline the migrants' role, as a driving force, for the understanding of Tasmania's development. Perceiving the Tasmanian environment through this prism, the thesis focuses on particular migrants of a specific ethnic group as case studies. Their home country similar geographical background is conceived to lead to certain attitudes and actions, and is a factor for the application of this theory. However, since generalisations can sometimes lead to misjudgments, it must be kept in mind that theories also have their limitations.

The core of academic studies on Greek migration to Australia is associated with the "*Hellenic Diaspora*", a term that defines the Greek people outside Greece, as well as ethnicity, identity, the reception of migrants in the host society, the formation of Greek communities and their internal issues.[10]

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[9] H.D. Clout, "Review of An Historical Geography of Europe, by N.J.G. Pounds", *Geographical Journal,* Vol. 157(2), (July, 1991), p. 223.

[10] In *Greeks in Australia,* by discussing the social, political and economic aspects, mainly for the post-war migration, Tamis has written the most complete synthesis of the broad patterns and trends of Greek migration to Australia. Tamis has analysed the settlement, the demographic characteristics, and the social and community life of Greek migration, which during the years 1952 to 1974 involved

Gilchrist in *Australians and Greeks*[11] is the scholar who touched on Greek migration to Tasmania. However, a specific study has not yet been undertaken and only community histories have explored aspects of Tasmania's Greek immigration history.[12]

Studies of Australian immigration have inevitably focused on the policies of assimilation and integration. [13] In *Australia's Immigration,* [14]

over 250,000 people. People recorded as Greek-Cypriot migrants are from Greece, Egypt, Romania, Middle East, Cyprus, and Latin America. A. Tamis, *Greeks in Australia,* (Melbourne, 2005), p. 47. For further study on Greek immigration, see E.Y. Dimitreas, *Transplanting the Agora, Hellenic Settlement in Australia,* (St. Leonards, 1998); M.P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia", PhD. Thesis, University of Adelaide, (1971)*;* R. Appleyar and J. Yiannakis, *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, (Nedlands, 2002); G. Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, (Queensland, 1979); E. Alexaki and L. Janiszewski, "That Bastard Ulysses: An Insight into the Early Greek Presence, 1810s-1940, in S. Fitzgerald, and G. Wotherspoon, *Minorities, Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, (Sydney, 1995), pp. 14-34; S. Harvey, "Greeks in Australia: A Demographic Analysis", in A. Kapardis and A. Tamis, *Australiotes Hellenes: Greeks in Australia,* (Melbourne, 1988), pp. 121-136; G. Kanarakis, *In The Wake of Odysseus, Portraits of Greek Settlers in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1997); A. Tamis, *The History of Greeks in Australia,* Vol. I, (Thessaloniki, 1997); A. Tamis, *Greeks in Australia*, (Melbourne, 2005); A. Tamis, "Cultural, Historical and Socioeconomic Factors Affecting the Language Loyalty of Greek Immigrants in Victoria*" Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol. 6(2), (1985), pp. 22-58; A. Tamis and E. Gavaki, *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Immigration in Australia and Canada,* (Melbourne, 2002); M.P. Tsounis, *Greek Ethnic Schools in Australia,* (Canberra, 1974); H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, The Early Years*, Vol. I, II, III, (Sydney, 1992-2004); N. Glytsos, "Greek Immigrants in Australia: Demographic Developments and Economic Integration", *International Migration*, Vol. 35(3), (1997), pp.421-449; G. Zangalis*, Migrant Workers and Ethnic Communities: Their Struggles for Social Justice and Cultural Rithts, The Role of Greek-Australians*, (Altona, 2009); Hellenic Studies Forum, Greeks in English Speaking Countries, (Melbourne, 1992); P. Cartledge, *The Greeks, A Portrait of Self and Others* (New York, 2002); E. Vogli, "The Making of Greece Abroad: Continuity and Change in the Modern Diaspora, Politics of a 'Historical' Irredentist Homeland", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol. 17(1), (2011), pp. 14-33.

[11] H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. I: The Early Years, (Sydney, 1992).

[12] Some of the scholars and authors have made a reference to Greek people working on the Hydro-Electric scheme, but there is no concrete body of study.

[13] For further study on Immigration to Australia, see C.A. Price, (ed*), The Study of Immigrants in Australia*, (Canberra, 1960); J. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration,* (Melbourne, 2007); J. Jupp, *Australian Retrospectives: Immigration*, (Melbourne, 1995); J. Jupp and M. Kabala, (ed), *The Politics of Australian Immigration*, (Canberra, 1993); B. Birrel and J. Jupp, *Welfare Recipient Patterns Among Migrants,* (Canberra, 2000); Australian Bureau of Statistics, Queensland, *The Social Characteristics of Immigrants in Australia,* (Canberra, 1994); W. Lowenstein and M. Loh, *The Immigrants, (*Melbourne, 1977); A. Jamrozik, C. Boland and R. Urquhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1995); M.G. Smith, "Hellenising Terra Australis: The Greek Factor in Redefining the Australian Character", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society,* Vol. 73(4), (1988), pp. 313-320; G. Bottomley, *From Another Place, Migration and the Politics of Culture,* (Melbourne, 1992); A. Markus, "Labor and Immigration: Policy Formation 1943-5", *Labour History*, No 46 (May, 1984), pp. 21-33; A. Markus, (ed), *Building a New Community,*

Sherington provides a general overview on the history of immigration and settlement in Australia and the immigration policies since 1788. This study aimed to make broadly known the introduced cultures that have created and transformed the social and economic fabric of this society. By following the same path, the work by Castles and others, *Immigration and Australia, Myths and Realities,*[15] outlined from various perspectives the benefits and the costs of immigration to Australia. Price, in *Southern Europeans in Australia,*[16] analysed the problems that Australian authorities confronted in their assimilation policy because of the institutions and traditions that Southern European migrants maintained.[17] He defined the *chain migration*[18] pattern used by the post-war migrants. He also acknowledged how the background of the south European migrants influenced both migrants' actions and how the necessity for self-sufficiency was expressed in migrants' occupations. This thesis recognises and builds on these points.

The author has found appealing Markus' estimation about the turn in Australia's immigration policy in the article "Labor and Immigration: Policy

Immigration and the Victorian Economy, (St. Leonards, 2001); J. Martin, *The Migrant Presence*: Australian Responses, 1947-1977, (Sydney, 1978).

[14] G. Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1988,* (Sydney, 1990).

[15] W.F. Castles, P. Irelade and G. Withers, *Immigration and Australia, Myths and Realities,* (St. Leonards, 1998).

[16] C.A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1963). The term is used by Price for people from Portugal, Spain, South France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Malta and Cyprus.

[17] Those traditions refer to their major settlement in urban areas; the avoidance of intermarriages; the establishment of ethnic communities and the important role of their religion to this; and of course their political involvement. C.A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1963).

[18] The *chain migration* pattern was established in America with the first waves of immigrants in the middle of nineteenth century. It was motivated mostly by settlers who were impressed by the diverse environment in relation to their villages but exaggerated the quality of local living conditions as well as their financial situation. That provoked new waves of immigrants as this information was actually used as 'public announcements' in the small villages. The repetition of this practice lasted for more than a century. *Ibid.,* p. 108.

Formation 1943-5",[19] where he argues that only large – scale immigration with settlement possibilities could modify the established land monopoly and transform Australia into an industrial country. Thus, what Markus highlights is what dominates this thesis: a radical change of the place factors such as people, natural environment, and technology. The experiment succeeded; from migration, new dynamics and societies were revealed creating the present Australia.

Malhotra in her thesis 'Migration To and From Tasmania' argued that the existence of a distinct relationship between the home and host country is crucial for people to migrate.[20] That argument was the key incentive for discourse about Greek migration to Tasmania. Some Greek islanders chose Tasmania for their establishment after their arrival, instead of Australia's mainland, because seemed to be a parallel to their home environment. The author argues that except for the *chain migration* pattern, which supported the decision of migration, similarities between the two environments had a pivotal role in the migrants' decision to stay permanent in Tasmania after their arrival. [21]

The second interesting point in Malhotra's thesis was that "people only migrate if the expected benefits from the move are greater than the costs of

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[19] A. Markus, "Labor and Immigration: Policy Formation 1943-5", *Labour History*, No 46 (May, 1984), pp. 21-33.

[20] N. Malhotra, 'Migration To and From Tasmania', B.Ec. Hons. Thesis, University of Tasmania, (November, 2004), p. iii.

[21] Malhotra points out that the question of chain migration was the main reason and that little research has emerged on this question. *Ibid.,* p. 3. The present thesis, due to practical constraints, will touch only on some points that highlight that similarities existed for the author.

migration".[22] Therefore, sometimes immigration occurred due to a forward way of thinking,[23] and that is emphasised in the current thesis by the case study of Gregory Casimaty. His daughter Helen stressed his forward thinking,[24] a factor able to reduce the psychological cost of separation from family and friends. Both points in Malhotra's thesis apply especially to people who migrate as settlers,[25] and these points are supported by this dissertation.

The work of Farmer in her thesis 'Geography of Migration in Tasmania 1921-1961' identifies two central issues in the migrating discourse that this thesis emphasises. The first was out-migration, as the major problem for Tasmania for the first sixty years of the twentieth century due to its geographical isolation; indeed, the net migration losses hindered the economic development of Tasmania.[26] However, this situation was alleviated by Greek migration, which boosted Tasmania's population. The second issue was that the greater economic opportunities motivated people to migrate regardless of the geographical distance, especially when their cultural

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[22] *Ibid.,* p. 1.

[23] "This occurs when the monetary benefits from the increased income outweigh the psychological and real costs of leaving the home region" *Ibid.,* p. 9. That means that a migration decision is made when people have ensured their expenses for both the travel and the first period of establishment, as well as the psychological cost of migration by greater future prospects. *Ibid.,* p. 8. In chain migration pattern these monetary and non-monetary costs are covered.

[24] Helen Kalis, OH 1 A-B, Oral History Collection, QVMAG Museum, Launceston, 2001.

[25] One of the main reasons for immigration is the greater number of the accessible opportunities in a different place. These options are so crucial that even though regional areas like Tasmania lacked a plethora of job opportunities, other factors like family or a more affordable daily life could be the attractive reason for migration. Malhotra, 'Migration To and From Tasmania', p. 5. Certainly, in Greek migration to Tasmania, reasons related to family and the chain pattern was extremely significant.

[26] R. Farmer, 'Geography of Migration in Tasmania 1921-1961', Vol.3, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Tasmania, (November, 1971), pp. 1,3; H. Reynolds, *A History of Tasmania,* (Melbourne, 2012), p. 238.

foundations encouraged this approach.[27] The case studies of Casimatys family, George Haros and Ananias Tsinoglou support Farmer's theory, as well as the reasons for the Greek post-war migration of unskilled people, because their perception about distance was blunted both by the *chain migration* pattern[28] and the cultural background of a migrating nation.

In *From Another Place, Migration and the Politics of Culture*, Bottomley stated the challenge that immigration offers to the notion of culture. As culture is identified by the way of life of a particular group, set by the social and historical circumstances, the entrance of migrants into the host society is challenging the specific cultural practices, the political, economic, geographic and social conditions of the host society.[29] Immigrants provide different models of family life, as Bottomley indicated by the paradigm of the Kytherian Greeks, who were "large, hardworking families with solitary and mutually supportive processes".[30] The influence exercised by an ethnic group in this cultural formation can be traced over a long-term period by changes in aspects of the way of life, eating habits, entertainment and daily life perceptions. Thus, despite the demanding assimilation, Greek migrants in

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[27] Farmer, 'Geography of Migration in Tasmania 1921-1961', p. 7. The scholar referred to cultural foundation, after criticism of her point that the physiognomy of international migrants that have a different perception about distance has been young male adults, mostly with intellectual interests or with higher occupational status who prioritised the offered opportunities above restrictions by the distance. *Ibid.,* pp. 20-21. However, her initial point can be supported, as higher education levels are not necessarily related to culture, and class structure is definitely an influential factor. Both factors allow people to have a different perspective for the world around them which is not always the case for most of the people.

[28] In that sense Farmer's point is accurate in that active migrants are followed by passive migrants; this is the case in *chain migration*, especially from the European continent. *Ibid.,* p. 23.

[29] G. Bottomley, *From Another Place, Migration and the Politics of Culture,* (Melbourne, 1992), p. 3.

[30]*Ibid*., p. 6.

Tasmania sustained their cultural practices, which they could keep alive and active via a sense of Hellenism and hence influence the society.[31]

In "Two Years Hard Labour Post-War Immigrants with the Hydro-Electric Commission", O'Brien argues for the importance of the State's Hydro-Electric Scheme to the already declined social and economic sectors of Tasmania. That scheme would not have been viable without the work that migrants had offered. Immigrants from each ethnic group, including Greeks, were the driving force in these sectors in Tasmania.[32]

The aim of the author is to shed light on the role of migrants as source of change [33] within the broader community. "Modern Australian history cannot be understood without constant reference to its history as an immigrant nation",[34] and the author agrees that Tasmania's history should be studied through the prism of its ethnic groups. A study of Tasmania should emphasise the consideration of the human factor as being responsible for events and phenomena in a place. The human factor functions as a social

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[31]*Ibid*., p. 7. Many scholars of Greek immigration have noted the absence of strong political representation, with the sense of a parliamentary participation, by the Greek ethnic group in Australia and from this aspect especially in Tasmania this argument can be supported. However, Bottomley highlights that "society and culture are the outcomes of people's perception and appreciation of their world's"[sic]. *Ibid*., p. 10. Consequently, culture cannot be apolitical, because that way of living based on specific notions, such as these of Hellenism, is also based on "the context of competition for economic and symbolic capital". Bottomley adds that "Bourdie argues that the power to "make groups is political power par excellence". *Ibid*., p. 13. The way that each person decides to live his life is a political decision that influences the society. What it is changing is only the way. "…if you read the life of Jesus, you'd see that Jesus was a great Socialist". S. French, 'Dwellers Across the Borderland, The Spiritualists and the Great War' B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Tasmania, (October, 2010), p. 51.
[32] E. O' Brien, "Two Years Hard Labour Post-War Immigrants with the Hydro-Electric Commission", *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers & Proceedings,* 41/1 (March, 1994), p. 9.
[33] Referring to a change, even though they are forces of egalitarian change, the author does not imply that this change is radical or in the political sphere, especially when the number of migrants is limited.
[34] J. Jupp, *Australian Retrospectives: Immigration*, (Melbourne, 1995), p. vii.

subject, a social conscience and human activity, and should not be set aside.[35]

In Tasmania the immigrant groups represent fragments of the total population and a study of them is necessary for understanding Tasmania's development in time.

Importance of the Research

Even though the migration process, especially over the past two centuries, has redesigned the world map, migration research work is still in the periphery of historical studies.[36] This thesis identifies that in-depth research about the mechanism used by migration to shape a society, and consequently a place, is missing from the historiography of Tasmania. Tasmanians lacked understanding about the migrant's role in society and, as indicated by Boas, and as the research for this thesis has revealed, very little has been published in the Tasmanian press about the work, life, and cultural encounters of the migrants.[37] These topics are highlighted through the study of Pounds' theory and are the reasons that this particular theory has been chosen to be analysed in the Tasmanian context. From research on immigration and the perspective by which migrants shape the place, such as hard work, culture and innovations, knowledge of a different approach in people's interaction with the environment is revealed, which also suggests a

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[35] L. Leontidou and P. Sklias, *Γενική Γεωγραφία, Ανθρωπογεωγραφία και Υλικός Πολιτισμός της Ευρώπης,* (Πάτρα, 2001), pp. 63, 59.

[36] I. Laliotou, *Transatlantic Subjects, Acts of Migration and Culture of Transnationalism Between Greece and America,* (Chicago, 2004), p. 171.

[37] E. Boas, 'Leading Dual Lives. Lithuanian Displaced Persons in Tasmania', B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Tasmania, (1999), p. 18. This is a problem shared by all the ethnic communities, which effectively constitute the Tasmanian state.

greater degree of tolerance to recent migration. In both personal and community life, the virtue and strength of migrants to create a new life regardless of the obstacles can expose and clarify how people function as a whole in a society.

The development model that Pounds and Massey supported for the shaping of place is particularly relevant in our globalised epoch in that the increased immigration promotes mixed nations. Until now, this approach has not been explored even by the current multicultural policy. New models of interaction and acceptance needed, exempt from camouflage assimilation policies. The understanding and acceptance of the formation of a place through this philosophy could evolve the immigration policies, as well as reform attitudes towards recent immigration waves. Finally, the argument in this thesis introduces a new and interesting approach to identifying, for instance, how cases of crucial problems in agricultural technology have affected population growth or how the lack of cultural influences has affected the patterns of production in Tasmania.

Methodology

This thesis is based on a wide variety of primary documentation. Mainstream local newspapers are the major source, namely *The Mercury*, *The Examiner* and to a lesser extent others. Even though newspapers contain their biases and contexts, they have they documented contemporary events and personal statements. Private family papers including correspondence, letters, and photographs held both by the case study participants or by their

descendants have been used to illuminate aspects of their cultural, social and economic life in the host country. Valuable information on Tasmania's history is located in those sources. Other documents have also been traced from migration exhibitions, the Tasmanian Archive Heritage Office (T.A.H.O.) and from the National Australian Archives (N.A.A.).

One of the author's intentions was to investigate who the first Greek migrants to Tasmania were and the motives for their settlement in this particular environment at the beginning of twentieth century. The number of known migrants during the above period proved limited caused to destroyed records. The research on the 47 "Greek-Catholics" recorded in the census of 1911, which could allow us to understand their role in the society, found within the 42,000 recordings of the Catholic Church, would have required more time than was available for the completion of this thesis. Also, the attempt to discover more information on the few people of "possible Greek origin" in Tasmania in the last years of the nineteenth century, mentioned in Gilchrist's work *Australians and Greeks,*[38] was not successful, due to the fact that a search of the correspondence relating to the *Naturalisation Act* revealed no evidence as to their Greek origin.

Neither the Commonwealth nor the State Department of Immigration have a consolidated record of Greek people in Tasmania. Destruction of archival material and poor record keeping by departments meant that the author was unable to obtain many government files on the topic. Additionally,

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[38] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. I: The Early Years, p. 404.

as the Greek community in Hobart, formed only after WWII, did not keep any archival material in written form, plus the fact that migrants working as labourers are usually not accustomed to write their memoirs, made our case study and generally an understanding of their life and contribution extremely difficult.[39]

Furthermore, there was a lack of registered recorded material in the Hydro Electric Commission archives about the Greek involvement in the scheme. There is also an absence of references to the Greek group in published articles about this project regardless the nationalities and the numbers of the ethnic groups working for the scheme.[40] Further investigation of the subject became impossible due to a seventy-five year restriction imposed by the Department of Hydro-Electric Commission on migrants' personal information. A written application for accessing the documents was denied.

The discussions that have taken place in the Greek language with descendants of the Greeks mentioned in this study have been translated into English, as closely as possible to the exact meaning of what was being conveyed. All transcripts have kept the style, structural syntax and the wording employed by each person. The names of people are spelt in English consistent with either how they themselves have adapted them or phonetically.

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[39] W. Lowenstein and M. Loh, *The Immigrants, (*Melbourne, 1977), p. vii.
[40] *Argus*, (Melbourne), 23 September 1947, p. 5. The article gives information mostly about English migrants.

This dissertation is divided into four chapters. In Understanding Migration (chapter 1) I shall establish immigration as a practice and I shall especially explain how immigration shapes a place based on Pounds' theory, pointing to the significance of migrants as a factor of change.

Forming Australia (Chapter 2) discusses the Australian immigration scheme. This scheme, totally controlled by the state's authorities especially after WWII, was driven by the desired output that a large work-force, recruited from rural peripheries[41] and through the humanitarian programs of the International Refugee Organisation (IRO), could provide. Moreover, the chapter presents the leading motives of Greek immigration with reference to the policies of assimilation and integration and the Greek understanding of them.

The First Greek Pioneers to Tasmania (Chapter 3) focuses on the history of migration to Tasmania, including that of Greeks, in the first half of the twentieth century. I shall introduce the first Greek pioneers in Tasmania, revealing how their origins from particular islands of Greece influenced their behaviour and supported their substantial interaction in the new environment for the society's benefit.

The Greek immigration after the Second World War (Chapter 4) emphasises the difference between Greek migration to Tasmania and that of the Displaced Persons (DPs) after WWII. It follows the case of a Greek young migrant worker on the Hydro-Electric Scheme, who escaped Greece for

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[41] R. King, *The Atlas of Human Migration, Global Patterns of People on the Move*, (Brighton, 2010), p. 32.

personal reasons and marked his presence by becoming the mayor of the Tasmanian city of Launceston. The case demonstrates how the entrepreneurial spirit of this particular unskilled worker on the Hydro-Electric Scheme brought changes to the city. This chapter also notes the benefits resulting from the migration process of an ethnic group, focusing on the Greek ethnic migration group in Tasmania.

In the concluding chapter I highlight some points for consideration and future research.

Chapter One

1. Understanding Migration

The first decade of the twenty-first century has already experienced an extreme change in the geographical structure of the world, as a result of human activity. The most profound example of change has occurred in the Arabic countries, where migrant populations have a noteworthy presence today contributing to shifts in the countries' social and economic levels. However, this cannot be considered a new phenomenon, because historically the development of European human societies has actually been based on migration movements, as argued by the geographer Norman Pounds.[1] Consequently, the understanding of the migration procedure, the reasons that people decided to move to another place, the selection criteria of their new settlement, the chosen occupation, and the factors that provided them with certain opportunities in specific sectors are crucial and all of them related, according to Pounds, to three factors. The natural environment, the forms of

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[1] Norman Pounds wrote three volumes on the Historical Geography of Europe from 450 BC to 1914. Pounds illustrated how the spatial patterns on the European continent formed under the experience of significant growth of population, the alteration from agriculture structures to industrial and the economic development that resulted there, plus the changes in the political forces. Pounds argued that through the years the agricultural and industrial specialisation that regions experienced were extremely significant for their existence, as is known. By introducing "transition" periods in the considered "linear" process of evolution in the continent, Pounds emphasises that these developments were related to the interaction between three axes - natural environment, people and offered technology - which were the driving forces for the next phase in the spatial environment. T.C.P. Zimmerman, "Review of An Historical Geography of Europe by N.J.G. Pounds", *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* Vol. 22(4), (Winter, 1991), p. 821. Migration can definitely be considered as one of these transitions, as the creation of new activities by humans/immigrants converts the host environment.

social organisation and the level of the offered technology are what define the geographic establishment of people.[2]

To understand how this scheme works, it is important to identify how the particular factors interact within a place. Initially, the natural environment is the factor that allows or restricts human activity.[3] The organisation of a society either as a conservative body or an innovative one is influenced by the various features from the specific natural environment. Pounds points out that certain factors and elements interacting together make society conservative or innovative. In this thesis the understanding of this interaction is important in an attempt to understand the case of Tasmania itself and that of the Greek islands of Kythera and Ithaca,[4] the origins of most of the first Greek migrants to Tasmania.

Both types of society were present in the case of the abovementioned islands, which in turn led to expanded migration during the researched period.[5] The same organisation was also noticed in Tasmanian society. A

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[2] N. Pounds, *A Historical Geography of Europe, Vol.* I & II, (Patra, 2001), p. 17. (Read in the Greek version).

[3] Natural environment is considered to be a combination of climatic conditions and the type of the terrain. Both influence directly, but in various ways, the private, public, social, occupational and cultural life. However, what Pounds draws our attention to is that geotopography should not be considered static, as the social organisation and the offered technology can alter it. *Ibid*., p. 17.

[4] These islands for many years were not always recognised as Greek territories. On 30th September 1809 the Ionian Islands passed to British government. This became final with the Treaty of Paris in November 1809. The unification with Greece happened on 21st May 1864. After a long period under the Ottoman Empire, the aristocracy in Kythera revived and helped the English administration. The British enforced their legal system, which very soon prevailed among the Kytherian inhabitants. P.D. Vanges, *Kythera, A History*, (Melbourne, 1993), pp. 125-126. This development on those islands had a twofold result: both islands, being English protectorates, formed a strong locality that affected the way which these societies were developed. The islanders through this experience came in contact with a different cultural mentality and during the migration of people in the English colony of Tasmania, found less unfamiliar the new cultural environment.

[5] Pounds, *A Historical Geography of Europe,* p. 18. A common characteristic of the Ionian Islands in Greece was the multicultural environment formed by the many changes of the authorities, extensive

society owes its conservative character to the interdependence among the social structure, agriculture, and trade, which makes changes less possible[6] or to the existence of the already established societies as they incorporate characteristics from their environment. For instance, the conservatism and caution on some Greek islands facing social change is caused by the geographic morphology of these islands and their isolation, as their contact with new ideas is deferred.

The Tasmanian society experienced a transformation during the first half of the twentieth century, moving from a strictly conservative social organisation, similar in many aspects to the abovementioned islands, to a more innovative one. Thus, changes such as those introduced by the immigration of people from different ethnic backgrounds, become extremely difficult. In the second half of the century, Tasmania, as a society, was forced to accept the changes needed for the migration program[7] planned and executed by the Australian authorities.[8] What are pointed here are the

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trade and limited cultivated land. Moreover, the pattern of settlement was creating small areas with very little communication with other islands and the capital of Greece, and this led to a consistently specific form of social life and a trend for immigration. That migrating culture, supporting Malhotra's thesis, makes migration seem not as tragic as it is generally perceived. D. Massey and J. Allen, (eds), *Geography Matters*, (Patra, 2001), pp. 125-126. (Read in the Greek version). The human geography argues that: the distinctiveness of a place is divided and transformed within the context of social change provoking different results in different places. *Ibid.*, 129. Consequently, the distinctiveness of life in the islands of Kythera and Ithaka produced different results in Hobart. This led to one tight community that promoted *chain migration*, to become oriented towards mutual help. It also led to their conscious incorporation in the new host society and in taking initiatives for their smooth integration in the social fabric. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[6] Pounds, *A Historical Geography of Europe,* p. 19.

[7] Tasmania required the acceptance of the migration scheme if it wanted to cope with the demand for innovation.

[8] The Australian authorities functioned as spatial planners, and today this organisation can be seen in Tasmania. The community that forms Tasmania is also a spatial construction, because migration includes spatial movement (different distribution of labour). Massey and Allen, *Geography Matters, p. 6.* Furthermore, competition is a helpful element of migration in a new environment. Economic

similarities that may have been a factor in the migrants' adaptation to the environment of Tasmania.

At the same time, human activity transforms the natural environment according to human needs at any given time. Thus, there is constant interaction between the human and natural environments, which also undergo changes caused by technology and the tools that human subjects possess during different historical periods. Similarly, technological diffusion depends on human communication taking place both as communication among different societies, and as the degree of acceptance of the organised societies.[9] In a conservative society, such as Tasmania, voluntary changes were difficult because of the existing homogenous social structure, where all concepts of economic activity, trade, and agriculture were interrelated, creating serious obstacles to the change procedure. The introduction of migrants generally shakes the social structure, as immigration by itself signifies change.[10]

Change is indicated by four factors. The first factor is innovation, in the form of development, the use of new material or the improvement of existing technology, and is followed by its diffusion among society. That innovating role is played out by migrants.[11] Migrants such as the Greek migrant George Haros in Tasmania contributed to the development of the State's economic sector through technological innovation. This was demonstrated by the

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welfare will be the result of the personal satisfactory interaction as we will see in the cases of Casimatys and Haros. *Ibid*., p. 35.

[9] Pounds, *A Historical Geography of Europe,* p. 17

[10] *Ibid*., pp. 18-19.

[11] *Ibid*., p. 19.

significant number of exports and the provision of new home-produced patterns to the country's market. These patterns in turn motivated new activities and even triggered other people to recognise the regional and interstate opportunities that the produced goods could boost.[12]

As Pounds also indicates, the smallest increase in population may also involve deficiencies – in sectors such as clothing, food, and housing – which still could be positive for the area. The question here is how this could happen. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that often, innovation is related to shortages. These shortages increase the price of goods, which then puts pressure on the market to cover demand by using an innovating mechanism.[13] That was supported by Kim's research question of whether factory jobs "pulled" immigrants to the United States or whether immigrants endogenously changed the direction of American technology toward factory organisation of production. His data analysis suggested that the route of American technology during the *Great Migration* had been heavily influenced by immigration.[14]

Agriculture and the exploitation of land for food production was a factor which mostly depended on the limitations of the set natural environment. Cultivation or the extension of cultivation is dependent on limitations of features such as the morphology of the ground, the climate and

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[14] S. Kim, *Immigration, Industrial Revolution and Urban Growth in Factor Endowments, Technology and Geography,* http:// www.nber.org/papers/w 12900, National Bureau of Economic Research, (Cambridge, 2007), p. 9.

the type of soil.[15] However, migrants experiencing similarities and differences in their home background and technology, but striving for success, introduced new alternatives. This occurrence took place in Tasmania after the large–scale migration of 1950.

The second factor is the increase of population in the cities, for which migrating groups were responsible. This was due to the fact that first the migrating groups were a considerable source for the increase of the city's local population. Second, migrants are easy moving group of people and in many cases their personal or the organised by the states authorities' change of establishment had contributed to the general increase in three areas in the place of destination: food, housing, and clothing. The existent small towns' expanded and more frequent connections between the different towns were created. All of these areas entail innovation,[16] and each innovation has a geographical aspect as it brings change to the supply market. Within Tasmania, the cases of the Greek migrants George Haros and the Casimatys family are typical examples.

The third important factor that marks change for both individuals and society is specialisation[17] in terms of natural resources and of a particular trade. As acknowledged by East, the natural resources of a place are actually the result of two parameters related to people. The first parameter is the way that humans use "their growing labour force", [18] (the increase in the

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[15] Pounds, *A Historical Geography of Europe,* p. 22.

[16] *Ibid*., p. 19.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 24.

[18] G. East, *An Historical Geography of Europe*, (London, 1966), p. 442.

population) and the second is the various skills that people gain in time and under varied conditions. Both of these parameters led to technological advances, which in turn influenced positively the sectors of agriculture, manufacturing and trade, all of which relate back to natural resources. Natural resources therefore are not a "natural gift", [19] but a human construction. Hence, even though small in numbers, Greek migrants' reinforcement of the work force contributed both to society's progress and to the development of its natural resources.

Additionally, specialisation of production has also played an important role. When Pounds discusses this topic, he refers to the unique or particular ability of a place to develop a particular trade. For instance, the specialisation of production of spices in the Middle East in the early modern years (1500 AD– 1800 AD), led nations to a great rivalry via the trade route, which even though unexpected, led to the great discoveries of the ensuing years. Accordingly, the Casimatys family can be seen as an example of the Greek migration involvement in the fishery trade. Their specialisation of production introduced new patterns of fishing into Tasmania. The level of trade has always been a barometer of human progress and Greek people had an important and continuous contribution in that area.[20]

The last factor, and one essential to this study, is immigration. Migrants are people with different organisational and technological models

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 442.
[20] Pounds, *A Historical Geography of Europe,* p. 23.

unknown to the host society,[21] and with a creative driving force resulting from their situation. Greek migrants, the case study of this thesis, were most of all agents of change. The sense of change incorporates the strengthening of the production factors. Of course, this production strength was related to settlement. East indicates that assemblies of individuals influence an area in a plethora of ways, but the most crucial factor most for the changes occurring to geographical environments is settlement.[22]

The cause is that settlement generates not only innovation, but new demands both on natural and physical infrastructure.[23] The increase in the population, which immigration had brought about, put pressure on the Tasmanian environment. The migration scheme, especially after WWII, influenced the form and intensity of agriculture, the scale of industry and the development of the cities. In other words, the migrants – the human factor, according to Pounds' theory – had put pressure on the society by creating demand which in turn had encouraged innovation by both the migrants and the host society. The settlement of Greek migrants in Tasmania also marked the occupation of "small businesses" and according to Alexaki and Janiszewski their restaurant-cafes introduced another style of life.[24] The involvement of the Greek migrants in small businesses in Tasmania, people

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[22] East, *An Historical Geography of Europe*, p. xv.

[23] S. Castles, W. Foster, R. Irelade and G. Withers*, Immigration and Australia, Myths and Realities,* (St. Leonards, 1998), p. 42.

[24] E. Alexaki and L. Janiszewski, "That Bastard Ulysses: An Insight into the Early Greek Presence, 1810s-1940, in S. Fitzgerald and G. Wotherspoon, *Minorities, Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, (Sydney, 1995), p. 22.

with different cultural and religious backgrounds, brought pluralism contributing in the State's development.[25]

According to Bottomley, the immigration procedure is "a radical change"[26] both for the migrants who are entering the already established economic and political structures, and for the existing power relations in the society. Evidently, as Bottomley notes, established relations of power exist and "tend to reproduce themselves in relations of symbolic power"[27] in established societies. The author agrees that the established relations of power impose their view of the world on society, especially in societies like Tasmania which had only a small percentage of its population as immigrants. However, because the formation of ethnic communities is a political process where culture interacts, as Bottomley accurately notes,[28] over the years the needs of the society formed by migrants influence that view. This thesis builds on the argument that the place is always a social formation with immigration being one of the four basic elements that definitely mark change in a place. [29]

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[25] K.W. Strahan and A.J. Williams, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1988), p. 4.
[26] G. Bottomley, *From Another Place, Migration and the Politics of Culture,* (Melbourne, 1992), p. 39.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[28] For this discussion, see again footnote 31 in the introduction.
[29] Sometimes this occurs regardless of the numbers of migrants in the group, because the element of innovation that migrants often carry is the most important factor on which we should focus. For example, the migration of the European ethnic groups could be seen as agents of change for the broader multicultural unity that the society of Tasmania currently presents. The descendants of European immigrants in Tasmania represent the type of cultural subject that the European nations desired to produce with their union after WWII. The second and third generation descendants are the symbolic cultural subjects of the European cultural unity as they have "fused into new nation groups". East, *An Historical Geography of Europe*, p. 458.

Chapter Two

2. Forming Australia

With immigration defining its existence, Australia, as a relatively new nation in the eyes of Europeans, has for decades been dealing with understanding issues of the benefits or the drawbacks of its migration schemes.[1] The rational foundations of understanding and forming a society gave birth to xenophobic feelings and narrow traditions, which led to an immigration policy based on three essential concepts. The first was that Australia should remain a British and White society. Limitations on assisted passages were imposed on non-British migrants, and during the 1920s and 1930s quotas and virtual prohibitions were introduced, fostering feelings of antipathy for the migrants' settlement.[2] The second was that Australia should be able to maintain a high level of immigration for its economic and military needs and that this should all be under the State's control.[3]

The 'White Australia Policy', a nationalistic approach based mostly on common characteristics, was introduced at the end of the second half of the nineteenth century.[4] This approach increased race comparison by considering the white race as superior because of theoretical and technological knowledge propagated within the Christian religion. Simultaneously, economic concerns

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[1] S. Castles, W. Foster, P. Irelade and G. Withers, *Immigration and Australia, Myths and Realities,* (St. Leonards, 1998), p. 1.

[2] J. Jupp, *Immigration,* (Melbourne, 1998), p. 101.

[3] J. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera, The Story of Australian Immigration*, (Melbourne, 2007), pp. 6-7.

[4] J. Jupp., *Arrivals and Departures*, (Melbourne, 1966), p. 5.

arose about the changing of working standards and wages. Australia was "A Worker's Paradise" according to Jupp,[5] his opinion being based on three axes: land was cheap enough for housing, a small farmer could expect a reasonable profit; and most importantly, with very little hard work a person could have a reasonable living standard. All of the above views, expressed by politicians, led in 1901 at the foundation of the Commonwealth to the *Immigration Restriction Act.*[6] The results of this policy on the Australian population recorded in the 1947 census showing that non-Europeans comprised only 0.25% of the total population.[7] This policy was replaced in 1958 by the *Migration Act.*[8]

Following WWII the two main sources of supplying migrants to Australia[9] came from Displaced Persons and Southern Europeans,[10] among

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[6] The main reason for the application of the "White Australia Policy" in the early years of the century was that Australia saw itself as the weak colony of the British Empire, exposed to the Asian Powers, and desired to preserve a "racial identity" J. Lack and J. Templeton, *Bold Experiment, A Documentary History of Australian Immigration since 1945,* (Melbourne, 1995), p. xiii, in order to be under the protective veil of Britain. The optimum solution was to enrich its population by attracting new immigrants from the motherland. The greatest fear was that Asian immigrants would affect the Australian democratic system, a fundamental symbol in the creation of Australia that Asian countries lacked. This absence made them seem a "threat for social harmony" in the eyes of Commonwealth Government. A. Markus, "Everybody Becomes a Job: Twentieth-Century Immigrants", in V. Burgmann and J. Lee, (eds), *A People's History of Australia since 1788,* (Fitzroy, 1988), p. 90. Simultaneously, the working class feared a decline in its living standards that copious cheap labor could bring. There were also other unfounded fears, based on ignorance that a colored ethnic group was of mental inferiority and a source of serious diseases. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[7] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera,* p. 10.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9. Jupp comments that there was a natural denial of this 'White Australia Policy' by the authorities based on the fact that the British Parliament, responsible for the Australian Constitution, could not officially accept racial discrimination mostly because of economic/trade agreements with non‑white nations. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[9] C.A. Price*, Southern Europeans in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1963), p. 13. The post-war migrants and their descendants represent 40% of the Australian population, a significant percentage which Australia wide, including Tasmania, influences people's life. Castles, Foster, Irelade and Withers, *Immigration and Australia, Myths and Realities*, p. 27.

them Greeks who from an initial population of 12,000 in 1947 had increased to 140,000 in 1996. These arrivals were driven by the twentieth century Australian political slogan "Populate or Perish".[11] It was considered that the nation needed greater human resources for reasons of defense, as the potential Asian enemy was always around its northern borders. There was also the economic need for ownership and exploitation of the land in the form of farming, mining and the labour force.[12] After 1950, this government-supported policy was, as Jupp notes, a totally nationalistic action intended to increase the population and develop potential for industry.[13]

According to Markus, one of the key issues in the Labor Party's plan run by Calwell was to overturn the established land monopoly during the first half of the twentieth century.[14] By making land available and with the addition of a substantial number of migrants who found the opportunities for permanent settlement appealing, an industrial revolution was possible.[15] All of the aforementioned – land monopoly, great number of migrants and their industrial potency – could be seen as the three axes that according to Pounds were interacting and shaping a place. The result of this change is a diverse

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[10] Most of them were forced to emigrate because of poverty. Price noted that only 18% of pre-war Southern European settlers were from towns and 82% were mostly peasants from coastal and inland villages. This ratio changed after WWII. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, pp. 16-17.

[11] The term used both by Prime Minister Hughes and the Minister of Immigration in Chifley's government, Arthur Calwell. S. Harris, "Immigration and Australian Foreign Policy", in J. Jupp and M. Kabala, (ed), *The Politics of Australian Immigration*, (Canberra, 1993), p. 24.

[12] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera,* p. 11.

[13] Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures*, p. 7.

[14] Laws about land rights contributed to the possession by a small number of people of extensive percentage of land, functioning as a monopoly corporation.

[15] A. Markus, "Labor and Immigration: Policy Formation 1943-5", *Labour History*, No 46 (May, 1984), p. 21. This industrial development was a substantial factor in producing an increase in population; few cities without it reached populations of 100,000. R.J. Solomon, *Urbanisation: The Evolution of an Australian Capital*, (Sydney, 1976), p. 285.

society, which interacts with the natural environment and the offered technology.

By isolating the most important factors for the imposition of this immigration policy, Markus provided a very illuminating synopsis.[16] Initially, the government saw as necessary an increase in the population in addition to an opportunity to generate a homogeneous society with the xenophobic feeling decreasing. At the same time, the war had underlined the need for defense and the disclosure of the misfortunes to which certain nationalities were subjected in military camps triggered humanitarian feelings. Finally, the expected development of the nation required a substantial workforce, as the existing workforce was facing shortages.[17] Markus concluded that the immigration policy after WWII was pursued more in terms of national development and less as a one-dimensional program of increasing the labour force, since the government could not be sure at that time whether the paradigm of recession that followed the World War I (WWI) would be repeated. Labour shortages played an important role in the immigration scheme, but were not the initial factor.[18]

The relatively high percentage of immigration that the Australian authorities introduced let to the need to cope with two very important issues: the different living conditions of the migrant population and the different culture, both of which could function destructively. After years of isolation,

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[16] The majority of scholars agree with this.
[17] Markus, "Labor and Immigration: Policy Formation 1943-5", p. 22.
[18] *Ibid*., pp. 32-33.

Australian society had to adjust to the idea of mixing with foreign nationalities [19] and the Australian authorities prioritised the emerging assimilation policy. Having two axes, this policy targeted the adoption of the culture of the majority and because of this there was acceptance of the British Protestant dominance; this was the opinion of New South Wales politician Sir Henry Parkes and one that was widespread. This opinion was promoting a sense of assimilation that was more racial than cultural.[20] In the post-war years especially, the migrants were expected to be indistinguishable from other Australians by abolishing any characteristics such as national language, customs and national sentiments[21] which could distinguish the newcomers.

Second, becoming "culturally Australian" was related more to acculturation through English language and acceptance of common habits. Newcomers were expected to be impossible to differentiate from others by having the same feeling of serving the community.[22] The tactics that could motivate the "New Australians"[23] to assimilate were the extension of assisted passage, teaching the English language, welfare programs, and ways to gain

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[19] Jupp., *Arrivals and Departures*, p. 9. This need led to the formation of the Good Neighbour Movement in 1950.

[20] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera,* pp. 19-20. Sociologically, assimilation is defined as the attempt by a host society to spread its cultural domination to minority groups, always based on race relation. N. Abercrombie, S. Hill and B. Turner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, (London, 2006), p. 20. For more analysis on the introduced policies of assimilation, integration and multiculturalism in Australia, as well race relations see R. Bell, (ed), *Multicultural Societies: A Comparative Reader,* (Sydney, 1987); A. Markus, *Australian Race Relations, 1788-1993,* (St. Leonards, 1994); M. Guibernau and J. Rex, (eds), *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Migration,* (Cambridge, 1997).

[21] J. Jupp, (ed), *The Australian People, An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, (Cambridge, 2001) p. 752.

[22] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, p. 20; Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures,* p. 142.

[23] According to Lack and Templeton, the adopted term was incorrect, because their adjustment to the new cultural structure of the country was presented as being easy and quick and could lead them immediately to citizenship. Lack and Templeton, *Bold Experiment, A Documentary History of Australian Immigration since 1945,* p. 12.

public support for the immigration scheme. This support was undertaken mostly through public campaigns that supported and promoted ethnic tolerance. Although these initiatives at a strategic level were attractive for immigration, the expectation of migrants' assimilation was thoughtless.[24] What was not understood by the authorities at the time was that this procedure could not be imposed by force, or by isolating people from their national culture, but could certainly be attained, as Pounds' theory states, by the blend between human societies and natural environment.

During the 1920s the restrictions applied because America's immigration policy turned the waves of Southern European immigrants, like the Greeks, to seek hope in another hub of accepting migrants, Australia. This step alert Australia's authorities, which feared a mass influx of migrants from these particular areas.[25] Thus, in the first years of the twentieth century, very few Greeks migrated to Australia, as they belonged to the category that was "barely tolerable in limited numbers", as a result of the 'White Australia Policy'.[26] The Premier of South Australia, Sir Henry Barwell, defended the right of the refugees to find security, noting the opportunities that these migrants could create for the Australian industrial economy. A significant number of migrants coming from the coast of Asia Minor or the Greek islands

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[24] Jupp, *Immigration,* pp. 104-106.
[25] A.M. Jordens, *Settling Migrants in Australia 1945-75,* (St. Leonards, 1997), p. 49.
[26] Markus, "Everybody Becomes a Job: Twentieth – Century Immigrants", p. 91.

opposite the coast were experts in trade and cultivation of agricultural products.[27]

In both the history of human evolution and the history of the Greek *folk nation*[28] there is no period in which migration was absent. The story of Greek migration involves ancient Greece colonisation,[29] the early modern era under the dominance of Ottoman Empire expatriation and the period of creation of the industrialised world, where Greeks contributed to "The Great Migration". [30] European citizens, significantly from Southern Europe

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[27] H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. II: The Middle Years, (Sydney, 1992), p. 240.

[28] Folk culture is normally associated with groups that have traditional (rural) ways of life. It became distinctive during the nineteenth century because of the rise of industrialism and the urban way of life that this model formed. With a massive focus on customs and ethnicity, the folk culture used, for the preservation of its values, religion, and the family bond and interpersonal relationships, which formed a very strict environment. European nations in the nineteenth century built their national identity on the ideas derived from the French Revolution: freedom, equality and brotherhood. However, states such as Greece with turbulent sovereignty conditions adapted a political constitution based on cultural and religious traditions. M. Domosh, R. Newmann, P.L. Price and T.G. Jordan-Bychkov, *The Human Mosaic, A Cultural Approach to Human Geography,* (New York, 2010), p. 32. Greek people as a whole have three elements in common: language, faith, and the consciousness of belonging in a particular group. This term stresses exactly the perceived cultural and social way of living as the fundamental characteristic of people's national identity, regardless of place of residence. Greeks "identify themselves as ethnic Greeks", Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* pp. 5-6, and this happens because as Vlassis states about Greeks, "having after long centuries of slavery, regained his freedom by force of bloody sacrifices, he is firmly determined not to lose it again". G.D. Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada, (Ottawa, 1953),* p. 14. The scholar referred to all the invasions of Greece by Slavs, Persians, Bulgars, Arabs, Turks and Venetians, and noted the fact that still at the end it remained Greek in its conscience. Vlassis mentions the dominance of the Roman Empire during which Greeks lost their political existence but not their ethnic one. The assimilation was not a process that the invaders applied to the conquered; instead it was to the contrary. *Ibid.,* p. 25. This perception of self-definition, belonging to a particular ethnic group, goes further back. According to Cartledge, Greeks from antiquity defined themselves by a "strictly polar dichotomy" – Greeks and others. As a case in point, "Greeks and Barbarians" in antiquity were shaping the human living world. P. Cartledge, *The Greeks, A Portrait of Self and Others* (New York, 2002), p. 11. Greeks used to categorize themselves as what they were not, because they had a clear notion of their cultural existence. Their Hellenic identity during the modern era is also based on culture, making it unattainable for them to be assimilated from another culture. *Ibid.,* p. 12. Lack and Templeton explained it with the term "dynamic culture". Lack and Templeton, *Bold Experiment, A Documentary History of Australian Immigration since 1945,* p. xv. The crucial point of a vivid Hellenic culture having survived through the centuries is what makes it dynamic and prevents assimilation. *Ibid.,* p. xv.

[29] R. King, *The Atlas of Human Migration, Global Patterns of People on the Move*, (Brighton, 2010), p. 22.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 28.

including Greece, expatriated to America in conditions of poverty and unemployment, but hoped for new opportunities.[31]

An inside view into the geographical background of the Greek people and a quick review of the economic history of Greece, which was not self-sufficient, reveals the first motivation for Greek migration. Greece's natural environment, with many rocky mountains, was making agriculture difficult in a country that depended on this sector.[32] At the same time, taking as an example the Greek island of Kythera, the area of cultivated land had dramatically decreased during the nineteenth century, because it was divided between the male descendants of the family. This practice had led to cultivation of a limited land area, insufficient for the everyday needs of a household. Since the people were not able to provide a substantial income for their family, they turned to migration, in search of revenue.[33]

Therefore, the main reason for leaving their country was economic, arising from difficulties mostly related to restricted land and obsolete mechanisms of rural farming. Furthermore, the southern European sense of family structure was based on the perception that "prosperous members have the duty to assist their poorer relatives".[34] Thus usually in times of crisis, young males had migrated to provide further income for their family.

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[32] Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada,* p. 11. Greece as natural environment could never been contrasted with the open fields of central Europe.
[33] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* p. 27.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

World War II, the following civil war in Greece and the economic difficulties that followed this tragedy led to almost 250,000 Greeks arriving in Australia as "permanent and long – term arrivals" between 1947 and 1983.[35] After the war, the increasing workforce was unable to be absorbed, due to the poverty of the rural areas and the unviable Greek industry. The agricultural sector was not productive; the Greek State was unable to offer benefits to the peasants and rural land was fragmented, all of which led to a significant decrease in population in the rural areas.[36]

A thought-provoking point that Laliotou points out about the motives of Greek migration – the author supports that this point adds to the gravitational migrating theory – is that "the advancement of civilization and the development of modern modes of transportation created among the [Greek] people a tendency of cosmopolitanism..., which people thought that they could satisfy only by immigrating to a different place".[37] Regardless of their experience and in many cases mismatched expectations, the above motivation was a starting point. Hence, such migration is more expected to be supported by the gravitational theory rather than Farmer's belief that changes in the employment conditions are the driving force behind each alteration in

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[35] Jupp, (ed), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins*, p. 392.
[36] N. Doumanis, "The Greeks in Australia", in R. Clogg, *The Greek Diaspora in 20th Century*, (Athens, 2010), p. 136. (Read in the Greek version).
[37] I. Laliotou, *Transatlantic Subjects, Acts of Migration and Culture of Transnationalism Between Greece and America*, (Chicago, 2004), p. 178. In Australia the economic model of Keynes in combination with the extremely of labour shortage created an extremely high level of living in the years after WWII. This fact made Australia to be seen by the residents of Europe as the dream land, where their expectations could be fulfilled. C. Fox, *Working Australia,* (Sydney, 1991), p. 143. Even though it should be noted that this perception was also supported by the exaggerated descriptions of the way of life of the established migrants, as a factor in migration to a great degree, it is present nowadays in the European Countries that have suffered from the recent economic crisis.

the rate and direction of net migration.[38] Doumanis notes that many people distanced themselves from the traditional social model and norm – for example, they deliberately avoided the cultivation of land – and they were disappointed at the insufficient reformation of the social, political and economic sectors of the post-war period. This disorder emerged migrating feelings in order to escape in countries that could offer them social and economic evolvement,[39] and by that, Doumanis actually supports Laliotou's argument.

Initially, the ongoing civil war in Greece (1946-52) kept the migrating process to small numbers. In these six years only 8,952 permanent arrivals were recorded. The majority of these people who either decided or managed to migrate during that turbulent period were relatives of the existing 45,000 settlers established in Australia. The establishment of this ethnic group driven by economic potentials and prosperity of jobs had created the chain migration pattern.[40] This pattern continued to increase during the twentieth century because it "encouraged family and friends to avail themselves of the

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[38] R. Farmer, 'Geography of Migration in Tasmania 1921-1961', Vol.3, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Tasmania, (November, 1971), p. 110. According to Anderson there are two theories of migration. The socio-economic push-pull theory supports that people who migrate want to raise their level of income, so economic variables are the most important motives for migration. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9. The second theory is that the complementary gravitational theory relates both to the percentage of people capable of being an influential factor for others and people's perception of distance. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17. A typical case is that of Andreas Lekatsas from Ithaka who, already established in Australia, created a chain migration from Ithaca. From 1880 until 1940 "Approximately 3,000 Australians of Ithacan origin lived in this country, with many involved in oyster saloons, cafes, confectioneries and fruit shops". C. Allimonos, 'Australia's Greek Regional Brotherhoods, 1901-1945', Ph.D Thesis, La Trobe University, (February 2002), p. 151.

[39] Doumanis, "The Greeks in Australia", in R. Clogg, *The Greek Diaspora in 20th Century*, p. 137.

[40] G. Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1988,* (Sydney, 1990), p. 144. It is a type of mass migration that is usually an outcome of natural or physical catastrophes, lack of natural resources or even access restrictions. The term *mass migration* refers to enormous movements of people. Y.E. Dimitreas, *Transplanting The Agora, Hellenic Settlement in Australia,* (St. Leonards, 1998), pp. 20-21.

wonderful opportunities…,"[41] that Australia could offer them. Under the scheme of chain migration, by 1954 4,670 people from Cyprus and 5,988 from Egypt had arrived in the continent.[42]

The arrival of Greek migrants in Australia was supported by the then Minister for Immigration Arthur Calwell's assurance that their entrance could not affect the numbers of British immigrants and principally that both their living expenses and jobs were covered by those migrants already with residency in Australia. At the same time, it was made clear by Calwell that the specific migration scheme was necessary, as British people were willing to accept migration only under certain conditions. In contrast, the migration of Greek people was driven by the problematic economic and social situation in which they found themselves after WWII, rather than the expected working conditions in Australia.[43] During the 1950s and 1960s a total of 70,000 and 63,000 Greeks respectively, entered Australia.[44]

The fear of the Australian authorities, especially after WWII, that the new migration scheme could undermine social cohesion led to particular policies such as assimilation, in order to prevent diverse societies. The expectation was for the migrants – the so called "New Australians" – to become Australian citizens. [45] In relation to the assimilation practice introduced by the Australian authorities, an interesting point raised by Price

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[41] J. Vondra, *Greece-Australia,* (Camberwell, 1979), p. 34.
[42] Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1988,* p. 144.
[43] *Mercury*, (Hobart) 27 November 1947, p. 8.
[44] Lack and Templeton, *Bold Experiment, A Documentary History of Australian Immigration since 1945*, p. 75.
[45]Castles, Foster, Irelade and Withers, *Immigration and Australia, Myths and Realities,* p. 109.

was the distinction between behaviour imposed by the State and behaviour by the English-origin Australian population. The latter was much more significant and difficult for the settlers[46] and that could be seen in Tasmania, according to O' Brien, where the demanded application of the assimilation policy − based on the expectation that "the migrants would become invisible in an ideal homogenous Australia"[47] − was noticeably resilient. In particular places, ethnic groups were pressured by the local hostile behaviour, verbally or even literally, to renounce practices related to their ethnic culture.

By comparing immigration to Tasmania with that of mainland Australia, a difference in the degree of assimilation and integration can be indicated. Hellenism in Tasmania had a less strong presence than on the mainland, due to Tasmania's small Greek community during the pre-war period. Although the number of Greeks rose after the post-war period, the difference in assimilation between Tasmania and the mainland was maintained due to the fact that the percentage of Anglo-Saxon residents in Tasmania remained extremely high. Consequently, the expectation of the assimilation of Greek migrants into the dominant Anglo-Celtic culture remained.

In Tasmania, assimilation also functioned as a limiting factor for the ethnic groups in the creation of segregated settlements, such as those in the

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[46] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, p. 207.
[47] Jupp, (ed), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins,* p. 754.

main Australian cities.[48] In contrast, it is necessary to keep in mind for our general argument here that Greek settlement in Tasmania was, and still is, far from being considered as an "Ethnic Enclave".[49] Greek settlement did not create specific suburbs as occurred in other areas of Australia, which for Blainey and Birrell raised concerns about formation of *ghettoes*.[50] However, this was not a totally restricting factor. Bottomley rightly argues that "Greekness has offered Greek Australians a positive sense of identity in the face of the negative pressures towards assimilation".[51]

On the other hand, integration is a process during which the host society and migrants are developing mutual feelings of belonging to the same community and consequently of forming a nation. Nation-forming should occur after the migration process – which according to Price migration is

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[48] E. O' Brien, "Two Years Hard Labour Post-War Immigrants with the Hydro-Electric Commission", *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers & Proceedings*, 41/1, (1994), p. 23.

[49] This term is related to "a high degree of segregation of a group from the rest of the population". Castles, Foster, Irelade and Withers, *Immigration and Australia, Myths and Realities,* p. 93.

[50] Ibid., p. 95. It is necessary to note that the authors' view was that the particular term *ghetto*, and everything related to that, is inappropriate in the Australian context. A great difference is observed in the demographic distribution of Greek migrants in Tasmania: in contrast to the mainland, there is no particular area that has gathered the majority of the Greeks. Especially in Hobart, the Greek settlement is widespread with possible main reason the fact that their major occupation is small businesses – most of them living in the same property with the shops, since the low percentage of population in Tasmania creates the need for a greater distribution, and not concentration, for the growth of their businesses. C. Caimatsoglu, *Curriculum Requirements in Hobart Schools for Greek Migrant Children,* (Hobart, 1975), pp. 8,11.

[51] G. Bottomley, *From Another Place, Migration and the Politics of Culture,* (Melbourne, 1992), p. 9. The scholar also commented on the question of which traditions an assimilated migrant group should adopt. She argued that Australia did not have any long-standing set of traditions as it was neither culturally nor socially homogenous. For this discussion see G. Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, (St. Lucia, 1979), p. 11. This is valid because the place is shaped by its people, and the people's contribution requires the scholar's research if we want harmony to be achieved in our societies. From 1979, research has been undertaken only by some scholars to verify the widespread image of "One Australia" as an Anglo-Celtic Australia. Jordan's research in 2002 from a cultural geography perspective concluded that even the Anglo-Celtic Australia is not one, but several. A.L. Greiner and T.G. Jordan-Bychkov, *Anglo-Celtic Australia, Colonial Immigration and Cultural Regionalism,* (New Mexico, 2002), pp. 6,142. The geographer J.Burcley said that: "The Irish, Scots, Welsh and Cornish…often lumped together as persons of English-speaking background, are just as much 'ethnic' as Greeks or Chinese". *Ibid.*, p. 7.

referred to as the intention for a permanent settlement in another country –

has been completed.[52] Integration applies when the "intermediate stages" of

re-settlement and re-establishment, according to Price, have been completed

and the sense of community leads to citizenship.[53] In that sense, Greek

integration as perceived by Price certainly did not take place in Tasmania, or

Australia in general, until the 1970s. To a great degree this was due to the

English-origin traditions applied in the newly-formed society long after the

entrance of a significant number of immigrants.[54]

The amalgamation of an ethnic group is challenging task even under

circumstances of personal decision of migration. That happens because

people migrate reasons varies and many of the migrants are unwilling to

denunciate their customs. Most of the reasons of migration are related to

search for better opportunities and financial problems, however not necessary

that means isolation or renunciation of the previous life and culture.

Nonetheless, in the social sciences, integration also refers to the process by

which different races come to have closer social, economic and political

relationships,[55] and this definition was present in the Tasmanian policy.

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[52] C.A. Price, *The Study of Immigrants in Australia*, (Canberra, 1960), p. 69.

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 69. However, according to Jupp this procedure "is still implied a continuation of assimilationist thinking" Jupp, (ed), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins,* p. 754.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[55] Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, p. 202.

Chapter Three

3. Immigration to Tasmania - The First Greek Pioneers

During the nineteenth century Tasmania's settlement was mostly by convicts, British and German free settlers, and some Chinese. According to Petty, the Chinese settlement did not resemble the British one. This heterogeneity occurred mainly because Chinese settlement was driven by the wealth provided by the gold rush,[56] and also from the differences in culture and life's conceptualisation making their settlement diverse[57] from the white colonial settlement. Under the country's 'White Australia Policy', the Greek migration during the end of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century was restricted, but not outlawed.[58] In 1918, the Australian High Commissioner in London directed that "Greeks and Maltese [sic] not desired, but not absolutely prohibited". [59] In the Federal Parliament, Tasmanian Senator Thomas Bakhap[60] in 1923 supported a more humanitarian

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[56] A. Petty, 'Deconstructing the Chinese Sojourner: Case Studies to Early Chinese Migrants to Tasmania', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Tasmania, (June, 2009), p. 275.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[58] H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. II: The Middle Years, (Sydney, 1992), p. 239.

[59] H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. II: The Middle Years, (Sydney, 1992), p. 239. Their physical presence made them seem distinguished from the northern Europeans.

[60] From 1913-23 Bakhap was a Tasmanian Senator in the Commonwealth Parliament. His attachment to politics came through his involvement in the mining industry. His political approach was liberal but he took great care in the development of working class conditions. He presented the paradox of being an imperialist, at Britain's side whilst only resisting immigration from those of Anglo-Celtic European background. A. Rubinstein, "Bakhap, Thomas Jerome Kingston (1866-1923)", *The Biographical Dictionary of the Australian Senate*, Vol.1, (1901-1929), (Melbourne, 2000), pp. 253-254. Bakhap was born in the Benevolent Asylum in Smythesdale, outside Ballarat. His biological father is unknown and his mother originated from Ireland, and married Gee Sin Ge Bakhap, of Cantonese origin. Bakhap became known as a Chinese when in 1887 he published a pamphlet with the title "the Chinese question impartially analysed by a Chinese-Australian". Petty, 'Deconstructing the Chinese Sojourner: Case Studies to Early Chinese Migrants to Tasmania', pp. 118-119, 123. This title related to common

aspect: "Undoubtedly, out of the White Australia policy has grown not only a policy of restriction of Asiatics, but a policy that is certainly possessed of an undercurrent of hostility even towards Europeans. We know that the term "Dago" is used, and that it is applied to Spaniards, Greeks, Levantines … and certainly not in an honorific sense... We must not offend the susceptibilities of other nations which are responsible for a good deal that is admirable in European civilization...We must allow them to come in. Otherwise we shall get into trouble".[61]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Australian-born population in Tasmania being 86%,[62] higher than any other state of Australia, influenced Tasmanian society's perspective about large – scale immigration, as the 1946 survey by Walter Hood of the Immigration Department demonstrated.[63] Hood's study on attitudes to immigration revealed the conservatism of the society, as large – scale migration had encountered doubts and resistance, especially from union leaders, to the idea of migrants. At that time, Tasmanians, living in isolation from the rest of Australia, found themselves among people that looked and spoke differently and who mostly

blood origin. Petty argues that documentation about the Chinese-origin relationship of Bakhap cannot be proven. It is more likely for him to be affiliated with the Chinese culture. *Ibid*., p. 117. Also, calling himself "Chinese-Australian" is a typical way to honour the origins of his step- father. Australian-born Greek have brought up in a Greek-Australian household shared their origins with their parents. At the same time, in political terms and favouring is political involvement, such a claim could attract the particular ethnic community-voters.

[61]Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. II: The Middle Years, p. 240; The Senate a Unified Australian Municipalities Speech, 14 March 1923. Cth, Parliamentary Debates, Senate, vol.11, 1923, 364. http://canberra.libguides.com/content.php?pid=238252&sid=2970689

[62] E. O'Brien, 'Tasmania Transformed or Transportation Revisited? Immigration to Tasmania, 1945-1955', M.Hum.Thesis, University of Tasmania, (1992), p. 4. In 1921 foreign born Tasmanians were 8% of total population including Greeks.

[63] In the Census of 1947 only 1 to 2000 migrants had distributed in Tasmania. C.A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* (Melbourne, 1963), p. 152.

seemed to be competitors for jobs, houses and even for personal relations with women.[64]

That sense of competition and the following consequential discrimination is illuminated by a very interesting point made by Laliotou. She argues that migration had a great impact on the formation of twentieth century nationalism, because the migration process emphasised on such political policies, which were based on the notion of the state.[65] Laliotou referred to the political policies undertaken after the mass migration from Europe to America in the nineteenth century; nonetheless similar policies were undertaken in Australia. What Laliotou enlightens is that the close contact of different ethnic groups made notable the differences both in physical characteristics and cultural distinction. In Tasmania, where the majority of the population had English origins, migrants came across this particular situation that was increasing the problem.

On the other hand, Tasmania from 1945 to 1955 had a great demand for labour and, as "migration was providing the missing ingredients for economic growth",[66] large – scale immigration was supported by Hobart's newspaper *Mercury*, which approved the State government's policy of encouraging migration due to loss of population to the mainland.[67] The major

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[64] J. Jupp., *Arrivals and Departures,* (Melbourne, 1966), p. 10.

[65] I. Laliotou, *Transatlantic Subjects, Acts of Migration and Culture of Transnationalism between Greece and America*, (Chicago, 2004), p. 16.

[66] O' Brien, 'Tasmania Transformed or Transportation Revisited?, p. 12.

[67] *Ibid*., p. 8. Farmer argues that the fusion of the specific characteristics of small–scale immigration, large scale out-migration and "the importance of local variables in the patterns of intrastate migration" R. Farmer, 'Geography of Migration in Tasmania 1921-1961', Vol.3, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Tasmania, (November, 1971), pp. 89-91, in Tasmania during the period 1921-61, specific demographic

problem causing Tasmania's economy to freeze during the century was the low population, whose contribution to the total Australian population in 1960 was only 3.33%.[68] In the 1961 Census, Hobart recorded 33% of Tasmania's population, making it the capital with the lowest number of population among the Australian states. At the same time, it was also reflecting its isolation from mainland's cultural influences.[69]

Greek migration to Tasmania even though not prohibited had serious restrictions. This particular ethnic group from South Europe even if sustained the theoretical criteria of the White Australia policy could not eliminate the differences of culture, language and appearance. Therefore, Greeks in Tasmania were extremely low in numbers during the last decades of the nineteenth century.[70] The Tasmanian Census of 1891 and 1901 indicated 8 Greek-born people of which five of them were living in urban districts – two males and three females –- and three in rural areas: two men were in Launceston, three females in Hobart, one male in New Norfolk and one male in Kingsborough.[71] In 1901 another ten persons were recorded as "Greek

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characteristics and traditions had developed. The above fusion, enriched by the particular economic features, such as 31% of the active population specializing in primary industry, dominated and led the population movement of the last four decades of the twentieth century *Ibid.*, pp. 89-91.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

[69] R.J. Solomon, *Urbanisation: The Evolution of an Australian Capital*, (Sydney, 1976), p. 255.

[70] Taken from census between 1870 -1890 six Greeks are recorded, but are not identified. Greeks in Tasmania-Kytherians in Tasmania, submitted by George Poulos on 18.06.2004 in http://www.kythera-family.net, accessed 14 May 2014.

[71] Census of the Colony of Tasmania 1891, (Hobart 1893). This Census probably included a Greek person called Trifon Kelestiokoglou, as he is written in the *Naturalisation Act* 10/1/58/1358, State Archives. He arrived in Tasmania in 1875 and is the first Greek to be personally identified as having settled in Tasmania, with residency in Hobart. His recorded naturalisation in 1878 identified him been born in Tyrnavos Greece and he adopted the name George Nichollos (Nicholls) according to the habit of Anglicizing immigrants' names. The occupation recorded in the naturalisation certificate is as a licensed victualler having commenced trading in Hobart and his age at the time was given as 28 years

Catholics" and ten years later this number had increased to 47, while the number of Greek-born people had dropped to six.[72] While in 1916 the number of Greek migrants was around 5,000 Australia-wide, from 1900 to 1920, according to the "Secret Census" of 1916 only seven Greek males were recorded in Tasmania.[73] Five islanders[74] from Kythera and Ithaca lived in Hobart and a seafarer from Spetses and a picture theatre entrepreneur, who lived in Launceston, were basically the first Greek migrants who can be said to have become established in Tasmania as settlers.[75]

According to scholars Alexaki and Janiszewski, the Greek immigration during the studied period being typically insular, with Kythera and Ithaka forming the "nucleus of Australia's Greek Communities",[76] implied two things: First, that from the studies undertaken it is now known that a

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old. *Sunday Tasmanian*, (Hobart), 13 March 1994, p. 26. Unfortunately, no other documents were able to be found during this research.

[72] Greeks in Tasmania-Kytherians in Tasmania, submitted by George Poulos on 18.06.2004 in http://www.kythera-family.net, accessed 14 May 2014.

[73] A. Tamis, *The History of Greeks in Australia,* Vol. I, (Thessaloniki, 1997), p. 28. Five of them were in Hobart and worked in the Britannia Cafe in Elizabeth Street. Dimitrios Flaskas, age 19, cafe assistant; Antonios Kasimatis, age 19, cafe assistant; Grigorios Kasimatis, age 26, cafe proprietor; Nikolaos Koletis, age 29, cook; and Charalambos Tsitsilios, age 28, kitchenman. In Launceston were Athanasios Kaparatos cafe proprietor, and Mareenos Lekatsas (nee Lucas), a picture theatre proprietor. Greeks in Tasmania, Kytherians in Tasmania, submitted by George Poulos on 18.06.2004 in http://www.kythera-family.net, accessed 14 May 2014.

[74] The migration of islanders was a trend from the first years of Greek migration. The trend changed only after two important events: the limitation of migration to America and the Greek-Turkish War that provoked political and demographical changes in Greece. Tamis, *The History of Greeks in Australia*, p. 28. In 1914, largely as a result of an exodus from Kastellorizo and Asia Minor, Greeks arrived in Australia. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. II: The Middle Years, p. 234.

[75] Tamis, *The History of Greeks in Australia*, p. 28.

[76] E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *Images of Home,* (Sydney, 1995), p. 9. In this case study three of the first five Greeks to Tasmania were from those islands. Generally, the Greek migration to Tasmania originated from Kythera, Ithaka, Lipsos, Grete, Leros, Kalimnos, Lesbos, Samos, Rhodes, Pelopponese and N.Greece. Migrants from Cyprus are also recorded us Greeks. M. Quick, *Tasmania An Island Far Away: Migrant Stories*, (Launceston, 2010), p. 171. The ABS in 2002 recorded: 700 as Greek-born and 3,500 recorded as Greeks. *Ibid*., p. 173. The ABS in 2011 recorded: 476 as Greek-born (259 male and 217 female) and 2,182 recorded as Greeks by origin http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au, accessed 4 June 2014.

significant number of Greek people migrated in the pre-WWII period and second that it is true that the Greek settlement until 1950 has been defined by the majority of scholarly work as mostly a phenomenon of *chain migration*.[77] That have said it is also implied that the initiative for migration for a significant percentage of Greek migrants based on the pursuit for better opportunities rather on economic difficulties. As can be supported by the cases of Caparatus, Lekatsas, Casimaty and Haros, these first Greek migrants to Tasmania had different historical profiles to those of earlier economic settlers.[78] Their settlement in Tasmania was followed by a rational approach in an attempt to establish a better life. The entrance of those migrants in an Anglo-Saxon based society accompanied by conscious effort to interact with the community. They consciously followed Price's order for integration. They perceived the host country as the "new patrida"[79] and strived successfully to "coordinate philanthropic and patriotic activities"[80] along with their personal success.

These few Greek migrants managed to an overwhelming degree to leave their footprints in the Tasmanian society by their involvement within

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[77] M.P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', PhD. Thesis, University of Adelaide, (1971), p. 35.

[78] Alexakis and Janiszewski, *Images of Home*, p. 9.

[79] The term "Patrida" is similar to "homeland".

[80] S. Gauntlett, "Greeks in Australia" in G. Davison, J. Hirst and S. Macintyre, *The Oxford Companion to Australia History*, p. 290. That was not an easy task as according to O' Brien, in 1947 Tasmania only 3% of the population had been born overseas and a mere 1% were of non-British origin. That meant that the Tasmanian society was to a great degree a closed Anglo-Saxon society. O' Brien, "Tasmanian Transformed or Transportation Revisited? p. 36.

the society.[81] In migration studies it is essential not to overlook the moral roles played by the migrants within the new society, which roles are a result of family and cultural tradition. The moral values determine people's actions within the community, are foundation stones for the shaping of a society and should highlighted because they encourage the avoidance of stereotypes and the positive behaviour towards the migrants. Even though it cannot be supported that all the migrants in a society act with high morals, there are some exeptional cases whose presence functioned as a light house in the society. The philanthopic and patriotic contribution motivated by high moral values will be presented here for the case studies of Athanasios Caparatus, Gregory Casimaty (family) and George Haros.

Athanasios Caparatus (Jack Caparatus)

Athanasios Caparatus born on the island of Spetses in 1850[82] was one of the few Greeks who can be called an early settler in Tasmania and who was the first documented Greek pioneer to settle in Launceston. He arrived in September 1884[83] and for the first thirty years worked as a wharf labourer, boatman and stevedore on Launceston's waterfront, in the service of the Marine Board.[84] In 1890 Caparatus was granted naturalisation and a year later

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[81] Generally, from the geographic distribution of the Greek migration to Australia, Tasmania had only 0.5% of the Greek population according to the 1996 Census. P. McDonald, *Community Profiles 1996 Census, Greece Born,* (Canberra, 2000), p. 6.

[82] Record of Aliens, No of sheet: 92, Item A401. National Australian Archives. His recorded occupation was fishmonger.

[83] Personal recorded information about Caparatus' life mentioned that he commenced seafaring in Greece and was a cabin boy from the early age of eight. He reached Launceston after travelling on the barque "Iohanna" which was carrying railway iron. A storm washed him overboard and thanks to his swimming skills he was saved. *Mercury,* (Hobart), 18 January 1944, p. 4.

[84] *Examiner*, (Launceston), 20 October 1947, p. 2.

in the Church of the Apostles in Launceston he married Nora Vaughan, a domestic servant,[85] (Figure 1), settling his life in Tasmania. In September 1900 his application for citizenship was granted and even though he signed with an X which indicated his level of literacy[86] this certainly did not reflect his high level of devotion and moral sense of duty to the community.

The *Examiner* heading 'A Splendid Record' acknowledged the exceptional contribution by Caparatus not only to the community, but to all humanity: "If men might claim respect and admiration at the hands of their fellows in consideration of having been the means of rescuing others from death there is one man in this community whose record might demand for him as much veneration as a hero of the battlefield, for he has saved no fewer than eleven lives, …".[87] In his first decade in Launceston, Caparatus became a hero in the local society, as his altruism saved the lives of eleven people from drowning in the Tamar River at different time periods. This migrant from a small island in Greece was the first person awarded a bronze medal (Figure 2), for such a contribution from the Royal Humane Society of Australasia. The

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[85] J. McPhee, *The Painted Portrait Photograph in Tasmania 1850-1900,* (Launceston, 2007), p. 90. The photograph recorded this marriage. Being the only Greek in Tasmania the first years led to a linguistic-cultural isolation. At that time no English lessons were provided which led to Greeks who later knew him remembering that 'his English wasn't good at all' and 'his Greek wasn't good either.' Greeks in Tasmania-Kytherians in Tasmania, submitted by George Poulos on 18.06.2004 in http://www.kythera-family.net, accessed 14 May 2014. His linguistic problem did not alienate him from the society, but instead he involved dynamically and he indicated a character worthy of admiration. Caparatus, married three times. He had five children by his first marriage (two boys and three girls) and died in October 1947 at the age of 96 according to burial records. *Sunday Tasmanian,* (Hobart), 13 March 1994, p. 26. He was buried at Car Villa Cemetery and his funeral was the first Orthodox Funeral ceremony in Launceston. *Examiner*, (Launceston), 21 October 1947, p. 2.

[86] McPhee, The *Painted Portrait Photograph in Tasmania 1850-1900,* p. 90.

[87] *Examiner*, (Launceston), 24 February 1894, p. 7.

award was presented by the Premier Sir Edward Braddon in 1894[88] for outstanding heroic and unselfish efforts.[89] The *Mercury,* sixty years after the occurrences and on his 94th birthday, praised Caparatus' extreme example of courage for which the society needs to regard this Greek man with "respect and admiration".[90]

In 1922 an accidental fall in which he broke his leg became news in the *Mercury* as he was considered "one of the best known identities in Launceston",[91] not only for his humanitarian outlook, but also as a keen supporter of Launceston's community life. Caparatus maintained two businesses related to food catering, the *Maritana Café,* a fish and oyster saloon at 95 St. John-street[92] and the *Continental Café*, at 120 Charles Street.[93] His well economic establishment acted constructively for the community as he supported financially swimming, football and cricket teams and awarding cups.[94] During the period 1912-13 Caparatus respected status in the society and his continuous support in sports made him president of the South Launceston League Cricket Club (Figure 3).

Caparatus' solid sense of community and the feelings of patriotism had a strong relation to his home background. The reason was that his birthplace, the island of Spetses, was similar to Tasmania at the time. Small communities

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[88] *Mercury*, (Hobart), 18 January 1944, p. 4.

[89] *Examiner,* (Launceston), 24 February 1894, p. 7. Greeks in Tasmania-Kytherians in Tasmania, submitted by George Poulos on 18.06.2004 in http://www.kythera-family.net, accessed 14 May 2014.

[90] *Mercury*, (Hobart) 18 January 1944, p. 4.

[91] *Mercury,* (Hobart), 3 July 1922, p. 4.

[92] *Examiner*, (Launceston), 15 January 1910, p. 6.

[93] *Examiner, (*Launceston), Saturday 2 June 1906, p. 10 . *Examiner*, (Launceston), Friday 20 April 1906, p. 8.

[94] *Examiner*, (Launceston), 15 May 1909, p. 6.

need the support of their residents, especially of the people that their financial situation could fill the gaps left by the official authorities. This sense of moral obligation was expressed by Caparatus with his support of the foundation of the War Memorial in Launceston. In July 1923 the Launceston War Memorial Committee proposed to the Launceston City Council that a site at Royal Park be donated for the erection of the War cenotaph.[95] The construction of the cenotaph required the removal of the cottage in Royal Park in order to make the ground available as a site for the war memorial and Caparatus was among the donors, offering the amount of £70 for its removal.[96] In an isolated and homogenous society such as of Tasmania, figures like Caparatus influenced the long-term level of acceptance and social behaviour by revealing a cultural ethos.

Gregory Casimaty and his wife Katina[97] were among the pillars of Tasmania's philanthropic action (Figure 4). This family fulfilled the cultural criteria that Gregory's father figure, George Casimaty, had taught summarised by Gilchrist: "Every Greek was urged to do his duty not only to himself and his family, but also to his neighbour in trouble, to Greece, and to the Church, and to pursue the highest Christian ideals".[98] Gregory Casimaty,

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[95] *Mercury,* (Hobart), 27 July 1923, p. 6.

[96] *Examiner*, (Launceston), 27 November 1923, p. 4.

[97] Kathleen Casimaty shared her husband's community involvement; a life member of Elizabeth Street State School Mothers' Club and of the Inner Wheel Club, she was a member of Task Force Action for Migrant Women and acted as a volunteer interpreter for many years. Casimatys Family Papers.

[98] Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol I: The Early Years, p. 256. The duty to country and to a "neighbour in trouble" that the patriarch of the Casimatys family in Hobart George Casimaty believed ruled his life and actually saved the life of the Australian Soldier C.W. Webster from Hobart. During the WWI and after the invasion of Greece by the German army Webster was transferred to Gerigo (Kythera) where in his attempt to find food heard an inhabitant talking in English about Hobart and

as a member of the Greek ethnic group, was a person who has been called a "father Christmas spirit",[99] a figure needed in every society since it stands as a counter-balance in a world where most people seek commonly their individual needs. "Hobart and Tasmania are the better for having known Gregory Casimaty,…a man who is known by his good deeds, charity, benevolence, and innate goodness of nature".[100]

Figrues like Casimaty have a significant influence in the community because their voices prompting action in society: "I don't think I have done enough, let us all try to help one another and put shoulders to the wheel. That is the important thing today".[101] This "fundamental principle of serving before self"[102] is the backbone of collective societies, led by community's needs in order to survive. The individual actions of people with high financial status like Casimaty serving community's needs influencing the society by generating similar behaviour, which by its turn shapes the place. His busines principles was part of this reformation and this interaction has been aknowledged by Hobart's society: "there is no-better known business establishment of its kind in the State".[103]

Tasmania. On asking, he discovered that the father of Casimaty's family in Hobart lived on the island and he noted that "After I had eaten the old man grabbed a basket and took me round the village getting a bit of food for the rest on the boat…" *Mercury*, (Hobart), 18 August 1941, p. 5. The generosity offered by Casimaty's father was not only related to the war conditions, but also with the feeling of mutual help that people in small and close societies have developed. At the age 89, George Casimatys travelled to Tasmania and had an emotional reunion with Webster (Figure 5).

[99] *Mercury,* (Hobart), 24 December 1941, p. 3.
[100] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[101] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[102] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[103] *Ibid*., p. 3.

For many migrants, the host land is a sacred country. Loving feelings are developed in an attempt the migrants to re-create a place where they feel that belong, a place with which they can identify themselves. That is why in 1941, during the period of WWII, the *Mercury* newspaper wrote for Gregory Casimaty: "he loves the land of his adoption and is ready to make any sacrifice to preserve its heritage of freedom".[104] During the years of the great depression in Tasmania (1930s), the contribution of the Casimatys family to Hobart society was outstanding. They actively showed their support by offering free meals to Tasmanians in need, as well as financial assistance.[105] Gregory Casimaty enjoyed estimation from the Premier of Tasmania according to his thank you letters (Figure 6). Gregory Casimaty supported more than 200 destitute Australian citizens,[106] and provided hundreds of Christmas dinners for people in need.

Simultaneously, In order to provide nutritional food to the young students in Tasmania the Casimatys family supplied milk and cheeses initially to all the schools in the Hobart metropolitan area. Later his support expanded to state school children, before finally expanding to non-state schools.[107] Casimaty's offer was a significant initiative in those years, since both families and the school system were unable to provide food for some

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[104] *Ibid*., p. 3.

[105] Quirk, *Tasmania An Island Far Away: Migrant Stories*, p. 187.

[106] Casimatys Family Papers. "…Helping the poor or those in need was a strong characteristic of the Kytherians of this period…it was considered a serious sin not to give a glass of clean water to a thirsty passer-by". P.D. Vanges*, Kythera, A History*, (Sydney, 1993), p. 132.

[107] A series of correspondence between Gregory Casimaty and the Premier's Office from 1933 to 1943. Casimatys Family Papers; G.V.Brooks, *30 Years of Rotary in Hobart,* (Hobart, 1955), p. 37.

schoolchildren during lunch time.[108] Throughout WWII, the Casimatys family

donated necessities to the Tasmania Red Cross branch [109] and their

humanitarian help was substantial to the prosperity of Hobart's future

generation. Their contribution was acknowledged by the State's authorities

and the migrant couple from Greece, Gregory and Katherine Casimaty, was

invited by the mayor of Hobart to the civic welcome of the Queen's visit in

1954 (Figure 7).

From 1936 Gregory was an active member of the Rotary Club of

Hobart. With his entrance in a club such as Rotary this migrant declared his

willingness to make the necessary sacrifices, in precious work time and

expenditure, for the members of the society, in order to improve their living

place. The service to a fellow man, for which the Rotarian club was calling

and which Gregory stood for, was a practice learned in his home country. The

isolated environment of the Kytherian Island had taught the inhabitants that

the understanding of society's problems and needs was crucial for their

solution. [110] Gregory Casimaty through this organisation supported the

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[108] L. Robson, *The Tasmania Story,* (Melbourne, 1987), p. 88.
[109] At the same time, they offered money to support the Greek people in the homeland who were suffering from the war conditions. In November 1940 Casimatys family was behind the State's attempt to help the Greek soldiers in their fighting effort against the common enemy. The Casimatys family convinced the Governor of Tasmania Lady Cowrie, the Prime Minister and the Mayor Sir Ernest Clark to hold a fundraiser all around Tasmania in favor of the Greek army. 23 December 1940 was defined as Greek Appeal Day. Flyers were circulated in all the cities asking Australians to support the Greek army in a common cause in which the Greeks had shown remarkable perseverance and self-sacrifice. Tamis, *The History of Greeks in Australia*, p. 36. For his contribution to the international organization, Gregory was awarded the Red Cross medal of Greece (1946) and the Silver Cross of Phoenix (1950). Casimatys Family Papers.
[110] Brooks, *30 Years of Rotary in Hobart,* p. 1. Through his position in the International Service for the Rotarian club Gregory Casimaty had correspondence with the Rotarians in Greece and in other countries a project that had as a goal international help for people in need and opportunities for exchange programs among students. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Tasmanian Society for the Care of Crippled Children,[111] an organisation concerned about "…future hopelessness of the unfortunate children".[112]

George Haros' son Gabriel stated that from the beginning of his father's establishment in Australia he had decided to be an Australian. George Haros had decided willingly to become an active member of Hobart's society and to contribute to the welfare of the society he was living in. When Haros became a member of the Masonic Rechab Lodge[113] in 1952, and as well as during the remainder of his working years, he provided the Lodge with continuous financial help in different ways and to members who needed some assistance, especially during difficult periods.[114] In 1963,[115] Haros became Worshipful Master of the Lodge and in 1982 was honoured with Life Membership of the Lodge.[116] Gabriel remembers his father as a generous man who assisted

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[111] Letter from Care of Crippled Children, 25th August, 1958. Casimatys Family Papers.

[112] Brooks, *30 Years of Rotary in Hobart,* p. 76.

[113] The Rechab Lodge No 362 I.C. founded in 1886 with a capacity to erect a Temperance Masonic Lodge was funding orphans and widows. Later renamed Rechab Lodge No 15 T.C. and supported with donations the Red Cross and other funds, and it became in 1936 one of the strongest in Tasmania. History of Freemasonry Tasmania: issued in conjunction with the centenary of the Tasmanian Operative Lodge, no.345 I.C and no.1 T.C. / Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Tasmania, (Launceston, 1935), pp. 56, 175, 177, 179. The Independent Order of Rechabites, located in Liverpool Street in Hobart commenced at the beginning of the twentieth century and had as its primary focus the guidance of young people in healthy activities. This could increase their sociability and will discourage immoral actions and problems associated with alcohol. K. Bennett, *A Thematic History of Hobart's City Fringe,* (Hobart, 2003), p. 127. For more information about the origins of and the operating of Masonic Lodges in Tasmania see A.C Lowe, History of Tasmanian Operative Lodge No. 1 T.C., 1834-1934 : on the register of the Grand Lodge of Tasmania, (Hobart, 1988); M. Grant, Masonic club, 181-183 Macquarie Street, Hobart: Conservation Management Plan, (Hobart, 1996); Rules of the Masonic Club Tasmania (Hobart, 1943?).

[114] Haros Family Papers.

[115] A year earlier, in July 1962 George Haros was appointed Secretary to the Greek Consulate in Hobart and in 1966 until 1980 was Honorary Vice Consul in the place of Vice Consul D.T. Rogers. Consulate of Greece: Protocol EO15-27, 18 November 1966. He received the title of Justice of the Peace, from the Attorney General's Department, in March 1960. George Haros was the Foundation Treasurer of the Greek Community in Hobart. Consulate of Greece: Royal Greek Embassy, Canberra, A.C.T., 14 November 1962.

[116] Haros was a Trustee from 1969 to 1995 in the Lodge and also a member of several other Masonic Orders including, Tasmanian Union Royal Arch Chapter 238SC, and city of Hobart Preceptory, Knights

homeless people with food from his shop and in the bushfires of 1967 donated food and other products to the firemen.[117] His reserved personality did not allow his philanthropic contribution to be highlighted in a greater degree. He worked silently, serving as an example of how a society can function horizontally through collective work.

Mareenos Lekatsas (nee Lucas)

In the chapter "Understanding Migration", was discussed that migrants are a source of new ideas which influence a society. Their persistence and determination to spread these new ideas, related to different fields and associated with their need for success, is an ingredient that provides diversity and evolves the society. Related to culture, from various prisms was the contribution of the second recorded Greek immigrant to Tasmania, Mareenos Lekatsas. Mareenos Angelos Lekatsas,[118] according to his naturalisation certificate,[119] arrived in Australia from Ithaka on 13 October 1888 on the ship '*Electra*'.[120] Born in the village of Exogi, Mareenos was a talented wood-worker, who constructed some buildings on the island, and he was also a self-taught musician and violin maker. Mareenos had followed his older brother Antonios Lekatsas to Australia. Antonios has been impressed by

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Templer 131SC, St.Andrews 55SC, Tasmanian Union Conclave Knights of Constantine 32SC, Hobart Rose Croix 33AC and Secret Monitor. He was a Life Governor of the Freemasons Homes of Southern Tasmania and supporter of the facility. Haros Family Papers.

[117] Haros Family Papers.

[118] He was known also as Mareenos Lucas (Figure 8, 9).

[119] *Naturalisation Act,* 11/12/1894, N.A.A.

[120]The birth place of Homeric Odysseus had experienced a series of conquests: Dorians, Romans, Byzantines, Normans, Turks, Venetians, France, Russians, and Turks again and finally British. Finally in 1864 it was signed over to Greece. However, despite the different occupation from 900 B.C. until the nineteenth century, the inhabitants had never abolished their Hellenic culture. H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. I: The Early Years, (Sydney, 1992), p. 226.

the told tales of a "New El Dorado" narrated by his uncle Andrea Lekatsas when he returned to Ithaka from Australia after living there for some years, he decided to search for greater opportunities and he hab been already established in Melbourne.[121] In 1897 Mareenos married Elizabeth Eutrope[122] and in 1899 the couple migrated to New Zealand where they established an oyster exporting business.

In 1907 they travelled from New Zealand to Hobart Tasmania. There, Mareenos initially worked as a builder and after a short period became involved in the world of entertainment. He managed the *Grand Tivoli Vaudeville Company*, entertaining workers on the west coast,[123] as well as operating theatre halls.[124] The entertainment that Mareenos offered had a double benefit. First, his shows were like a breath of fresh air for the hard-working people of Tasmania, whose isolation dismissed them from interaction with forms of art.[125] Second, the most important was the educative aspect that the displayed, at Temperance hall, Royal pictures, "…comprising eleven items and 10,000 feet of films",[126] delivered. Those pictures exhibited with special musical accompaniments, represented classical, historical and every-day phases of life, rarely exposed to Tasmanian society. These subjects,

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[121] There, Mareenos opened a café in Swanston Street and soon he joined partnership with his brother in the Town Hall Café. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. I: The Early Years, p. 227.

[122] With who had six children: Sylvia, Maria, Thelma (1901-1972), Anthony William (1905-1927), Homer Mareenos (1897-1954), Alfred Ulysses (1916-1919).
Immigration Place, You're your story: Mareeno Lucas (nee Lekatsas) 1869-1931 http://www.immigrationplace.com.au/www/248/1040427/displayarticle/1001210.html?pub=1&objectid=1040174&portletid=1001209&pagemode=2&orderbycolumn=&, accessed 14 May 2014.

[123] *Ibid*.

[124] *Sunday Tasmania*, (Hobart), 13 March, 1994, p. 26.

[125] *Examiner*, (Launceston), 21 August 1908, p. 2; *Mercury,* (Hobart), 1 April 1909, p. 3.

[126] *Mercury,* (Hobart), 15 December 1908, p. 6.

renewed weekly by Mareenos, not only considered the best animated pictures ever shown in Hobart, but they were also raising society's educational standards.[127]

However, his greatest contribution to Tasmania was in the city of Launceston where he moved in 1911 and built two theatres. The rise of bourgeois society during the nineteenth century in Europe had promoted the construction of magnificent architectural buildings, among them theatres, which epitomised the bourgeois culture. These theatres became the legendary buildings of bourgeois class success in the city.[128] Mareenos coming from a place influenced by the British bourgeois society as well as from his short stay on the mainland, he noted in August 1911 the necessity for a modern theatre in the heart of Launceston.

Primary documents at the time demonstrated his determination to grant such a theatre despite the challenging circumstances for the hypostatization of such a project. Mareenos was convinced that a theatre providing performances by artistic groups coming from the other states of Australia would be successful. But to achieve this success, Launceston needed a proper theatre and "the Princess theatre will be better than the majority of those on the mainland".[129] It was built to own design and sited in Brisbane Street (Figure 10). His promise has been kept for almost one hundred years

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[127] *Ibid.*, p. 6. Lekatsas also acquired the Kings Hall, a multi-purpose building in Bathurst Street. In July 1909 it opened as a skating rink and after some months it was filled with students sitting for Tasmania's Junior Public Examinations.

[128] D. Massey and J. Allen, (eds), *Geography Matters*, (Patra, 2001), p. 54. (Read in the Greek version).

[129] *Daily Telegraph*, (Launceston), 28 August 1911, p. 2.

and in 2011 the theatre celebrated its 100th anniversary.[130] The *Daily Telegraph* noted it was "the only theatre in Tasmania with such up-to-date appliances…"[131] that actually could contend equally the other states and it became a landmark in Launceston's history.[132]

Mareenos moved to Melbourne in 1913, but three years later he returned to Launceston to finance, design and build his second theatre, the Majestic (Figure 11, 12). [133] The Majestic became the first theatre for silent movies in Launceston, [134] the resourceful entrepreneur was aware of the new potentials that the film industry was creating.[135] Mareenos tried to offer in Tasmania one of the best theatres in the country and he ordered the *Marfin Rotary Converter* in America a machine for the arc light that would enable it to work noiselessly, but with great efficiency.

The introduction of such a devise was unique in Tasmania, as well as the Majestic Theatre's Grecian architecture which was noted by the *Daily Telegraph:* "and at the top one can see glimpses of the ancient Parthenon style",

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[130] *Examiner,* (Launceston), 19 August 2011, p. 43. On 30 August 1911 at 8p.m. the mayor of Launceston opened it to a capacity audience of almost 1900 people. It had the largest proscenium in Australia and Mareenos signature was the thirteen windows in the shape of cycle which surrounded the building and included his monogram. A. Green, *The Home of Sports and Manly Exercise, Places of Leisure in Launceston*, (Launceston, 2006), p. 76.

[131] *Sunday Tasmania,* (Hobart), 13 March 1994, p. 26.

[132] *Examiner,* (Launceston), 19 August 2011, p. 43. The figure of the Cloth Scroll is a copy from the only one original existed. These cloth scrolls were given to the patrons to the theatre for the "First Night". Princes Theatre, Cloth Scroll, Launceston Linc.

[133] Lucas acquired the land where the theatre was meant to be built at a cost of £8,000. Under his strict supervision he built the lodge at a cost of £9,000 and furnished it using Tasmanian workmanship, as he did with the Princes Theatre, for the price of £1,000. *Daily Telegraph*, (Launceston), 31 May 1917, p. 6.

[134] This was the latest trend.

[135] Green, *The Home of Sports and Manly Exercise, Places of Leisure in Launceston*, p. 78.

a sign of the neo-classical beauty that architecture had to present[136] which was influencing every prestigious building of the era. The Theatre opened in 1917 and the community had the feeling that the Majestic Theatre introduced widespread modern ideas in Tasmania. This migrant from Greece saw himself as one of the members of society, who wanted to improve their living space and to promote the Majestic Theatre as "an example of what can be done in Tasmania by Tasmanians".[137] Those Tasmanians were a mixture of migrants working together for the betterment of their society and of their place, and Mareenos was a pioneer of the cultural progress in the State of Tasmania.[138]

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[136] *Daily Telegraph*, (Launceston), 31 May 1917, p. 6.
[137] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[138] Mareenos Lekatsas (Lucas) died in September 1931 aged 60. He collapsed while sitting in a cafe in Swanston Street, Melbourne where he had been living. *Argus*, (Melbourne), 29 September 1931, p. 6. As almost every financial well established migrant who live with nostalgia and a sense of obligation for his birthplace, he left £ 500 to a hospital in Ithaca. *Argus*, (Melbourne), 4 February 1932, p. 6.

Greek involvement in "Small Business" in Tasmania in 20th century

Minority groups – cultural subjects' representatives - and "small business" [139] shared an important "historical link" [140] that helped the renaissance of small businesses in Australia. [141] Migrants from the Mediterranean area, who had lived for long periods under a feudal system, appreciated the value of owning a property, either as farmers occupying a piece of land or as small businessmen.[142] The sense of social security that property could offer to migrants was a lesson learned over the years. Thus, the efficient arrangement was for minority groups to find the sectors that could establish them into society. For the Greek ethnic group this sector was the food industry.[143] The Greek café-restaurant phenomenon, promoted by the chain migration system, was also "a mutually beneficial arrangement, assisting sponsor and new comer alike".[144] It became a norm for Greeks to be

[139] According to Wiltshire Committee (1971) "small business" is defined as: "One or two persons are required to make all the critical management decisions, finance, accounting, personnel, purchasing…without the aid of internal specialists, and with specific knowledge in one or two functional areas". K.W. Strahan and A.J. Williams, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Australia,* (Melbourne, 1988), p. 5.

[140] J. Collins, K. Gibson, C. Alcorso, S. Castles and D. Tait, *A Shop Full of Dreams,* (Sydney, 1995), p. 206.

[141] Scholarly surveys suggested that the 95% of all enterprises in Australia belong to this category. K.W. Strahan and K.E. Luscombe, *Immigrant Access to Small Business Support Services*, (Wollongong, 1991), p. 14.

[142] Collins, Gibson, Alcorso, Castles and Tait, *A Shop Full of Dreams*, pp. 58-59; For further analysis in the practice of small business and the way of chosen occupations in Southern Europe, see Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* (Melbourne, 1963).

[143] T. Risson, *Aphrodite and the Mixed Grill: Greek Cafes in Twentieth-Century Australia*, (Brisbane, 2007), p. 6.

[144] *Ibid.*, p. 31. The reason was that these cafes functioned "as unofficial reception centres and employment agencies" *Ibid.*, p. 30, where new comers could find a working environment, basic food, accommodation and mostly family guidance and protection. This practice in reality is forming a small community with the sense of a nucleus settlement. Challenging to understand the way that Greek migrants established a settlement in Australia, a point should be made about the social and political background of their home-country. Generally, in Southern Europe, as Price notes, there was a "Nuclear Settlement" meaning compact, residential areas. The adaptation of this type of establishment was related to phenomena of lawlessness, piracy and warfare, extremely often in the

involved in the small business food industry, and Greeks in Tasmania were no exception, with the best example being the Casimatys family.

Gregory Casimaty

Born on 6 January 1890, Gregory Casimaty[145] arrived in Sydney in 1905 where he started working in the fruit trade.[146] Nine years later, his restless spirit, following his father's advice, led him to Tasmania in a search of a better business prospect.[147] He travelled to Hobart on the '*Paloona*' and accepted a member proposal from Panayiotis Galanis, a fellow Kytherian, to purchase a

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European continent, causing threat to the society and making mandatory a higher degree of security. Instantaneously, a system of close communal life around the main "agora"– in ancient Greece the 'Athenian agora preceded,…the setting up of a market in the Aegean which could be said to embody a market mechanism' S.C. Hunphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks*, (London, 1978), p. 48, and the desire to live nearby persons from the same town based on helping networks was creating a sense of dependence. This sense was strengthening by the existence of many local and regional dialects which were forcing people to stay together. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia, p. 42.*

[145] The name Kasimatis, as written in Greek language, belongs to a family that goes back to the fourteenth century when its members emigrated from the island of Crete –under the Venetian domination at the time – to the small island of Kythera. Some of the Casimatys family members played an important role on the island as their emigration was promoted by the Venetian authorities in favour of a proper organisation of the island's social structure according to the Venetian model. Gregory's father, George Kasimatis was married to Stamatina Kastrisios (1868-1952) and they had four children: Eleni, Gregory, Anthony, Vasilio. Casimaty Family Papers. (Figure 13).

[146] A. Tucceri, 'Casimaty, Gregory George (1890–1972)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/casimaty-gregory-george-9708/text17139, accessed 11 October 2013;

[147] George Casimaty (1866-1959), Gregory's father had been born on the island of Kythera in 1866 and migrated to Sydney in 1891, with the prospect of a permanent settlement. He worked in the Woolloomooloo Fish Markets and five years later he returned to Kythera because his father's death made him responsible for the family's property. Fishing Newsletter, "Personalities in the Fishing Industry, 33 years in Fish Trade", Commonwealth Fisheries Office, Department of Commerce and Agriculture, Vol.7(1), (February, 1948), p. 5; Although he was a school teacher his return turned him successfully to agriculture. However, his education taught him to question, a habit that he cultivated in his children Gregory (1890-1972), Anthony (1897-1977) and Basil (1903-1962), who he decided to send to Australia in a search for greater opportunities and who had received only elementary education. All of them ended up in Tasmania, where the Casimaty Brothers' fish shop (1918) was a Hobart landmark for decades. A. Tucceri, "George Casimaty" in D. Pike (ed), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 13, (Melbourne, 1993), p. 387; Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks,* Vol. I: The Early Years, p. 252.

fish shop business in Hobart.[148] This business was the restaurant *The Britannia Café* at 35 Elizabeth Street (Figure 14, 15), which subsequently became Tasmanian's first Greek restaurant under Greek ownership.[149] Soon, Gregory and his brother Anthony[150] formed a partnership to run the business and in 1917 an oyster bar was added to the family business,[151] which the Casimaty family handled with great care. As County commented on, looking through *The Britannia Café* catalogue, Casimaty's restaurant offered "world-class delicacies at working man's prices"[152] (Figure 16). With great respect for the ordinary people and exploring the needs of the society, his business practice

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[148] *Sunday Tasmania*, (Hobart), 13 March 1994, p. 26. The ship was in the service Sydney-Hobart from 1909 and the departure was once a week from each port. P. Plowman, *Ferry to Tasmania, A Short History,* (Sydney, 2004), p. 49.

[149] *Ibid*., p. 26.

[150] Anthony Casimaty left Greece in 1912 and for a short period he worked in Sydney before moving to Hobart in 1915, a year after his brother Gregory had settled. Anthony was a member of the Chamber of Commerce in Hobart and often acted as spokesman for the retail fish industry. Anthony was described as "small and rather shy" A. Tucceri, 'Casimaty, Anthony George (1897-1977)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/casimaty-gregory-george-9708/text17139, accessed 11 October 2013; person with endless energy for both working – as a scholastic person concentrated in managing both the accounts and retailing – and enjoying life. "A three-piece-suit gentleman enjoying his hunting hobby always dressed like daughters…". P. County, *Before We Eat*, (Hobart, 2003), p. 120. He retired in 1967 after fifty years in the fish shop. He died on 14 March 1977 at Sandy Bay and was buried in the same cemetery as his brothers. A. Tucceri, 'Casimaty, Anthony George (1897-1977) Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/casimaty-gregory-george-9708/text17139, accessed 11 October 2013; Theo Casimaty, Anthony's son, was the first councilor of Greek parents to be elected as an Alderman and Mayor. Anthony's daughter Nina was the first person of Greek parentage to graduate from the University of Tasmania, Bachelor of Arts degree (Honours) in 1954. Quirk, *Tasmania An Island Far Away: Migrant Stories*, p. 187.

[151] Tucceri, 'Casimaty, Gregory George (1890–1972)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/casimaty-gregory-george-9708/text17139, accessed 11 October ; Quirk, *Tasmania An Island Far Away: Migrant Stories*, p. 186. The third brother Basil Casimaty, who is not mentioned above, arrived in Hobart in 1923 and six years later, according to Greek custom, returned to Greece to care for his ageing parents. In 1935 he married Panagiota (Nota) Tzoutzouris and both came to Tasmania in 1939. Basil established the "California Fruit Company" known as "Cockey's Corner" in Hobart and during the next decade he "purchased Stockman, a property at Kempton, on which he ran cattle and sheep, while Nota managed the fruit business. A. Tucceri, 'Casimaty, Basil George (1903-1962), Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ accessed 11 October 2013; Quirk, *Tasmania An Island Far Away: Migrant Stories*, p. 187.

[152] County, *Before We Eat*, p. 123.

attracted all the levels of the society and made *The Britannia Café* a landmark
of Hobart's society.

The Casimatys family in Tasmania, by pioneering the crayfish and
scallop industries, [153](Figure 17, 18) gained enormous personal prosperity and
performed "a major role in Hobart commercial life".[154] According to Gregory
Casimaty's daughter Helen her father was a forward-thinking man: "He
seemed to have the ability to work out what was going to be a very good
thing".[155] Thus in Hobart, Gregory's business mind conceived the idea of
buying huge quantities of crayfish and then packing and exporting them to
Sydney. He had just foundered a new idea for the island's fishing industry.[156]
In 1935, Gregory visited New Zealand in order to open the firm's crayfish
markets because he had managed to both pioneer the Tasmania crayfish
industry and to export internationally.

Upon his return, Gregory Casimaty would be the person who
introduced Danish seine trawling to the state.[157] His daughter commented:

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[153] H. Kalis, "Casimaty Family" in A. Alexander, *The Companion to Tasmanian History,* (Hobart, 2005), http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/C/Casimaty%20family.htm.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Helen Kalis, OH 1 A-B, Oral History Collection, QVMAG Museum, (Launceston, 2001).
[156] As in 1918 the brothers expanded their business into crayfishing they also expanded their partnership to include the third brother Basil and they continued to export their catch to Sydney. They later pioneered the scallop industry in Tasmania. A. Tucceri, 'Casimaty, Gregory George (1890–1972)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/casimaty-gregory-george-9708/text17139, accessed 11 October 2013.
[157] *Sunday Tasmania,* (Hobart), 13 March 1994, p. 26. In the Australian Encyclopaedia even though it is recorded that for some years Tasmanian waters have maintained several Danish seine boats, there is an absence of the contribution of the Greek migrants along this path and particularly of the fact that the Casimatys family introduced this type of fishing in Tasmania. A.H. Chisholm (ed), *The Australian Encyclopaedia,* Vol IV, (Sydney, 1965), p. 79. Casimaty in an interview explained that when he was in New Zealand, in 1935, he went on a fishing trip, Danish seining, with W. Coffey of Lyttelton. He was using the method of demersal fishing – a style ideal in areas with heavy concentrations of fish and without obstacles on the bottom of the sea and which utilises small Danish seine boats/ trawlers.

"...he went to New Zealand and had a look at Danish seine trawling and then they went to exporting crayfish tails to America. For this to happen in the 1930s it was very, very forward thinking".[158] As their business enterprises involved the marine industry, it was inevitable to turn their attention to boat-building. By 1941, Casimatys operated two trawlers *Nelson*[159] (Figure 17, 18) and *Margaret Twaits* [160] (Figure 19), which were commandeered by the

"The average length of Danish seine boat is about 55feet with an average tornage of about 30". Chisholm, *The Australian Encyclopaedia*, Vol IV, p. 78 – that Casimaty found very interesting so with his return to Hobart ordered a vessel to build for this kind of fishing. Four years before, according to the article, Casimaty had approached the Sea Fisheries Board and suggested the Danish Seining to be introduced into Tasmania waters. The Chairman agreed not to place obstacles in his way to improve the fishing industry after confirmation that he would operate his boat in the deep open sea and not in the estuary and restricted waters. *Mercury,* (Hobart), 4 April 1940, p. 13.

[158] Helen Kalis, OH 1 A-B, Oral History Collection, QVMAG Museum, (Launceston, 2001).

[159] The *Nelson*, "50 feet long, powered with a 68 h.p. Gardiner, and was one of the pioneer Danish seiners in Australian Waters" Fishing Newsletter, "Personalities in the Fishing Industry, 33 years in Fish Trade", p. 5. The boat was registered in 29 April 1938 as *NELSON* 1000 (Regist.No 757) by owner Casimaty and licence: 2180, AA426/1/1. In 1939 in Parliament, the Government had received allegations that there was a shortage of fish in Hobart, allegation which introduced to the Sea Fisheries Board that they had allowed Casimaty Bros to monopolize "the wholesale trade in fish and failed to control their new Danish seiner *"Nelson",* which was accused of "systematically cleaning out fish in the Derwent". The Ogilvie Years 1934-1941, http://www.users.on.net/-ahvem/Fisheries/Tasmania/4.1934-1941.html, accessed 14 May 2014. A member of the Parliament supported Casimaty's reputation as one of the best citizens who would not deliberately flout the law, acknowledging that he has spent extreme amount of money in his attempt to build the fishing industry. He supported that "without Mr. Casimaty 70 per cent of the fisherman would be out of fishing business altogether". *Mercury,* (Hobart), 1 December 1939, p. 11. On 29 January 1940 Francis Xavier Heerey, Labor MHA for Dennison in a letter to Ogilvie as Minister of Fisheries accused the "Trawling in bays and various parts of the Derwent Estuary by the trawler *Nelson".* Heerey's accusation was based on petition "signed by 46 fishermen" which Ogilvie took to Cabinet on 31 January, after telling Heerey he would hold an enquiry. *The Examiner* editorial accused Heerey he had not checked the facts but because the particular matter was a hotbed he surrendered to the challenge. The Secretary of the Sea Fisheries Board during the inquiry for the fishing industry supported that the claimed areas that were influenced by the fishing method of Nelson had already been deserted by fish before the introduction of that kind of fishing. *Mercury*, (Hobart), 4 April 1940, p. 13. In 1941 the Tasmanian Fisheries Board of Enquiry investigated allegations of monopolising and of environmental damage by Casimatys' fishermen. The Report of the Enquiry was handed down on the 15 May and found: First, that there was a forgery in the signature of the petitioners as from the 45 people only 26 were real and only few of those people were actually engaged in the fishing industry; Second, the Nelson operated according to the directions of Sea Fisheries Board and there was no mistake with the management of trawling neither could be supported that Casimaty's have been treated favorably. The Ogilvie Years 1934-1941, http://www.users.on.net/-ahvem/Fisheries/Tasmania/4.1934-1941.html, accessed 14 May 2014.

[160]The *Margaret Twaits* was build by Harold McKay, in 1935 initially for Robert Twaits and Charles Gathercole. www.nzmuseums.co.nz/account/3906/object_151591/ *Margaret-Twaits*. On 10 April 1940 the boat was sold to brothers Gregory and Anthony and used as a fishing vessel both in

government for war service in New Guinea.[161] Around 1950, their crayfish
business was exporting in excess of 300 tonnes of crayfish per year to Sydney
and America.[162]

Half a century of crayfish exportation brought great profits to the
Casimatys family, but the most important to the scope of this thesis is their
contribution to Tasmania's economy.[163] This involvement in the fishing
industry lasted 33 years. In his attempt to build up the crayfish industry he
"made financial advances to fishermen of approximately £40,000". No interest
or insurance premiums were charged, but he just accepted a verbal deal
between him and the fishermen for the total loans.[164] This intimate and long
lasting busineness relationship that have been shaped betweeen the fishermen
and Casimaty had revealed the strong moral obligation that ruled his life and
during the hars period of depression in 1930s he kept the fishermen employed

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Tasmania and N.S.W. The *Margaret Twaits* was a vessel of 62 tons, twice the size of the *Nelson* and with a capacity three times as great as that of the *Nelson.* The installation of a more modern freezer 1,600 cubic ft, than that in *Nelson* was a great improvement by the Casimaty Bros as it kept a temperature of 32 - 35 degrees, chilling the fish and allowing them to be kept in good condition during the trip. *Mercury*, (Hobart), 28 September 1940, p. 5.

[161] A. Tucceri, "George Casimaty", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, p. 387. The two trawlers were operated by Greek brothers, Victor and Theo Vauges. According to Gregory, a tragic accident overboard that cost the life of Victor in 23 July 1941 "made me lose all heart I had in seining" Casimatys Family Papers; *Sunday Tasmania,* (Hobart), 13 March 1994, p. 26. From August 1944 until October 1949 when the boat was repurchased from Casimaty the *Margaret Twaits* was in war service on the North coast of New Guinea. After 1949 the boat was used for crayfishing on the West coast of Tasmania and after a period was sent to Melbourne and Sydney loading frozen crayfish, couta and shark as the Casimaty brothers had turned the boat into a freezer. In May 1956 the *Margaret Twaits* was sold to Arthur James Drysdale and sometime later destroyed by a storm on Hillwatch island of the North East Tasmania. Casimatys Family Papers.

[162] Greeks in Tasmania-Kytherians in Tasmania, submitted by George Poulos on 18.06.2004 in http://www.kythera-family.net, accessed 14 May 2014.

[163] Tamis, *The History of Greeks in Australia*, p. 36. From the early 1920s the commercial success of the family and their prominent position in society led to the brothers being "granted Vice-regal patronage" to Sir James O'Grady, Tasmania's Governor, a situation that continued over the next years. Casimatys Family Papers.

[164] Fishing Newsletter, "Personalities in the Fishing Industry, 33 years in Fish Trade", p. 5.

even though the financial loss of those years was significant. [165] Casimaty's words resonate the moral code of his era and culture, where verbal agreements were as valuable as the written. This ethos taught in his homecountry was connected with the collective organisation of society in which he was raised. He had learned that a harmonic collaboration between the members of the society was the pivotal pathway for its welfare. Tasmanian society as has been argued had a similar social organisation. After 1950, Gregory Casimaty will be also the founder and president (1953) of the Greek community of Hobart.[166]

Collins *et al.* note that the most outstanding role that ethnic small business, occurring in smaller societies, like Tasmania, is the "distinctive

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[165] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[166] In the first half of the twentieth century only a few number of Greek migrants were living in Hobart insufficient for the creation of a Greek community. Gradually, as the Greek community increased in number, so did its needs. Tamis, *The History of Greeks in Australia*, p. 36. An official institution, apart from communication among the Greek migrants could provide almost all the necessary services to which those people did not have access; this action decreased feelings of isolation. M.P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia" in C.A. Price, *Greeks in Australia,* (Canberra, 1975), p. 20. On 26th of October 1953, with Gregory Casimaty as the inaugural president, the Greeks of Hobart were organised into a community under the name "Hellenic Association of Tasmania", an institution vital for the cultural, political and social life of Greeks. *Ibid.*, p. 19, as well as their relation with the Tasmanian citizens, when you communicate your language and your cultural heritage with the rest community you are creating bonds with the rest of the social environment. *Mercury,* (Hobart), 26 October 1953, p. 6. The creation of this institution embraced many Greek people, as it offered a dynamic cultural and social environment, for those who because of the language barrier, their limited or zero skills or even their socio-economic class difference could not participate respectively in the specific cultural and social environment of the host society. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia" in C. Price, *Greeks in Australia,* p. 20. The committee had as Vice Presidents Nick Economou and George Castrisio, Secretary Matina Casimaty, Assistant Secretary Stephanie Harris, Treasurer George Harris, Assistant Treasurer Michael Giomataris and Committee Nina Casimaty, Nick Calligeros, Nick Kaimatsoglgu, Mick Lucas. Casimaty donated to the Greek community the land where the Greek Church of Saint George and the Greek Hall were built. Tamis, *The History of Greeks in Australia,* p. 36. One of the major roles that the formation of the Hellenic association fulfilled was to be the connective link between the members of each ethnic community and the host society. All of the above people and many more who were unable to be mentioned in this thesis, contributed significantly not only to their ethnic community, but to the development of the place that became their society, their 'patrida'. He was forced by poor health to retire in 1965 and he died on 22 March 1972 at Sandy Bay. He was buried following the Greek Orthodox ceremonials in Cornelian Bay cemetery. Tucceri, "George Casimaty", Australia Dictionary of Biography, p. 387.

dynamic"[167] that developed in relation to the native business. This dynamic arose from migration, as migration to a new environment increases creativeness regarding both material and structures of the new society. It is also related to the attitude conveyed to the new society by a minority group, as well to the interaction of the contemporary organisation of the society.[168] This interaction generates creativity and innovation and that was observed in the case of the Greek migrant George Haros.

George Gabriel Haros

Born in 1912 in the village Manitohori on the island of Kythera, George Haros was one of eight children in a financially well-established family involved with agriculture.[169] George had graduated from the Greek College in 1929[170] (Figure 22) and dreamt of attending the University in Athens. Despite his dream, following a decision by his family he arrived in Hobart in 1930. According to his son Peter, his father wanted to find out how the life of George's sister was going in the distant Tasmania, who had been married in Hobart to a member of the Casimatys family.[171] Six years later when his father asked him to return, he decided to remain in Tasmania to pursue his destiny. Following the traditional pattern, he initially worked in the Casimaty's family shop and in 1936 he opened the Green Gate Café Milk Bar,[172](Figure 23) for

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[167] Collins, Gibson, Alcorso, Castles and Tait, *A Shop Full of Dreams*, p. 23.

[168] *Ibid*., p. 23.

[169] E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *Images of Home*, (Sydney, 1995), p. 33.

[170] College Certificate. Haros Family Papers.

[171] Haros Family Papers.

[172] The building situated on the corner of Liverpool and Murray Streets (ex "Plowman's Corner") having been built in 1834, survived more than a century, its initial use is unclear, but it is function is referred to as a library, and in 1838 the Union Bank Office established one of its branches there. F.

which County commented "…was a favorite meeting place at lunchtime" especially for the novelty that the "new device of an electric whipper" was adding to the offered products, as well as the appearance of the first cappuccino coffee in Tasmania.[173] Haros introduced novel ideas for meals and his innovative device attracted a number of customers rapidly launching his shop in a symbolic corner of Hobart.

Significantly influenced by the innovative personality of his father,[174] George developed the idea of a boiler where the use of steam could alleviate the mixing process of coffees, milk shakes and soups, and in 1939 he followed up the idea and industrialised his brainchild.[175] Three years later, having worked hard, George made his dream a reality and manufactured his own invention. The Haros Hot Drink Dispenser, a steam heater, would not only be Tasmania's invention but Australia's also and it boosted the country's catering industry with internal and external sales[176] (Figure 24). On 28 March 1941 the Inspection of Machinery Department director informed Haros that his invention was "of good design and well made" and no improvement

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Bolt, *Old Hobart Town Today,* (Hobart, 1981), p. 110. This building, purchased from Haros, was one of the oldest commercial premises in Australia. In 1984 the building was destroyed by fire, ending an architecture history of more than a century. *Mercury,* (Hobart), 26 September 1984, p. 10.

[173] County, *Before We Eat,* p. 256. A complete conversation among residents' in Hobart about the place and the memories from their youth, are mentioned in the following site. https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=247140415440011&set=pb.181274685359918.-2207520000.1389611052.&type=3&theater accessed 17 January 2014.

[174] George Haro's father was a man of strong character and had been an inspirational pioneer figure for George. He was a wealthy man, who in 1910 in their village in Kythera built the first stream-driven factory to grind wheat and olives. The engineering construction of the mill was his idea. As a great forward thinker, George's father understood that for the financial success of his mill he needed to improve the extremely harsh natural environment of the Greek island. He conceived the idea of increasing the workload by constructing the road for his mill and offering accommodation for farmers who had long distance to travel. Alexakis and Janiszewski, *Images of Home*, p. 33. At the time, it was an extremely progressive thought.

[175] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[176] County, *Before We Eat,* p. 255.

could be suggested by the inspection[177] (Figure 25). That was the beginning of a Tasmanian-made product that immediately sold all around Australia and overseas,[178] and it was considered "an outstanding achievement which has elevated Haros' invention to the status of a locally produced cafe icon".[179] George Haros was a zealous supporter of the development of small business in the State, a sector which could make a very positive difference by the exploitation of the State's resources[180] and providing more employment opportunities.

Scholars Alexaki, Janiszewski and Risson[181] have established the function of Greek cafes and milk bars as a central part of the Australian communities, being not only the symbol of an ethnic group, but a landmark of Australia's social life. After WWII the involvement of Greek migrants in Tasmania's small business was reinforced due to other reasons. The racialisation of Southern European migrants created an unpleasant and underpaid working environment. Issues of discrimination, low payment, no career path and surveillance were leading people to seek independence through private small business. They were attracted to small business by the minimum capital needed to open a shop and the lack of restrictive licencing

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[177] Haros Family Papers.

[178] The espresso machines in Australia introduced after Haros' invention.

[179] Greeks in Tasmania-Kytherians in Tasmania, submitted by George Poulos on 18.06.2004 in http://www.kythera-family.net, accessed 14 May 2014. The exact number of the sales is not confirmed, there are different estimations without documentation. This innovation was so successful that the Australian authorities demanded a higher level of exports. Unfortunately, for that type of product there was a need for personal sales and the "small business" on which Haros has based his success was demanding his presence. Haros Family Papers. Haros is recorded in the NAA also as inventor for an anti-aircraft shell, but no further information was able to be found. Haros Inventor /Sumbitter, G.Haros A/A anti-aricraft shell, Item MP76/1,438, NAA.

[180] *Mercury Suburban*, (Hobart), 20 March 1980, p. 4.

[181] Risson, *Aphrodite and the Mixed Grill: Greek Cafes in Twentieth-Century Australia*, p. 6.

regulations, but mostly because looked forward to future higher financial opportunities.[182] Additionally, the road for occupation in the public sector was inaccessible for the mostly unskilled Greeks, but easier for the dominant numerically groups of Dutch and German migrants who obtaining educational and occupational skills could immediately being involved with the public sectors.[183] The lack of factories in Tasmania, in contrast to the mainland where the post-war migration was characterised by industrial work, also led the majority of Greek post-war migrants to continue the trend of the first half of twentieth century to run fish shops, milk bars and fruit shops.[184]

It is not fabrication to say that these small businesses prospered in the hands of Greek migrants in Tasmania[185] and a main reason for that success was that they catered for the majority of society rather than just their minority group, a feature that acquainted them with the broader society.[186] They did

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[182] Collins, Gibson, Alcorso, Castles and Tait, *A Shop Full of Dreams,* p. 58. The better opportunities relating to the particular trade were not available because all the Greek migrants were farmers or traders. However, the home background of this ethnic community in those sectors made them be aware of the logic behind those businesses. Risson, *Aphrodite and the Mixed Grill: Greek Cafes in Twentieth-Century Australia,* p. 33. Price noted the "highly organized exchange economy" that people from Southern Europe had as the agricultural sector could not sustain the country's needs, and he gave the example of the island of Kythera. "This local exchange system means that most villagers were more or less familiar with the rudimentary processes of market and exchange" Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia, pp. 31-32.* Price set himself the task of finding an answer to the question which had troubled many scholars. The question of why Greek people entered in such numbers the small business food industry. He came to the conclusion that except for the *chain migration* pattern and the influence that the well earning business of the pioneers exercised to migrants "something in the character and the tradition" influenced them to follow commerce. *Ibid*., p. 160. In that should be under consideration the fact that wars in the history of Greece were not a rare phenomenon and the living conditions as a result of the geographic environment of the country were provoking a concern about the two most important elements for the human survival, food and water.
[183] Collins, Gibson, Alcorso, Castles and Tait, *A Shop Full of Dreams,* p. 59.
[184] *Ibid*., p. 61.
[185] The young men, like Anagnostis who came at the age of 15 with the *chain migration* pattern following a dream for better life, worked hard and saved money in order to invest in their own business, following the examples of previous chain migrants. Source: Unofficial conversation with members of the Greek Community of Hobart.
[186] Collins, Gibson, Alcorso, Castles and Tait, *A Shop Full of Dreams,* p. 62.

not introduce new meals to the customers - steak, chips and fish was the menu - but they actually produced "a mixture of Greek social model, British taste and American food catering ideas".[187] A new dimension was given to the traditional English menu mostly by the introduction of alternative ingredients.[188] This wave of migration in Hobart changed their diet habits.[189]

Studying their persistence to establish their own trade or hospitality business a different culture pattern was revealed, distinctive from the existing pattern. The Greek cafes and restaurants represented a significant part of peoples' adult life and this was a noteworthy contribution, especially in the isolated region of Tasmania. Greek migrants owned a vast number of shops in Hobart for a long period of time. The extended hours of work of the Greek cafes and the seven days a week working period made them 'the wanted place' for the workers on the mountains for the Hydro-Electric Scheme: After a week of heavy manual work those people were searching for a hot meal and the chance to meet other people in a social contact. [190] Introducing an alternative way of social life, these venues became the centre of communication, either private, like family gatherings and celebrations or business life. *The Britannia Café*, the *Green Gate Milk Ba*r and all the others were

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[187] Risson, *Aphrodite and the Mixed Grill: Greek Cafes in Twentieth-Century Australia*, pp. 72,77. The reference to the American food catering idea is related to foods such as hamburgers, milkshakes and ice-creams, as well as the reasonable prices eat in or takeaway service or women's lounges. *Ibid*., p. 80.

[188] *Ibid*., p. 96.

[189] Generally, this change has been a common theme in immigration history and certainly migration brought a revolution with the introduction of ingredients unknown until then G. Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians,* (St. Lucia, 1979), p. 6. Basil, garlic, olive oil, new recipes from Greece was introduced to Tasmanian restaurants.

[190] That was the concept from an unofficial conversation with a member of the Greek Community of Hobart.

used as meeting locations for the community, for conducting business deals, discussing political issues. The heart of Hobart's community life was beating in the Greek cafes.[191]

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[191] Risson, *Aphrodite and the Mixed Grill: Greek Cafes in Twentieth-Century Australia*, pp. 77-78.

Figure 1: A. Caparatus Wedding Picture
Source: QVMAC Collection

Medal courtesy S. Grubb

Figure 2: Royal Society Bronze Medal
Source: E. Alexaki and L. Janiszewski, *Images of Home*

1—SOUTH LAUNCESTON (LEAGUE) CRICKET CLUB. Premiers of N.T.C.L., 1911-12-13, and holders of the Birchall Cup. Back row—Left to right—J. Caparatus, R. G. Tabart, R. J. Foot, W. E. Finan, A. E. Lindus, C. G. Lapthorne, J. Clarke. Second row—C. J. Lewin, C. M. Monaghan (vice-captain), A. J. Badcock (captain), T. W. Butcher, J. C. Watson. In front—L. T. Green, H. G. Bond (secretary). Whitelaw's Studios, Photo.

Figure 3: Caparatus President of S.Launceston Leaque Cricket Club, 1913
Source: Weekly Courier 1913 Photographic Inserts, April 24, Insert 4
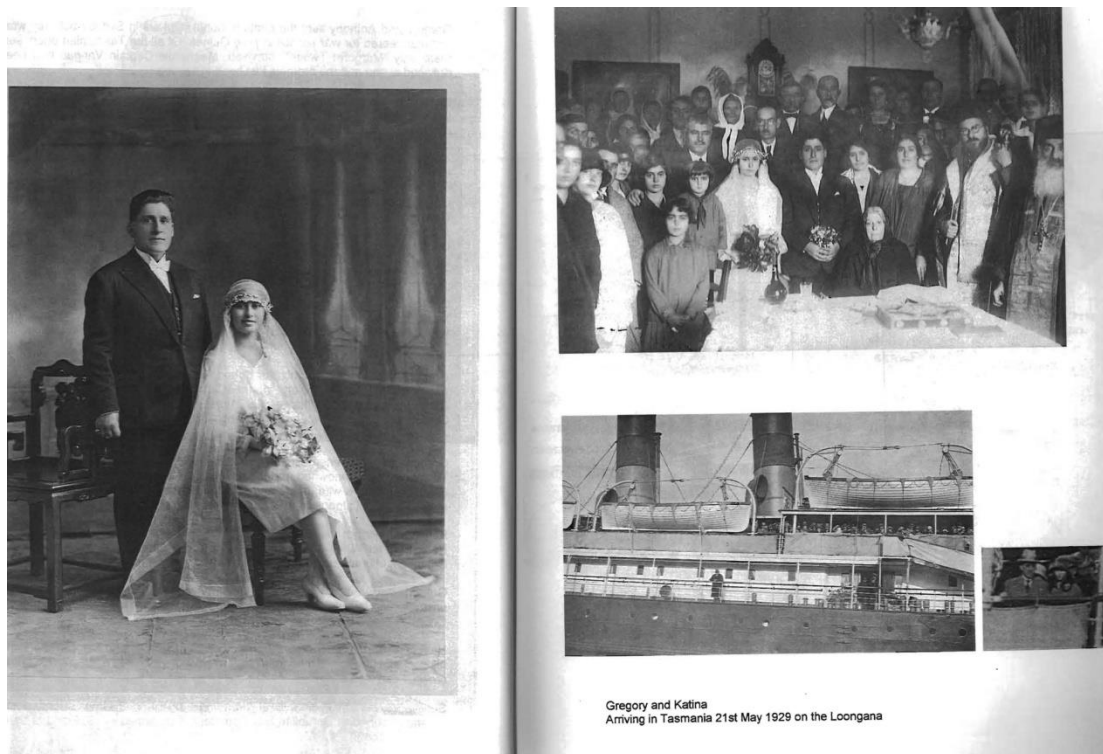
Figure 4: Gregory and Katina Wedding and the trip to Tasmania
Source: Casimatys Family Papers

Figure 5: George Casimaty and C.W.Webster
Source: Casimatys Family Papers
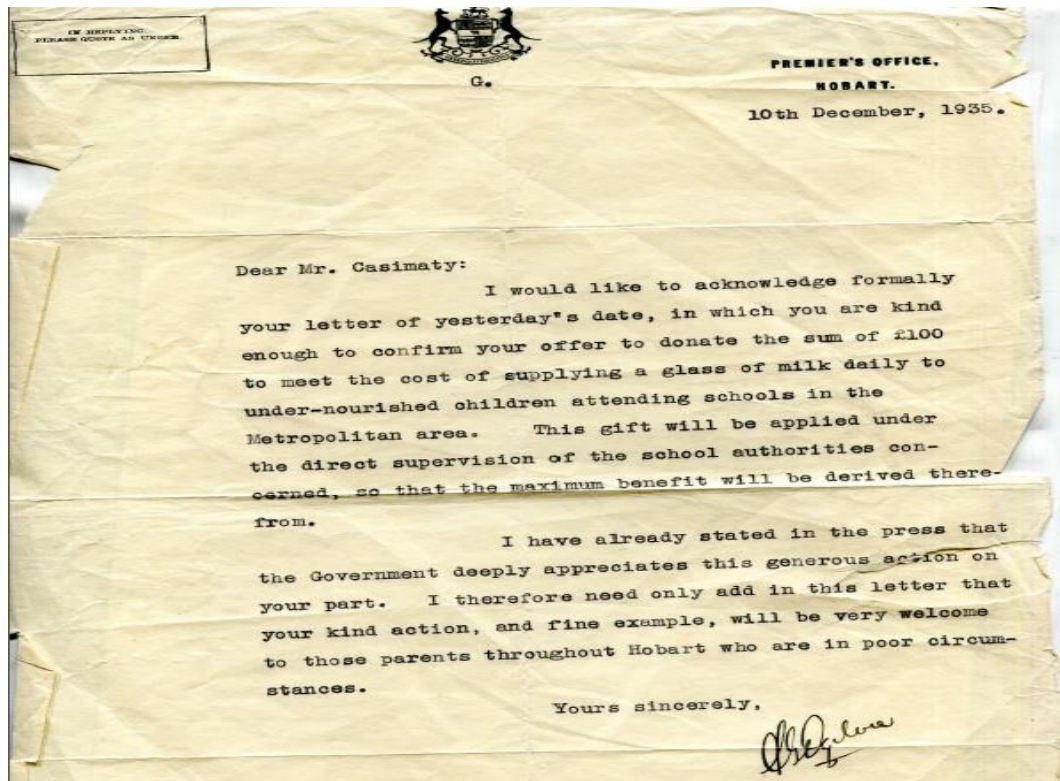
Figure 6: A thank you letter from the Premier of Tasmania, 1935
Source: Casimatys Family Papers

Figure 7: Official invitation for Queen's civic welcome in Hobart, 1954
Source: Casimatys Family Papers

Above: *Marinos (left) and Antonios Lekatsas (Lucas), in Melbourne.*
(Courtesy Capt. Tony Lucas) Below: *Antonios Lekatsas (Lucas) and hi*

Figure 8: Mareenos Lucas and his brother
Source: H. Gilchrist's book, Australians and Greeks

Figure 9: Naturalisation Certificate of Mareeno Lucas
Source: NAA.

Figure 10: Exterior of the New Princes Theatre, 1911
Source: A. Green, *The Home of Sports and Manly Exercise, Places of Leisure in Launceston*

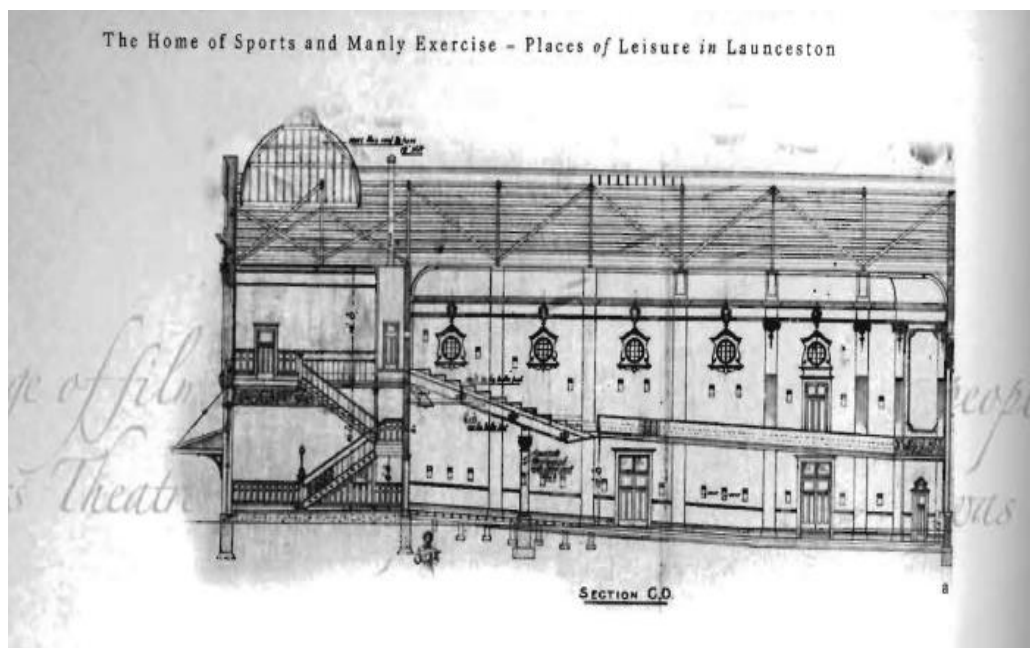The Home of Sports and Manly Exercise – Places *of* Leisure *in* Launceston

SECTION C.D.

Figure 11: Elevation of the Majestic Theatre
Source: A. Green, *The Home of Sports and Manly Exercise, Places of Leisure in Launceston*

Figure 12: Opening night at the Majestic Theatre, 2 June 1917
Source: A. Green, *The Home of Sports and Manly Exercise, Places of Leisure in Launceston*

Anthony, Gregory, Basil *(back)*
Elenie and Peter

Figure 13: The Casimaty Brothers and Sister
Source: Casimatys Family Papers

Tasmania's first Greek restaurant, the Britannia Cafe, in Hobart, 1913.
Gregory and Antony Casimaty and staff. (Courtesy George Casimaty)

Figure 14: The Britannia Cafe in 1913
Source: H. Gilhrist, *Australians and Greeks*, Vol.I: The Early Years, (Sydney, 1992)

Figure 15: The Britannia Cafe after renovation
Source: P. County, *Before We Eat*, (Hobart, 2003)

Figure 16: Britannia Cafe Menu
Source: Casimatys Family Papers
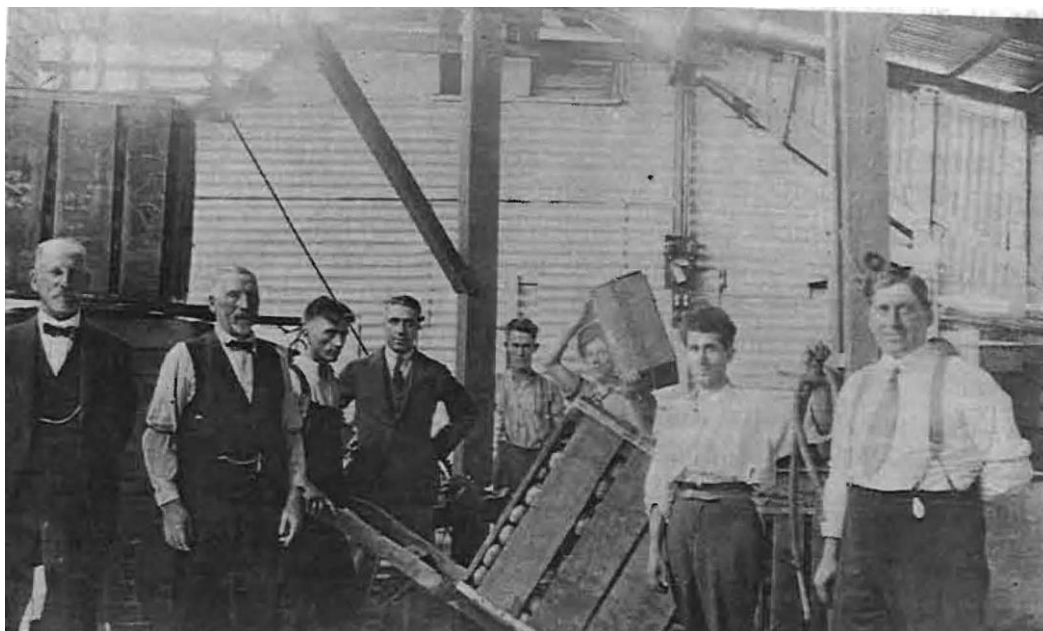
Figure 17: The Casimatys fish business
Source: Casimatys Family Papers

Figure 18: The Casimatys crayfish business
Source: Casimatys Family Papers

Figure 19: *Nelson* **under construction**
Source: Casimatys Family Papers

Figure 20: Launching the *Nelson*
Source: Casimatys Family Papers

Figure 21: The *Margaret Twaits*
Source: Maritime Museum, www.nzmuseums.co.nz/account/3906/object
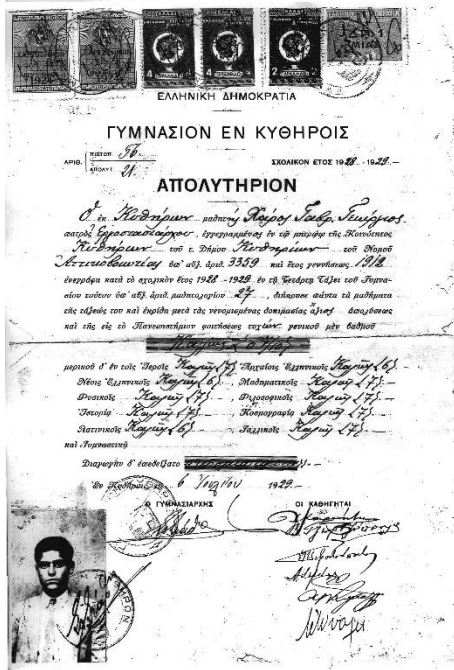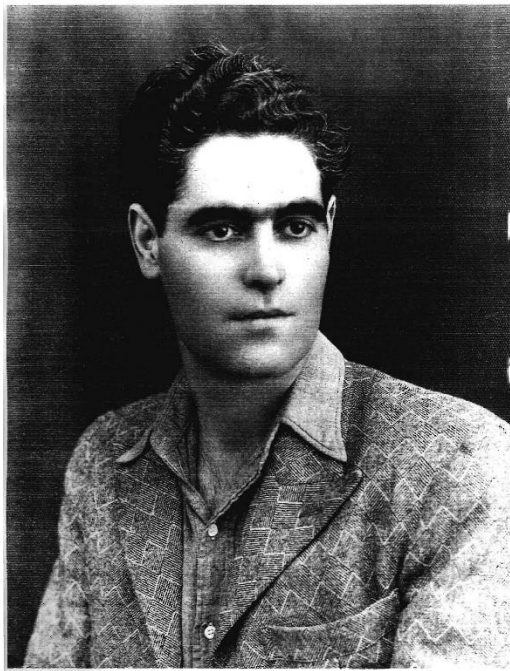
Figure 22: George Gabriel Haros and his College certificate.
Source: Haros Family Papers

Figure 23: Green Gate Cafe Milk Bar
Source: Haros Family Papers

Figure 24: Haros in his shop and his invention, late 1920s.
Source: P. County, *Before We Eat,* (Hobart, 2003)
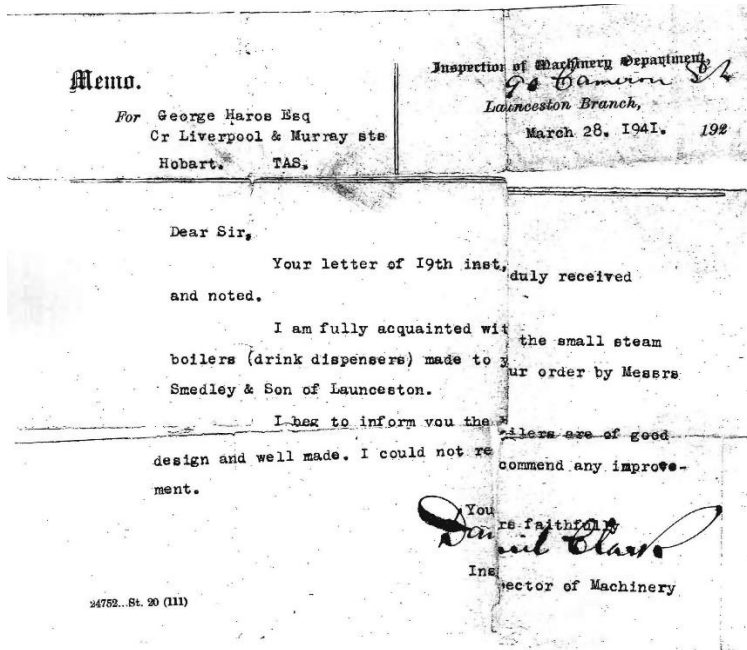
Memo.

For George Haros Esq
Cr Liverpool & Murray sts
Hobart. TAS.

Inspection of Machinery Department,
Launceston Branch,
March 28. 1941. 192

Dear Sir,

Your letter of 19th inst, duly received and noted.

I am fully acquainted with the small steam boilers (drink dispensers) made to your order by Messrs Smedley & Son of Launceston.

I beg to inform you the boilers are of good design and well made. I could not recommend any improvement.

Yours faithfully

Inspector of Machinery

24752...St. 20 (111)

Figure 25: Memo from the Machinery Department, 1941.
Source: Haros Family Papers

Chapter Four

4. Greek Immigration after the Second World War

The post-war migration to Tasmania was represented by a high percentage of British and Northern European migrants. Until the 1970s the non-English speaking background migrants (NESB) were largely included in Australia's humanitarian program. The program included the highest intake of refugees – DPs/Special Humanitarian Program (SHP)/Special Assistance Category (SAC) – in Tasmania.[1] Specifically, within the DPs program a large number of non-British migrants,[2] Baltic, Dutch and Poles established in Tasmania. These particular groups had a simpler introduction to Australia and helped the immigration scheme as the Minister of Immigration Calwell declared: "…The men were handsome and the women beautiful. It was not hard to sell immigration to the Australian people once the press published photographs of that group".[3]

Nevertheless, Farmer indicates that the way that migrant groups were distributed in Tasmania "reflects the method of immigration".[4] The two years contract of the DPs was ruled by the twofold rationale: to secure better

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[1] R. Julian, A. Franklin and B. Felmingham, *Home from Home, Refugees in Tasmania*, A.C.T.: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, (Belconnen, 1997), p. 27.

[2] E. Boas, 'Leading Dual Lives. Lithuanian Displaced Persons in Tasmania', B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Tasmania, (1999), p. 13.

[3] A. Martin, "The People" in A. Curthoys, A.W. Martin and T. Rowse, (ed), *Australians from 1939*, (Broadway, 1987), p. 62. For further study on the demand and supply of the DPs and the contract years in Australia, see E. Kunz, *Displaced Persons. Calwell's New Australians,* (Sydney, 1988).

[4] R. Farmer, 'Geography of Migration in Tasmania 1921-1961', Vol.3, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Tasmania, (November, 1971), pp. 95, 14.

behaviour towards the migrants and to limit the competition with Australians, by facilitating labour in areas where a work force was needed, mostly located near to Tasmania's less attractive industries. Poles, Germans, Italians, Greeks and others whose migration was arranged by the Hydro-Electric Commission were concentrated on the power development areas of central and northern Tasmania.[5]

The Greek immigration to Tasmania increased after the Second World War.[6] Greek migrants in comparison to the Baltic ethnic groups arrived under the umbrella of DPs in Tasmania could not be categorised as "political refugees".[7] The Greek post-war migration resulted mostly from economic issues; it was supported by the *chain migration* and in contrast with the DPs migrants lacked highly developed skills. In 1952, the assisted passages agreement between Australia and Greece led to numerous Greeks migrate to Tasmania.[8] The first stop for people assisted by ICEM was in mainland in the Bonegilla reception and training centre.[9] From Bonegilla the Greek volunteer

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

[6] Among 1945 – 1966, the migration to Australia from European countries with non-English speaking background was mostly from Italy 39%, Greece 20%, (these two countries had less assistance from the Australian government) Dutch 18%, Germany 14% Yugoslavia 8% and Spain 2%. http://www.bonegilla.org.au/research/images/Greek_Journeys_through_Bonegilla_FINAL. pdf p. 2.

[7] A term applied to people who escaped from the political conditions of the home country. Boas, 'Leading Dual Lives" Lithuanias Displaced Persons in Tasmania', p. 4. Even though there was political tension in Greece, the Greeks cannot be considered political refugees in the same sense as the DPs who had been gathered in German camps during the war.

[8] *Sunday Tasmania*, (Hobart), 13 March, 1994, p. 26.

[9] http://www.bonegilla.org.au/research/images/Greek_Journeys_through_Bonegilla_FINAL.pdf, p. 1. The Australian Department of Immigration in 1947 established Bonegilla, a former military camp, as an immigration centre. Its main function was to be a "staging camp" for migrants. G. Sluga, *Bonegilla, A Place of No Hope,* (Melbourne, 1988), p. ix. Zangalis notes that Bonegilla actually had a military function, as the people running the center were army officials. "Many supervisors and patrolmen, selected from among the internees, were in fact former Nazi concentration camp guards and SS officials, as confirmed by Bob Greenwood, the head of the Special Investigations Unit into War Criminals appointed by the Hawke government in 1987". G. Zangalis, *Migrant Workers and Ethnic*

migrants filled unwanted positions in isolated areas.[10] In one way, these occupations can explain the devotion that Greek migrants had to self-employment as they were usually under temporary contracts. Initially these jobs were very profitable for the young single men, thus they could withstand the isolation and tolerate the hard conditions. In the period 1954-1956 it is recorded that 319 to 349 Greek labourers transferred from Bonegilla[11] directly to the Hydro-Electric Scheme, mainly in the central highlands at Tarraleah, Bronte Park and Wayatinah.[12]

In general the psychological establishment of Greek post-war migrants in Tasmania differed from other ethnic groups, such the Baltic. The major difference was related both to their entrance into the country and their cultural-occupational background. The Baltic migrants had come through the IRO program as refugees, a condition that meant loss of their homeland and previous social status, and according to the Australian official policy their skills,[13] were ignored by the Tasmanian authorities.[14] It also meant fears of

Communities: Their Struggles for Social Justice and Cultural Rights, The Role of Greek-Australians, (Altona, 2009), p. 278. During 1953 and 1956, 15,000 assisted Greek migrants passed from the official employment office as it was known to the Bonegilla camp under the scheme "the ICEM Greek Project".
http://www.bonegilla.org.au/research/images/Greek_Journeys_through_Bonegilla_FINAL.pdf, p. 1.
[10] Such as "rural sector, brick and tile works, tanneries, pipe making and pipe laying, gas and water reticulation, railway construction, manufacturing and domestic duties" *Ibid*., pp. 2-3.
[11] In 1954 RG Dawson, the Director of Bonegilla said: "The Greeks were 'good physical types', 'pleasant people to handle' and 'well disposed'". *Ibid*., p. 6.
[12] AA523 Correspondence Relating to the Contracts, Passages from Europe and Arrival of Migrants, Item AA523/1/6, TAHO; M., Quirk, *Tasmania An Island Far Away: Migrant Stories,* (Launceston, 2010), p. 169.
[13] Boas notes that not even a 10% of the DPs were labors in their home country. Boas, 'Leading Dual Lives" Lithuanias Displaced Persons in Tasmania', p. 16.
[14] Boa's thesis reveals that "A 1973 study by Krupinski, Stoller and Wallace of Eastern Europeans in Melbourne, which covered the entire 31,000 refugee population of Victoria, revealed that Baltic immigrants had the highest rates of male psychiatric illness". *Ibid*., p. 30. Their settlement was also influenced by political decisions during the Cold War period in Europe. On 5 August 1974 the

Soviet Persecution, some high rates of alcoholism resulting both from the war and camp experiences and lack of companionship of women of their nationality.[15] In addition to many Baltic migrants the unfamiliarity with the existed challenges on the particular harsh natural environment of Tasmania – with agriculture to face many challenges because of the restricted cultivated land – was certainly deepening the problems faced by migrants.[16]

However, the Tasmanian environment was definitely familiar to Greek migrants who with rationality they turned to specific occupations. Greek migration, as mentioned, was mostly an unskilled chain migration, driven by economic issues and the search for greater opportunities. That Greek ethnic group in relation to the Baltic shared different experiences from the war, alternative customs and practices on alcohol consumption, and a concept of identity supported by the idea of Hellenism outside the mother country. The unskilled situation of the Greeks protected them from suffering status loss. Instead, they tried through hard work to establish an economic situation that could raise their social mobility.

Unawareness of different ethnic groups' cultures, as the key to underestimation of the influences in migrants' psychology from ethnic culture,

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Tasmanian newspaper *The Mercury* announced the decision of the Australian authorities to recognise the Russian sovereignty over the three Balt States. Naturally, the issues of identity raised again and confusion dominated among the people from these states, who found themselves to protest outside the Polish Hall in Tasmania against the decision that their host country had taken. R. Tavrydas, *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle, Fifty Years of Baltic Immigration in Tasmania 1948-1998,* (Hobart, 1997), p. 74.

[15] Boas, 'Leading Dual Lives' Lithuanias Displaced Persons in Tasmania, pp. 30-31.

[16] G. Aplin, S.G. Foster and M. McKernan, (eds), *Australians Events and Places*, (Broadway, 1987), p. 357.

is the point revealed in Gallou's research.[17] Greek culture emphasises broad social relationships and not independence. Living in close social systems, the attraction of negative attention and disruption of the social harmony from inappropriate behaviour to the group is an unwelcome factor. In that sense, the Greek migrant group functioning in this collective way overcame migration problems and avoided suffering of mental illness and drinking problems that occurred in a high percentage with Baltic migration.

Simultaneously, they introduced an alternative model of life. "People in collectivist oriented cultures are more allocentric, since the emphasis is on their relationships with others"[18] writes Gallou. Life and wellbeing is related to their group as "allocentrism and concern are key concepts to the understanding in a person's relationship with others"[19] and to sustain the desirable results.

Chris Diamantis clarifies another side of the Greek adjustment in the depression feelings that migration creates. In his personal attempt to overcome the feelings of depression brought by his separation from the familiar environment and the challenging conditions of life, long hours of hard work and financial welfare was a kind of treatment to the unhappiness

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[17] L. Gallou, 'Predictors of Attitudes to Seeking Professional Psychological Help: A Study of Greeks in Hobart', Thesis, University of Tasmania, (2007), p. 1. The basic point here on which this thesis builds is claimed by Price as: " Every physical and social trait of the place of origin has some relevance in the country of settlement: the dilemma is to find and expose that relevance within reasonable confines". Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, p. 17.
[18] Gallou, 'Predictors of Attitudes to Seeking Professional Psychological Help: A Study of Greeks in Hobart', p. 5.
[19] *Ibid*., p. 6.

feeling.[20] Adequately, the author argues that Greek migrants adapted better in the environmental conditions of Tasmania, because they were more informed of the way of life and consequently held different expectations. Their past and present lives, basically on an island, facilitated their close relationships and the group helped and reinforced the Tasmanian society.

In 1910 the Hydro-Electric Commission had started to build in the outer area of Hobart an electricity system utilising the energy of water.[21] However, during the war this had fallen behind schedule because of low recruitment and other labour problems. The hydro scheme activated the search for capital, equipment, materials and labour, either skilled or unskilled and the demand was so crucial that in 1946 the need for an increase of workers was vital for the project to run.[22] Premier Cosgrove asked Tasmania to place priority on the migration scheme as the industrial, domestic and commercial demand for electricity was increasing.[23] According to Rackham, the role of post-war migrants was crucial as their labour through the years 1945-1975 produced 80% of the hydro grid capacity and their work in the above sectors helped Tasmania to expand economically.[24] This project transformed the everyday life in Tasmania both in a working and personal

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[20] Quick, *Tasmania An Island Far Away: Migrant Stories,* p. 183.

[21] Making Tasmania the initial state to set up a "policy owned enterprise to generate and distribute networked electricity on a statewide" H. Felton, *Ticklebelly, Tales and Other Stories from the People of the Hydro*, (Hobart, 2008), pp. 11, 33. The scheme started in 1910 "with the turning of the first sod of the Waddamana Great Lake Scheme and terminated with the commissioning of the King and Anthony River Power Stations in 1992 and 1994 respectively". Julian, Franklin and Felmingham, *Home from Home, Refugees in Tasmania,* p. 10.

[22] R. Lupton, Lifeblood: Tasmania's Hydro Power, (Edgecliff, 2000), pp. 171-172.

[23] Felton*, Ticklebelly Tales and Other Stories from the People of the Hydro*, p. 201.

[24] Julian, Franklin and Felmingham, *Home from Home, Refugees in Tasmania,* p. 10.

setting and the people, the silent heroes, who made this task successful, were the imported migrants.[25] Greek working people working in the mountains of the Hydro scheme indicate that at least six hundred Greeks were employed in the mountains of the Hydro Scheme[26] (Figure, 26). Among those unskilled Greek migrants was Ananias Tsinoglou, who in later years would play a noteworthy role in the development of Launceston city as its Mayor.

Ananias (Jimmy) Tsinoglou

Tsinoglou arrived in Australia on 14 February 1955 with the migrating ship *Cyrenia* at the age of twenty years from a small village in North Greece, called Triglia. The actual reason of his migration was the search for experience outside the home country. In this young age the military service did not seem an attractive option in front of the excitement of experiencing another country. Accordingly, the opportunity to leave from his village and work for three years outside the Greece territory seemed more promising.[27] Spending a week at the Bonegilla camp, Tsinoglou was initially send to work for the Hydro-

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[25] M. Quirk, *Echoes on the Mountain,* (Launceston, 2006), p. 5.

[26] This information is based on an unofficial conversation which took place among members of the Greek Community. It is recorded that 1176 British, 796 Polish, 853 Germans / Italians, and 432 DP migrants were working on the Hydro Scheme. S. Rackham, *Hydro Construction Villages,* Vol. 2, (Hobart, 1982), p. 43. The Greek migrants Gabriel Gabrielidis, (Figure 27) 25 years old at that time, who had been in Australia four years and Kon Serdenes, (Figure 28) from Arta, were typical of hundreds of new Australian workers for the Hydro scheme. Because of the lack of information and access to the Hydro scheme Archives during the time of this thesis only few sources could be found. Both of them worked as labourers on the new Cataganga Dam. The Tasmanian Hydro Electric Commission since WWII had engaged some 5000 migrant workers to help in a program of power development in the Central Tasmanian Plateau and Derwent River System. Trove: A12111: Immigration Photographic Archive 1946 – Today, Images No A12111:1/1958/16/116 and A12111:1/ 1958/16/119. The Greek migrant Constantine Markakis, (Figure 29) 31 years old, who came to Australian in 1956 worked at Poatina, where 780 men worked on the State's first underground power station. His work was to keep the hard working labours well fed. A12111: Immigration Photographic Archive 1946 – Today, Image No A12111:1/1960/16/122.

[27] Tsinoglou Private Papers.

Electric Corporation in Trevallyn in a tunnel project and later in Bronte Park where he worked for three years. With just one suitcase for provisions, no language skills Tsinoglou arrived in Launceston and he was sent in the mountain were the Trevallyn Hydro-Electric Scheme was taking place. He was positioned in the village for the unmarried people, a division that actually restrained the lives of young single men who needed the benefits of social contact and not of isolation.

As Tsinoglou originated from a family involved with small business in Greece,[28] his occupational pathway was predictable. During the work period in the Hydro-Electric Scheme, his mind trained in trade was working on the idea of how he could start his own trade business based in his personal principle: Working hard and pleasing your customer is the only road to success. He elaborated the idea of providing goods and services for single persons in the village, along with his morning job, and that was the beginning of a small trade that could provide him a substantial profit.[29] In 1958 with this profit Tsinoglou entered the small business owning a fruit shop-milk bar, which eventually expanded on an entire block in the centre of Launceston city.[30] The financial success came quickly based mainly to the fact that he did not restrict his business in the ethnic group market selling products mostly

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[28] *Examiner*, (Launceston), 26 June 1976, p. 1.

[29] Tsinoglou Private Papers.

[30] *Examiner,* (Launceston), 11 March 1999, p. 13. As his customers were increasing, Tsinoglou conceived how important could be for his customers to offer parking area. The demolition of two old buildings in the same square was necessary for his business plan and he went in a legal battle, which he won. Tsinoglou, originated from a country were the value of heritage is well recognised and preserved, could argue about the difference between an old building and a classified heritage. *Examiner,* (Launceston), 28 September 1977, p. 12; *Examiner,* (Launceston), 25 November 1978, p. 3.

known or related to Greeks. On the contrary, his business embraced the whole local community an extremely vital step for its substantial.[31]The other essential reason in this case lay in the different perception of customer service and in the powerful willingness to make something happen; is a skill that migrants carry in their luggage, as this could secure their success.[32]

Introduced policies about the operation of all small business from the state brought the penniless Greek migrant to lead a battle for the survival of that particular business to the Tasmanian society. Tsinoglou pioneered in the battle even though his small business was meant to be exempted from this policy.[33] His persistence to support the small business all around Tasmania by arguing widely why small business needs to be viable, made him known throughout Tasmania. A vibrant small business - the backbone of commerce in a society - was the only way for the middle class to be developed otherwise it would be crashed from the big chain monopoly. Tsinoglou argued that protecting the small business was the only way for the Tasmanian state to have a substantial source of income.

His dedication led to the Shop Trading Legislation of 1981 which protected small business, employed fewer than 100 people, all around

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[31] R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich and R. Ward, (eds), *Ethnic Entrepreneurs,* (California, 1990), p. 112.

[32] *Examiner,* (Launceston), 8 October 1993, p. 9.

[33] *Examiner,* (Launceston), 4 December 1980, p. 2. He fought to "keep the supermarket open seven days a week despite opposition from some large retailers, union officials and some politicians who wanted it closed at weekends" *Examiner*, (Launceston), 24 November 1978, p. 2. Tsinoglou openly accused the supermarket chain Coles that was forcing the State Government to restrict retail trading hours. The application of these restrictions was the medium for not allowing the competition between the chains and the small business. Applying a price-cutting the big chain had managed to put out of business other stores, but Tsinoglou was determined to keep open not only his small business, but the entire sector because that was the way for its expansion. *Examiner,* (Launceston), 9 September 1980, p. 1.

Tasmania. [34] His vision for change and improvement for his city was supported vigorously by the Launcestonians. At the City Council elections in 1978, according to the *Examiner,* "'Jimmy' the penniless Greek migrant who made good in Tasmania, topped the poll…".[35] His victory also underlined that a hard decision and a sincere action for the proven benefit of the community, even if it shakes the society could be supported.[36] Despite the fact being a migrant his honest work, his determination to actively participate in the society for the best interest of the city, was recognised. And it was recognised because that effort had a real effect on people's lives. A valuable lesson was taught by this migrant that society is the reflection of its people. That runs to the core of this thesis, the acknowledgment of the work that migrants contributing in a society, the interaction which re-shapes the place.

For the next nine years Tsinoglou, as alderman, applied his business mind to the service of the local community of his new country in a persistent attempt to contribute to the city that he considered as home.[37] His keen social conscience, sharp intelligence and his straightforward political position offered him a highly regarded reputation which in 1987 led to his election as mayor of Launceston.[38] "Nevertheless, if Jimmy's hadn't cast up on our shores

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[34] *Examiner,* (Launceston), 8 October 1993, p. 9.

[35] *Examiner*, (Launceston), 24 November 1978, p. 2.

[36] *Ibid*., p. 2. It also shakes the 'stagnant waters of the local authorities as his fellow candidate Alderman Walker admitted: "For anyone to come out of the dark like Jimmy has done indicated to me a message." *Ibid*., p. 2.

[37] *Examiner*, (Launceston), 23 March 1999, p. 6. "He battled for five years to have money raised from all-street car parking channelled into footpaths and other work which benefited the community generally" *Examiner,* (Launceston), 14 September 1985, p. 3.

[38] Tsinoglou felt deeply the obligation of contributing because an opportunity was given to him. During his tenure as Mayor, for first time the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston's

we'd have had to invent him".[39] Tsinoglou was a real source of change and this quotation was the best acknowledgement of a contribution made by a migrant to a society. Tsinoglou's period as mayor was recognised as "one of the most positive and productive in the history of local government in Launceston". [40] Senator Watson acknowledged Tsinoglou contribution pointing that in a crucial period the skilled economic management of this particular migrant from Greece serviced dynamically the local government and his specific moral code acted inspirationally for the Launcestonians.

Migration Benefits to Tasmania

In the past, as well as in the present with the waves of refugees the increased migration levels put pressure on resources and caused shortcomings in infrastructure and services. From the perspective of the host country, migration has contributed substantially to Australia's capacity for innovation, productive diversity and economic prosperity, opening up

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greater institute of cultural expression, received funds almost of $900,000 from the Gray Government. According to Tsinoglou belief of fair play, he gave the same garbage disposal treatment to all business in Launceston. He initiated the installation of water meters, which could save the council from $9 million expenditure and he managed to reduce the council's debt from $35 million to $7 million, always according to his business ability to keep good accounts. Tsinoglou changed the superannuation conditions from which the council every year could save $500,000. Tsinoglou manage council's affairs having as rule the common sense that dominated his small business world. His belief for his business was that a change to be introduced needed to be a change worth someone to pay from his own pocket. But certainly, before to apply a change it is necessary a businessman to think if it is for the best interest of his customers. *Examiner,* (Launceston), 11 March 1999, p. 13. Tsinoglou's contribution to the local government has been recognized by the Tasmanian government which honoured him with the Order of Australia. Many charitable organisations in Tasmania followed this example, as well as the Greek community which recognized him as an extinguishing member. Tsinoglou gave away his entire Aldermanic allowance from 1978 to 1998. The Examiner Empty Stocking Fund and the Winter Relief Appeal were regular recipients of the allowance.

[39] *Sunday Examiner*, (Launceston), 24 October 1993, p. 13.

[40] Parliament of Australia-The Senate/ Senator John Watson , 5 March 1999. Tsinoglou Private Papers.

valuable cultural and business opportunities [41] as immigration changed demand. However, the significant modifications that occurred in the economic sector of the host society were visible only after the first years of immigration. This economic view related to migrants as "industrial input"[42] is the short-term aspect of migration. In the long-term, migrants work in societies' foundations and they form it. Society is a whole, which operates for the best interest of its members in a long period of time. Migrant's cultural, social, economic and political actions contribute to the improvement and development of the society.

The social benefits of Greek migration to Tasmania, the subject of this thesis, were considerable, both from the short and long term perspectives. Greek migration to Tasmania has made and continues to make "substantial contributions to Australia's stock of human, social and production capital".[43] The first Greek migrants among others acted as bonding agents for the next migration wave, assisting their cultural and economic integration in an immeasurable number of ways, and hence largely invisible. The Greek migrants in Tasmania contributed in positive ways to the productive diversity of Tasmania through investment in housing, creation of new businesses, consumption and supply of products, provision of new and different business skills (not always officially recorded), and through various entrepreneurial

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[41]K. Carrington, A. McIntosh and J. Walmsley, (ed), *The Social Cost and Benefits of Migration into Australia*, (Canberra, 2007), p. xii.

[42] A. Markus, "Investing in People", *in Building a New Community, Immigration and the Victorian Economy* (ed), A. Marcus, (St.Leonards, 2001), p. 90.

[43] Carrington, McIntosh and Walmsley, *The Social Cost and Benefits of Migration into Australia*, p. xi.

activities. Enhancement of local knowledge and innovation, new ways of looking the world, and new perspectives are some of the benefits contributed by Greek migrants. [44] After the first years of the migration scheme in particular, Tasmania's demand for imports and exportable goods had affected the balance of payments.[45]

An additional argument in this ongoing discussion on the benefits of migration is that the vast majority of migrants to Tasmania, as in the rest of Australia, were peasants, who entered professions not highly regarded by native Australians and they worked extremely hard for many hours and under "challenging" conditions. [46] People disregarded jobs such as public works, sewerage systems factories and small business catering that the first migrants undertook. However, what we need to question is whether a community can function without these jobs. It is through these jobs that migrants laid the foundations for the community's life and their contribution was vital for society's development.

Markus' argument that the increase of the population was necessary for national development is the most crucial argument for the benefits of migration in Australia. In the 1950s and 1960s the population of Australia and particularly Tasmania increased significantly due to the Australian migration scheme. The expected initial direct influence of this growth was the expansion

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[44] K. Carrington and N. Marshall, "Common Issues, Costs and Benefits", in K. Carrington, A. McIntosh and J. Walmsley, (ed), *The Social Cost and Benefits of Migration into Australia*, (Canberra, 2007), p. 145.

[45] R.L. Smith, "The Effects of Immigration on the Australian Economy", in P.J. Brain, R.L. Smith and G.P. Schuyers, *Population, Immigration and the Australia Economy*, (London, 1979), p. 117.

[46] C.A Price, *The Study of Immigrants in Australia*, (Canberra, 1960), p. 93.

of the labour force and secondly the increase of productivity. The result was the immense output growth.[47] As mentioned earlier in this thesis, it is the loss of population to the mainland that remains the major problem for the State of Tasmania.[48]

Figure 26: Some of the 23 Greek migrants who arrived at Burnie with Taroona
Source: Advocate, 1 December 1954

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[47] P.J. Brain, " The sources of Australian Economic Growth 1953-1973", in P.J. Brain, R.L. Smith and G.P. Schuyers, *Population, Immigration and the Australia Economy,* (London, 1979), p. 34.
[48] In Tasmania an acknowledgement of the significant contribution that ethnic groups offered to the State's growth presented in 1980s with the construction of Hobart's International Wall of Friendship (Figure 31). However, the word friendship does not actually representing the development of this society. The people who built this community are not only friends, but they are its organic parts and it is important to be recognised that the building of this community was a collective work of the migrants who decided to make this state their "patrida".

Figure 27: Gabriel Gabrielidis, worker at the Gataganga Dum.
Source: Trove Library

Figure 28: Kon Serdenes at the Gataganga Dum
Source: Trove Library

Figure 29: Konstantine Markakis in Poatina
Source: Trove Library

Figure 30: Ananias (Jimmy) Tsinoglou
Source: Tsinoglou Private Papers

Figure 31: International Wall of Friendship, Hobart

Source: http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/landscape/settlement/display/70383-international-wall-of-friendship

5. Conclusion

Tasmania lived its industrial revolution more than a century after the European one. It was expressed through the Hydro-Electric Scheme, which was based totally on the shoulders of the migrants by offering a cheap labour force. In the crucial issue, for more than a century, of the low level of population in Tasmania the immigration policy was the vital solution.[1] This thesis argued that migrants were Tasmania human and social capital, taking as case-study Greek migrants, which by its turns produced financial and cultural capital for the development of the state. To a noteworthy degree they managed to contribute creatively to Tasmania's development despite the multiple difficulties of their new environment and the lack of an extensive administrative contact. The thesis focused on specific pioneers in order to support the argument that the place is a social construction, created by migrants who in the case of Tasmania played an important role as they influenced the place with their particular nature, their skills, their desire for success, their ethos.

The examination of the way that migrants' lives were formed in the Tasmanian environment, as the social is also constructed by the place, should be further investigated in an attempt to understand how migrant societies

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[1] That has been argued from the presented scholarly work in this thesis. People are the greatest natural resource of a state and this lack in Tasmania was compensated for by migration.

interact with the environment.[2] The study of a migrant's life in a particular environment apart from stimulating the interest for the cultural heritage clarifies the troubled issue of identity that the next generations of migrants face. For a person or a society to understand its own identity it is necessary to understand and appreciate its origin.

The migration study also increases the level of tolerance in society. Australian authorities were found in a dead end with the assimilation policy. The policy changed and a multicultural model prevailed, allowing the cultural and racial identity to be kept, but with certain limitations. Half a century later a multicultural policy with primary concern only the welfare of the migrants, through the migrant resource centers programs, detached from the consideration of being a multicultural country. The specific multicultural policy, on how the Australian state conceives its migrants constitutes discrimination, because migrants are literally part of the State. The people from different ethnic groups of the Tasmanian state have formed this place and should be seen as the developers of this broad community, and not only as temporary alien citizens. A basic step for this direction is the understanding through an extended presentation of the origins and identity

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[2] Historical research for the relation between some ethnic groups in Tasmania and their new environment has been undertaken, but until now there has been no extensive research into the Greek historical footprint in the Tasmanian society. The present study is a starting point of the Greek migration to Tasmania. Issues of identity are still trouble the migrants' descendants. A study on particular ethnic groups and their evolvement in the present society could reveal the small details that shape an ethnic culture, by exposing these unknown aspects. At the same time, most of the research is focus on the immigration, the conditions related to assimilation and accommodation. The aspect of how these people and their ethnic identity have been evolved has not been researched. The history of the way Greek migrant's lives were formed according to the applied theory, the mentality, habits, the way of living that have created is an interesting case to be researched.

of the ethnic groups that comprise of Tasmanian society. The knowledge of the 'alien' will both improve the willingness for interaction and will enforce a common action. At the moment, that is a demand by the global economic trends which have forced economic immigration and their presence is still perceived with hostility. The understanding of the formation of a place is necessary to avoid a hostile and racist behavour.[3]

An important factor for Australia's nationalism was the country's isolation from other nations. The Australian immigration scheme reinstated the country's growth model through the involvement of different ethnic groups and officially accepted the policy of multiculturalism. Today the fundamental question that search for answer is if the nationalistic identity should and could be surpassed by the above suggested model? Could Australia as a migrating nation play a significant role leading this pathway? Those are questions that lead the migration debate. Australia by avoiding admitting the heterogenic of its society in different levels and insisting in a false sense of homogeneity prevents the spread of knowledge about the foundation of its society by actually decrease tolerance and growth. Australia having a rich environment of natural resources needs the other two factors described by Pounds, humans and the technology that they can provide. The blend of these factors reshapes beneficially the community and the place.

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[3] The paradigm of the rise of extreme right parties on the 2014 election for the European parliament is still fresh and has shown the worst side of nationalism.

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