GREEK SPORTING TRADITIONS IN AUSTRALIA: AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF ETHNICITY, GENDER AND YOUTH.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis traces the history and development of sports played by Greek immigrants to Australia and by Greek-Australians, especially Greek youth, and examines the links between the tradition of sport in Greece and that in Australia (tradition being understood as the reproduction of institutions and behaviours). The educational, social and cultural functions performed by this tradition are explored. It surveys the Greek sporting tradition in Australia from the first Greek sporting club, formed in the Victorian goldfields in 1869, until to the present. This thesis also describes and accounts for the tradition in terms of the public and private lives of the immigrant population and assesses its role in Greek-Australian society.

It shows that sport, like Greek school education, has been seen by Greeks as a most important device for socialising boys and young men into the hegemonic masculinity of their ethnic group. Two themes have emerged from analysis of the position of sport in the Greek society of Australia: that sport has served to form and maintain the Greek identity in Australia, and that an essential part of being a Greek male is playing sport in youth and being interested in it thereafter. Greek sport and sporting organisations were used as vehicles for Greek culture, their main function being the conservation of Hellenic values in the diaspora. Sport gave Greeks in Australia a sense of community, a link with their homeland, a means for the socialisation of their Australian-born offspring and, before the official Australian policy of multiculturalism, a base for resistance to assimilation.

After a discussion of the existing literature, which is almost non-existent, and of the sources for this thesis, two introductory chapters describe the tradition of Greek sport from ancient days to the present, pointing to the continuity of sport from Homeric times throughout the history of the Greeks, and the figure of the athlete as a model of masculinity. As reflected in chronological events from antiquity to the establishment of the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, the Greeks have perennially placed an emphasis on sport. A chapter dealing with Greek sport in several selected Greek communities outside the borders of modern Greece illustrates the significance of sports in the diaspora as a means for producing Greek masculinity in the absence of universal military service.

The main body of the thesis is divided into two parts corresponding to two chronological periods: 1869-1945 and 1945 to the present. The first period is concerned with Greek migration to Australia which was small and slow and emanated from only certain parts of Greece, a time when mostly individual sporting activities, were in favour. The second period, from 1945 to the present, when Greek migration was much more extensive in
terms of numbers and areas of origin, sees the creation of Greek sporting clubs for second generation youth and first generation new youth arrivals and the movement to a unified sporting scene which was halted by the ecclesiastical split of 1960. Two chapters deal with soccer clubs set up for the new settlers. The first of these deals with the large Panhellenic clubs and the proliferation of Greek soccer teams Australia-wide. The second chapter deals with provisions for sport for second generation youth, most of them brought up on soccer.

In the conclusion, the thesis themes are recapitulated in relation to a wrestling tour in 1946, and areas for future research are indicated. Further research is needed to develop the account of sports throughout the Greek-speaking world, and to test further the hypothesis that sport plays a most particular educative role in immigrant societies, especially for male youth.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I offer very special thanks to my supervisor, the Dean of the Faculty of Education, Professor Geoffrey Sherington, for taking an interest in my work and for providing the freedom necessary for this kind of academic endeavour.

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I thank the staff of the various libraries in Australia, in particular those of the State and Mitchell Libraries in Sydney, for their support. I am grateful to staff of the National Library in Athens and of Thessalonike City Library, who allowed me access to rare texts and newspapers which had never been used before, and which were important background materials for the first two chapters of this thesis.

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AC       Athletic Club
AOC      Adelaide Olympic Club
ASFA     Australian Soccer Football Association
ASF      Australian Soccer Federation
ASSH     Australian Society for Sports History
BOC      Brisbane Olympic Club
CGYO     Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations
FA       Football Association
FC       Football Club
FIFA     *Fédération Internationale de Football Association*
HCS      Hellenic Cultural Society
HYA      Hellenic Youth Association (Perth)
IOC      International Olympic Committee
KSC      Kastellorizan Sports Club (Sydney)
MOC      Melbourne Olympic Club
NESB     Non English Speaking Background
NSL      National Soccer League
NSW      New South Wales
NSWF     New South Wales Soccer Federation
NSWSFA   New South Wales Soccer Football Association
PASA     Panhellenic Sports Association of Australia
QSF      Queensland Soccer Federation
SASF     South Australia Soccer Federation
SC       Soccer Club
SEGAS    Greek Amateur Athletic Association
SOC      Sydney Olympic Club
TSF      Tasmanian Soccer Federation
VASFA    Victorian Amateur Soccer Federation Association
VSA      Victorian Soccer Association
VSF      Victorian Soccer Federation
WASA     Western Australia Soccer Association
WSF      Western Australia Soccer Federation
GOC      Greek Orthodox Community
Greek Orthodox Community in this thesis has been mentioned numerous times and will be abbreviated to GOC. GOCS refers to Greek Orthodox Community Sydney, GOCP refers to Greek Orthodox Community Perth and so on.

In this study Greek titles of texts will appear in full Greek version in the bibliography. When used for footnote a translated version will only appear.

Panhellenic, the name was spelled as one word or two words, with hyphen or not. I have preferred one word without hyphen, which was the most common form. Note when directly quoting, it will be spelt as spelled in the original. The Pan Hellenic Soccer Club (1957-76) of Sydney will be spelled with two words.

Kastellorizo (Kastellorizans), there are many different spellings of the word, but in the thesis the above version will be used.
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INTRODUCTION

"Teach me to dance -- will you."

"Did you say, DANCE ? -- come on my boy!"

Ta αγάλματα είναι στο μουσείο - George Seferis

(The Statues are in the Museum)

These words begin the final scene of the film Zorba the Greek, made in 1964, directed by Michael Cacoyannis. By asking Zorba (played by Anthony Quinn) to teach him to dance, the Alan Bates character, (who is presented as being Greek but having been alienated from his tradition by being raised in England), embraces his own Greekness. The two men, one old, the other young, dance on a beach to the Theodorakis music, thereafter famous as “Zorba’s Dance”. The men are spatially separate but emotionally united: Greeks together. It is the most memorable scene from one of the two motion pictures that formed most of the world's image of modern Greece.

Possibly for this reason, Australian film makers have employed Greek dancing to mark the milieu of their characters. In Head On (1998), an Australian movie focussing on a young Greek man’s life in Melbourne, dancing is used at various points in the film to symbolise the characters' embodiment of the Greek tradition. The scene where his father tries to reassert his dominance emphasises this, in particular.

The other famous film, Jules Dassin’s Never On Sunday, made in 1960, contains unforgettable scenes of Greeks dancing, but is remembered best perhaps for the academy award winning song in 1961, written by Manos Hadjidakis, and sung by the Melina Mercouri character. In English the song is simply called “Never on Sunday”, after the film, and its words have nothing to do with the Greek lyrics. It should be called “The Boys from Piraeus”, Piraeus being the port of Athens, for it is a love-song addressed to the Piraeus soccer team, Olympiakos Football Club. Mercouri sings it hugging a group photograph of her local heroes.

In another Australian film about Greeks in Melbourne, soccer is used to demonstrate ethnic consciousness. The main story line of the play on which the film Thé Heartbreak Kid (1993) is based is a Greek youth’s efforts to establish a soccer team in his high school where only Australian Rules is played and his attempt to pursue a career in a
Greek soccer team. The movie suggests that sport is an important part of Greek ethnic youth life and character:

-- Well? What does he think?
-- You know.
-- About Soccer?
-- He thinks it's a good game and everything.
-- Oh sure.
-- It's just
-- A good game for Wogs.1

Dancing and sport have been highly charged signifiers of Greekness over the last century when Greeks have been emigrating to Australia. The Greek traditions of both dance and sport are millennial and have been carried here. The use of dance as a cultural bridge between the homeland and the new country has been studied by Bottomley.2 However, nobody has studied the similar use of sports. There is a strange neglect of the topic. Indeed two Melbourne scholars, surveyed 300 young people about their attitudes to their Greek inheritance, asked several questions, about dance, language, etc -- but asked nothing about sport.3

It would appear that the Greeks have always danced and always played sports, but almost certainly in the consciousness of modern Greeks and of the Greek population of Australia, sport bulks larger than dancing. But there is, particularly by foreigners, a romanticisation and privileging of Greek dance as a cultural item which falsifies modern Greek culture. This is only a symptom of a major trend in Greek studies: a trend to investigate traditional Greek culture rather than the novelties. An excursion into Western scholarship would probably reveal that Philhellenism led scholars to stress above all the ancient foundations of modern Greek society, to trace the folkloric retentions in modern Greek culture; and to deplore or disregard, in their search for the eternal Greece, all the importations that make Greece modern. And that includes sport. When residents of Paris or Birmingham, go to Greece, they do not soak up the television and the railways; instead they look for unspoiled villages, coffees under the centuries-old plane-trees, and church festivals. Scholars have not asked how sport fits into Greece today. They were not looking for post offices and freeways and soccer teams. Flood-lit soccer fields were less to their taste than marble threshing floors.

1Richard Barrett, The Heartbreak Kid, (The Play), Sydney, 1988, p.5.
3Voula Efthimiadis and Christine Manopoulos, Listen To Me, Victoria, 1993.
This neglect has been compounded by what seems to be an academic disdain for sport. Academics themselves may be personally interested in sport, but they generally do not believe that it is worthy of scholarly attention. Common room chatter has not translated into research. But put the lack of interest in sport together with the lack of interest in Greek modernity, and this results in an enormous silence on the relationship between Greece and sport in the academic literature. Similarly in the literature about Australian Greeks, which is necessarily dependent on the former literature, there is an oversight: scholars do not see the Greeks out here playing sport and do not hear them talking soccer results in the cafes.

This thesis aims to illuminate this neglected area of research and provide opportunities for discussion. This thesis provides a full conspectus of Greek sporting activity in Australia over the last 130 years, based on research into written documents and oral testimonies of people involved.

Since the first Europeans settled in Australia in 1788, there have been continuous waves of immigration, at first from Great Britain and then from other places, so that today Australia is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world, with ethnic groups that arrived two centuries ago living alongside ethnic groups that arrived as post-World War II settlers and other refugees in recent years. Among these many ethnic groups are the Greeks, some 140,000 born in Greece and an uncalculated number of their descendants born in Australia. Like almost all ethnic groups, Greek settlers have over the years established their own sporting teams and sports. This thesis is an account of what happened; how it happened; why it happened. What happened is the growth of sporting activities among the Greeks in Australia. The how places these events in the context of immigration history. The why takes into account theories of ethnicity, gender and youth.

Ethnic sporting organisations and ethnic sports are specific historical phenomena. In Australia they have not been examined as part of a formal process of identity construction within a specific immigrant group. Nor have the very ideas and motifs used for this construction been analysed in the light of gender socialisation and reproduction.

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4 For the purpose of practicality the term 'sport' in the title of the thesis was not used by chance. The term 'sport' is far better represented in the Greek language as athlisi. In this study the term sport has been used to cover any freely chosen physical activity that is done in-and-for-itself. For example the games described by Homer in the Iliad have the title athla epi Patroklou, but in this thesis have been called sport. During the classical period, the word athlon meant the olive wreath awarded to the winners of games. In Byzantium times, the word athlisi primarily referred to the ascetic life. Therefore, in this thesis I will stick to the side of the lines that is clearly sport. However specialised terms are used in this text and include: 'gymnastics' gymnastiki; 'exercise' askisi; 'competition' agonistiki; 'championship' protathlismos; 'games' agones etc.
This thesis has brought together three major interrelated aspects of Australian sporting history which have so far been neglected by scholars. The aspects are ethnicity, gender and youth. These aspects all interact with one another and in any particular situation, all are operating. Theory is a tentative explanation of why something is as it is. Sports history, being a fairly new field of study in Australia, and indeed in many countries, is not yet equipped with sophisticated theories. Using the fairly coherent theories found in studies of three phenomena (youth, gender, ethnicity), it is possible to theorise more effectively about what is occurring in the fourth phenomenon (sport).

The research has included the major areas of Greek settlement in Australia since 1869. This date was selected because it was the year that the first Greek sporting club was established in the Victorian goldfields. The study deals with most sports played by the Greek ethnic group. However, activities such as fishing, which is often classed with hunting sports in Australia, are not included because, in the context of the Greek society, fishing is seen more as a cultural, occupational and recreational activity nor does it include Greeks who have participated in mainstream sports. The study is therefore deliberately interpretative and not encyclopaedic. Again, certain sports are included, not so much because of their special place in the history of Greek sport in Australia, but because their inclusion helps to make sense of the wider picture. An example of this is the discussion of Mario Koukoulis, who became Australia's first Greek pilot and who in 1931 entered a significant plane race.

The thesis structure is a combination of both the thematic and chronological. The introduction broaches the dynamics of ethnicity, gender and youth and how sport in general has provided a forum in which these issues have been played out. The theoretical orientation reviews related literature and highlights the fact that, although a substantial amount of literature deals with sport, ethnicity, gender and youth, none has specifically dealt with all of these concepts together. In fact, no one has attempted to theorise the sporting activities of one ethnic group.

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5 Greeks have participated in and excelled in a wide range of sports. Dr George Peponis captained Canterbury Rugby League team to a premiership win, New South Wales State Team, and Australia to three test wins against Great Britain in 1979. Michael Diamond was Australia's first gold medallist of the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, not to be confused with another Michael Diamond who had won a fencing silver medal at the 1962 Commonwealth Games. Ultra-Marathon runner Yiannis Kouros migrated to Australia in 1989 and holds several world records for distances over 100 kilometres. Mark Philippoussis, born in Melbourne is a top ranked tennis player and US Open finalist. Horse racing owner Nick Moraitis' Might and Power won the 1997 Melbourne and Caulfield Cups. Stephen Malaxos captained the West Coast Eagles, Western Australian State Team and All-Australian Rules Teams in the 1980s, while Anthony Kourtoufides and Ang Christou were members of Carlton's premiership winning team. Ed Psaltis was the owner and captain of the 1999 Sydney to Hobart Yacht Race winner. The Greeks have also participated in sports administration, coaching, refereeing, sports commenting and journalism. Currently in Rugby League, for example, Greek involvement includes commentator Peter Peters, journalist Peter Frilingos, First Grade coach Phil Economides, Eastern Suburbs Rugby League Club president Nick Politis, as well as many Greek first grade players.
Chapter One provides an outline of the tradition of Greek sport from antiquity to the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, in 1896, highlighting that throughout Greek history there have been sports going on at least at the basic level. At certain times, there is a higher more organised level, where institutions such as the church and the state exercise their authority and the Greek world has the Nemean Games, the Hippodrome of Constantinople, the Zappas Olympics (1859-89), etc. These are the flourishing periods, where sports rises to highly organised and well integrated performing levels in Greek society, but it can and does revert to just the lower level. Therefore throughout Greek history sport continued at grassroots level. This chapter also disproves the common belief, held even by Greek historians, that sport ended in Greece in 394AD in Olympia and was re-established in 1896 with the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, largely because of the efforts of Frenchman Pierre de Coubertin.

Chapter Two surveys Greek sports in other Greek settlements outside the borders of Greece, known as the Greek diaspora. Experiences similar to those in Australia happened in every destination of Greek immigration and research was made into sports in other Greek settlements such as West Germany, United States, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Egypt. These cases are studied for three reasons, firstly because besides Greece itself, some other Greek settlements round the world contributed to the Australian story by supplying immigrants or by supplying visitors and ideas for Greek sports in Australia; secondly, because comparative materials from other Greek centres enable us to discern a little better what has been distinctive in the Australian Greek experience; thirdly, this comparative research constituted a tentative survey to support arguments and theories based on the experiences of the Greeks of Australia. Among other factors, it is apparent that the importance accorded in Greece to the masculinising effects of compulsory military service had to be compensated for in emigrant settlements where it was not operative -- and that sports were used to take its place. As to Australia, it is apparent that the Greek mass immigration here, like that to Germany, being two generations later than that to America, carried with it a much more modern approach to sport because of the sporting development of Greece after 1922.

To facilitate understanding of the sporting history of the Greek society or paroikia of Australia, a division is made between pre-World War II and post-World War II activities.

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6 The word diaspora, derived from Greek, means literally a dispersion or a scattering. The word was used by Thucydides in *Peloponnesian Wars*, II, no.27, to describe the exile of the population of Aegina. Throughout the world Greek communities have flourished. That is in precincts, cities or districts where Greek people existed. 'Diaspora' literally means the dispersion of people originally belonging to one nation. In other words, here it refers to Greeks who live outside the borders of Greece.

7 'Paroikia' is used to describe a body of people having language, religion and aspects of culture in common. A Greek settlement abroad is called a paroikia which literally means a place close to home.
Chapters Three and Four trace the history of Greek sports in Australia from 1869 to 1945 when Greek immigration was slow and emanating from only certain places of Greece. It may not have been a glorious history, but it is a history created by immigrants enduring difficult times as they struggled for survival in a hostile environment. The tough beginnings, coupled with problems of adjustment and ethnic prejudice, galvanised their characters and made them more determined to master and overcome their lowly social and economic origins. In Chapter Three, sport is examined in the context of the annual picnics conducted by regional fraternities, schools, and Pan-community groups. Chapter Four highlights that in the first half of this century, soccer was not yet the most popular sport. Especially in the late 1920s and early 1930s, after the arrival of Greek and Greek-American wrestlers, wrestling was the dominant sport. Greeks dominated that sport both as participants and spectators, with some Greeks actively promoting the sport, some establishing gymnasiums and others becoming athletes. The chapter concludes by tracing the beginnings of soccer in Australia before World War II and the unsuccessful attempts to consolidate its position as the premier sport.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven deal with Greek sport after World War II, the years of Greek mass migration to Australia. The first of these chapters deals with all sports, primarily focusing on the period 1945-60, which coincided with the emergence of Greek youth clubs in every capital city. The first clubs were composed for the most part of the Australian-born youth of pre-World War II settlers. The newly arrived immigrants of the post-World War II period also established their own youth sporting clubs. These sporting youth organisations were established in all metropolitan areas of Australia and their importance culminated in the Australian Panhellenic Games which ran from 1953 to 1963. These games were held in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney as an initiative of the various Greek Orthodox Communities, to unite all Greek youth of Australia. The Panhellenic games were successful until the ecclesiastical “Split” of the late 1950s and early 1960s brought it to a halt. Moreover, many clubs closed and other clubs were divided up as a result of the church schism. The predominant clubs in the next period were devoted to soccer.

Few of these post-World War II youth organisations managed to adapt to the conditions of mass immigration. For post war immigrants, the existing organisation of sport seemed inadequate because it was not modern as in Greece, that is to say it was not promoting soccer. They considered soccer to be the ideal game for producing the hegemonic Greek masculinity, and therefore they developed the embryonic soccer organisation into an important medium for the development of ethnic consciousness. In the late 1950s, what had formerly been only sporting sub-committees in charge of soccer, gave way to separate and properly organised soccer clubs that met the demands of ethnic soccer
federations with which they were affiliated. These teams were Panhellenic, that is they were supposed to enlist the allegiance of every Greek. By the early 1960s, Greek soccer clubs in all metropolitan areas of Australia had already consolidated their position in Australian sport and were participating in the various soccer competitions. The soccer matches, bringing together thousands of Greek men to watch competitions between Greek and other ethnic teams, became the central site in Australia for the display of Greek masculinity and for its production. Undoubtedly familiarity with soccer encouraged this post-war wave of Greek immigrants to pursue this sport, but its role as a socialiser into masculinity kept it popular. The second part of the chapter will examine the proliferation of Greek soccer clubs in the early 1960s which catered for the newly arrived first generation youth and young men. These new teams were established from a broad range of organisations ranging from regional fraternities, parishes, workplace teams, social clubs and others.

In the last chapter the phenomenon of junior and youth soccer clubs is examined. By the late 1960s the immigrant second generation was making its presence very obvious, and so did the Greek youth soccer teams. The adult soccer clubs turned their attention not only to an elaborate system of grade teams to accommodate all the would-be adult players, but also to the establishment and development of youth soccer teams. These youth teams were used to encourage junior talent, naturally; but also to socialise boys who had no direct experience of life in Greece into the ethnic group. There was also the dimension of masculinity in this, soccer being desired to produce not merely Greek men but also Greek men. The junior soccer clubs have proliferated until there are some 500 of them around Australia, involving some 20,000 youngsters.

Research for this thesis was based primarily on information in Greek press and sporting newspapers (in both Australia and Greece). In Australia, the Sydney-based, but nationally circulated newspapers, *Hellenic Herald* and *Ethnikon Vema* were the most useful. Chapters Three and Four are based primarily on information in the *Hellenic Herald* and the *Ethnikon Vema*, as they provided an invaluable forum for Australia's Greeks during the inter-war years and record the evolution of Greek sport in that period. Greek Australian sporting papers, such as *Athletic Echo* and *Athletic World*, which flourished in the 1960s and 1970s, were useful sources of information on soccer in the post-World War II period. The Greek press in Australia also played a key role in the growth of junior sport. Most Greek newspapers ran daily or weekly columns on junior sport, publishing team lists, results, league tables, reports of the meetings of local

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8During this research, I was successful in locating issues of *Ethnikon Vema* (1926-57), previously thought to be lost. Consequently this study is the first to incorporate information from these issues.
sporting bodies and other significant information. The importance of the Greek papers in Australia is illustrated by the fact that Georgios Nicolaides produced the first paper in Adelaide, *Oceanis*, in 1914, when that city's Greek population was no more than 150. After World War II, the Greek press flourished in response to the massive increase in immigration. At one stage, in the late 1960s, twenty Greek newspapers were published in Melbourne alone.

In Greece, the sporting newspapers *Nike* and *Hellenic Agoge* were by far the most useful for this research. The New York daily newspaper, *Atlantis* and Chicago newspaper, *The Hellas* provided useful data on Greek sport in the United States. For West German sport, the newspapers *Acropolis*, *Voice of the Diaspora* and *Team* were useful sources of information.

Interviews with sportspersons and officials both inside and outside the Greek ethnic group provided a great deal of important primary source material. Interviews included those of Greek leaders of various associations, while some interviews in Greece itself explored the ways in which Greek academics and Greek historians have perceived the history of Greek sport. The list of persons interviewed for this research is found in the bibliography.

Official records were analysed to provide further information. Included were minutes of meetings, annual reports and other publications of both clubs and sporting organisations such as the South Melbourne Hellas Soccer Club and national organisations such as the Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations. These provided valuable insights into the organisation and control of Greek sport in Australia. The minutes of various sporting and community organisations, especially the minutes of clubs such as the Melbourne Ithakan Regional Fraternity and Orpheus Society were rich sources of information.

Secondary source material within the field of sport, ethnicity, youth and gender studies were also examined. However, accounts of Greek sporting activities in Australia have been few.

Perhaps equally interesting is that while sport does provide a forum for social statements concerning the significance of ethnicity among ethnic groups, most accounts dealing explicitly with ethnicity in Australia tend to ignore the issue of sport completely. Most surprisingly, the many accounts, both historical and sociological, of the significance of ethnicity, have hardly anything to say about sports.

One may read the literature on the Greeks in Australia and look in vain for references to sport. There are innumerable discussions on chain migration, the family, and the Greek Orthodox Church, but hardly a word on sport. Bottomley, Price, Smolicz, Isaacs and
Papageorgopoulos are silent. Tamis is one of the first to at least note the existence of Macedonian sporting teams and gives weight to the importance of soccer clubs to the Macedonian communities of Australia. Tamis' latest publication, which is an illustrated history, contains a number of sporting photographs of great interest but many of which, have been wrongly dated. One such example is a photo of the Athena soccer team which Tamis dated to 1934; the Athena Association's soccer team was formed in 1951.

Gilchrist has nothing to say about sport, except for making mention of Edwin Flack at the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens and biographical entries on several Greek sportsmen such as runner Jack Lewis, and an acknowledgment that by 1939, "a handful of Greeks had become champions in athletics and wrestling". Varvaressos' paper on the Greek Boy Scouts is one of the few accounts of youth and leisure activities in Greek Australia. The paper deals with the Greek Boy Scouts of Australia in the post-World War II period.

Only Vondra, a non-Greek, took Greek sport seriously, devoting a whole section to the topic. Although the text is celebratory rather than critical, it makes some valid observations. Concerning wrestling, Vondra notes that "Of all the ethnic groups, Greeks are still the most enthusiastic of the sport". This promising account of sport by Vondra unfortunately did not inspire other writers to pursue.

Mimi Sophocleous, who has organised the annual Greek Australian Oral History Symposium since 1986, is one of the few scholars to deal with sport. One of the symposiums titled 'Sporting Activities of the Greek Community' was held on 28 August 1994. Most of the speakers, who ranged from ex-players to newspapers reporters, spoke of the achievements of Greeks in the sphere of sport in Victoria, with a heavy contemporary emphasis, focussing on the successes of Greek soccer teams in the post-World War II period.

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15 The Oral History Symposia are organised by the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission and the Modern Greek Studies Unit of Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. A publication of the *Sporting*
A book by Isaacs and an article by Cox deal with Greek young people, but the interest is so much on school that the pupils' explicit interest in sports is not explored. Isaac acknowledges that the primary reason for one third of the young Greek males interviewed enjoying school was 'because of sports', but she does not elaborate or explain this statement. However this finding suggests that sport has played a very important role in the education and socialisation of Greek youth in Sydney. Cox argued that the nature of Greek society leads to close relationships between young people of the same sex. Of at least 30 boys interviewed, all from the Dodecanese islands, all frequented the same places and all played in or supported the same soccer team. Cox also notes that the numerous soccer teams were an important part of the Melbourne Greek society.

The extant literature, on the Greeks in Australia, both historical and sociological, can therefore be used to sketch the framework within which the Australian Greeks played sports. However, it is of no use for attempting to reconstruct the history of the enterprise itself. We can turn to books dealing with other Greek communities abroad, that is in the Greek diaspora. There are some standard books in this field. These prove to be almost as silent on sport as the Australian studies. Even from the United States (perhaps the most documented Greek community in the diaspora) there are Fairchild, Burgess, Saloutos and Xenides which make no mention of sport.

Any research into ethnic sports in the United States is on ethnic groups other than Greeks. Perhaps the first scholar to deal with ethnic sport was Pooley who primarily dealt with the role of soccer clubs in the assimilation of immigrants into the host community. Pooley's study of Hungarian, German, Polish, Serbian and Italian immigrants concluded that ethnic sports clubs hinder the assimilation of its members.

Since the sport of soccer is alien to the core society; and since soccer is the major national game of the countries of origin of the ethnic groups; and since members of the ethnic groups in question were involved in the activities of soccer clubs... it is, therefore, hypothesized that ethnic soccer clubs in Milwaukee inhibit structural assimilation.

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But while this may have been true also for Australia in the days of assimilationist policy, in the more recent period of official multiculturalism the leisure pursuits of ethnic groups, like their religions and their cuisines, have been classified as their private concerns. They become matters of public concern only when they are too unlike the leisure pursuits of the Anglo mainstream.

Scholarship since this study has also tended to debate the role of sport in the assimilation process. Typical of this were articles by Day, McKay and two articles by Allison. Two of these articles, Day's study on ethnic clubs in London and McKay's study of Italian clubs in Toronto, concluded that ethnic sporting clubs did in fact promote assimilation of its members. This concern with assimilation continues to the present as Walter et al., examine findings from a sample survey of West Indian and Italian soccer players in Toronto and seeks to determine the effects of sports participation and related involvement of the maintenance of ethnic identity in these two groups. Findings indicate that ethnic identity is somewhat stronger among the West Indian players than the Italian players. Moreover, West Indian players express a greater commitment to soccer club participation and related activities than Italian players do. This difference plays a significant role in accounting for stronger ethnic identity of the West Indian respondents. In the Australian setting, Hallinan and Krotee's article on ethnic soccer clubs in the Illawarra region also dealt with the issue of assimilation.

Until recently, research concentrated on concern with the assimilation of minorities. However, approaches have changed. Mormino examines the interrelationships between immigrants and urbanisation upon two generations of Italian-Americans between the 1920s and World War II. He concludes that sport channelled forces that historically had divided Italian immigrants in St. Louis and harnessed these divisive energies into creative participation. Sport accentuated the Italian character of the area.


Robert Harney noted that there were differences in sporting traditions between immigrants and Anglo-Celtic Canadians. He concluded that many of these differences were a result of the fact that upon their arrival to Canada, immigrants arrived from societies that had important robust sporting traditions, central to many of their identities. Many scholars in the field of ethnic sport have failed to adequately understand this occurrence. In post-war Canada, as in Australia but not in the United States, ethnic sport was vigorously accepted.

The post-World War Two migration of peoples to Ontario has been from every corner of the earth. Few, if any of them, come without a sports tradition. If they are southern Europeans, they come from a world in which professional soccer leagues compete successfully with politics as the chief preoccupation of mass media and of public square gossip and banter. If they are displaced people from eastern Europe, they come from settings in which ethnics and sports prowess were treated often as a single subject in nationalist education and military indoctrination.24

Another study, edited by Eisen and Wiggins, contains twelve chronologically arranged essays on ethnic and racial experiences in nineteenth century and twentieth century American sport, in which the authors claim "that the anthology is an initial step in discovering a never-explored piece of our cultural heritage". A particularly useful essay was Gem’s consideration of how ethnic women’s leisure activities secured both acceptance in dominant American society and a measure of relief from male domination in other areas of their lives.25 The Greeks of the United States although a large and distinct group did not receive a mention, in their text.

As to Greece itself, there is hardly more on sports. There is only a tiny shelf of books, which tell us a lot about ancient times, very little from 396AD to 1896AD and a fair bit about the 20th century. Sotiris Giatsis of the University of Thessalonike is currently writing a scholarly text which will trace the whole history of Greek sport with all its various manifestations in the Greek world from the Hellenistic period to modern times. Until that appears, however, we must make do with some standard books (all in Greek) by Pavlines, Giannakis and Manitakis.26


Chrysafis is the best source for the history of Greek sport between 1894-1930.27 Michaelidis provides useful biographical data regarding various sports in Greece including soccer.28 Linardos' club histories of Panhellinios and Ethnikos highlight the connection between physical education, sport and military training in modern Greece.29 The 1950 edition of the Great Greek Encyclopaedia also contains a list of active Greek sporting clubs at the time and also includes a long list of clubs found outside Greece. This dearth of research, even in Greece itself, meant the necessity for some basic research into Greek sports history.

There has been in the last few years, an interest among some Australian sports historians and sociologists in ethnic sports, or rather the involvement of migrant communities in sports, particularly soccer. This has produced one article on Greek sport in Australia, by Doumanis, which makes considerable use of the work by Georgakis, and of various studies of sport in other ethnic communities.30 There is no reason, however, to believe that Greek-Australian sports are unusual in having been somewhat neglected by historians and sociologists. Sports played by other minority ethnic groups in Australia have been generally obscured by scholars' interest in the mainstream (Anglo) sports of cricket, tennis, Rugby Union, Rugby League and Australian Rules football. There is an enormous amount of literature on sport and the history of sport, but surprisingly little on the ethnic dimensions of sport. In Australia, until recently, the phenomenon of ethnic sport is one that has been marginalised in an effort to stress the 'Aussie' character of Australian sports history, an effort most obviously expressed by Blainey's work, where the use of 'our' in the title, refers to the long established Anglo-Celtic population.31 However, in the last few years, there has been a growing interest in the part played by ethnic groups in Australian sport. The history of Greek sporting traditions is one of the most instructive examples of how non-British immigrants have contributed to Australian sport.

There is however no book that systematically examines all the sporting activities of one ethnic group. No attempt has been made to consider ethnic sport as relatively autonomous structures which have evolved, through historical change and development, into a system. There are certain club histories which tend to be blow by blow accounts of wins

27 Ioannis Chrysafis, The Modern International Olympic Games, Athens, 1930.
31 G. Blainey, A game of our own, Melbourne, 1990.
and losses. Other mainstream sports, like Australian Rules and Rugby League have produced club histories which highlight the importance and influence sporting clubs have for various communities. Moore's history of the North Sydney Rugby League Club, is one such example.

An early effort to deal with ethnicity and sport was made by O'Hara under the auspices of the Australian Society for Sports History (ASSH). The text contained four articles which focussed primarily on the relationship between ethnic communities, soccer and violence in Australia. The most sustained efforts to provide accounts of ethnic sport and to bring some theoretical considerations to bear on the question have been made by Mosely who deals with the framework of the period and shows how the British domination of soccer was broken with the arrival of European immigrants in the post-World War II period; and then together with Cashman in a text, which was originally sponsored by the Australian Sports Commission and the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research. This book contains eight case studies of the sporting activities of ethnic groups, then a series of studies of immigrant involvement in particular sports. The whole is introduced by "An Overview" by Mosely which makes the fullest theoretical statement available.

In this account, sports are used for the maintenance of ethnic identities. Mosely considers that immigrants come to Australia having been born with an ethnic identity (of which they are conscious) and that they try to maintain it, and alternatively try not to lose it, by using various means, of which sport is one. This ethnic identity seems to be a constituent part of the individual and it is hard to see how it could be lost. The immigrant will always be ethnic, that is foreign. The truth is that this theory, for all its admission that "ethnicity is a set of complex relationships that are continually being negotiated and renegotiated" is essentialist. Individuals are bearers of the ethnic identity. Moreover, it appears to be a national identity: there is no suggestion that there could be a Calabrese ethnic identity, or a Cornish ethnic identity. The boundaries of the nation state where one is born are taken

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34 John O'Hara (ed), Ethnicity and Soccer in Australia: ASSH Studies in Sports History, No.10, Sydney, 1994. Apart from Roy Hay, "British Football, Wogball or the World Game? Towards a Social History of Victorian Soccer", pp.44-79 and Roy Jones and Philip Moore, "He only has eyes for Poms: Soccer, Ethnicity and Locality in Perth, WA", pp.16-31, the other two articles were concerned with the role of immigrants in perpetrating violence associated with soccer in the post-World War II period.  
37 Ibid., p.11.
to determine one’s ethnic identity. (This produces some problems in the book when, inter alia, the concept of “Yugoslavian identity” has to be considered.) There is no consideration in the theory as to what may be the difference between ethnicity and race (even the Aborigines are treated as an ethnic group much like the Croatians).

There is no consideration of the construction of immigrant communities over time and of how immigrant communities are structured internally and positioned within the host society, that is what may be “the set of complex relationships” which is said to constitute ethnicity. There is little realisation that various immigrations have specific settings, nor that historical developments in the United States are of dubious relevance for Australia’s future development. Lastly, there can be little consideration of the second generation, who as individuals born in Australia are, in line with this theory, only with difficulty to be considered “ethnic” like their parents; and who, presumably, have to be made “ethnic”, that is made foreign, through devices like sport.

In view of the paucity of secondary sources in this whole area of Greek sports in Greece and elsewhere, the sources indicated above have been used: most importantly, newspapers and interviews. But the thesis is not a chronology of events; it also represents an attempt to theorise Greek sport in Australia.

In this thesis the theoretical position is taken that ethnicity is a historical construction, that masculinity and femininity are historical constructions and that sporting activities have their history as do migrant communities. Sports are taken to be both the expression of traditional Greek identities and the means for creating Greek identities in the new and rising generations.

The theory used here tries to take into account the different uses of sport in the homeland, Greece, and in the immigrant Greek community in Australia. The central concept is that of the public sphere as a masculine space and the private sphere as a feminine space; with sports taken to be masculine, and masculinising, activities. The crisis in Greek masculinity, caused by the migration process, was tackled, quite successfully, by using sports. If masculinity is performance, if it is composed of actions, then sports are central to its achievement.
THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

If, as the previous chapter indicates, ethnic sports and particularly Greek sport in Australia have been scarcely treated in the literature, in compensation the other two concepts which this thesis uses to interpret the history of Greek sports, that is gender and youth, have developed such enormously rich literatures that it is impossible to survey them here. It is more practicable to outline the theory utilised for marshalling the information about Greek sports in Australia, referring to the books most relevant to this theory.

It can be said at once that Greek sports in Australia have been almost exclusively the domain of young men. There has been a small involvement in sporting activity by Greek women, as will be noted in Chapters Four, Five and Seven, but otherwise, for over a century, sports have been the domain of young Greek men. On the small island of Kastellorizo, which has provided many Greek emigrants to Australia over the past century, it is obvious that boys and girls are socialised differently. Hatzifotis writes on play and gender relations on Kastellorizo and according to traditional practice, children are raised only by their mothers. As youngsters, boys and girls are encouraged to play separately. Boys are given wooden boats to play with, while girls are expected to observe and mimic as their mothers perform household duties. The preferred occupation for a boy is one involved with the sea. For a girl, an ideal future means marrying a sea captain and having his children. By considering the role of sport in Greece and acknowledging that immigrants, from Kastellorizo and elsewhere, brought with them to Australia many aspects of their unique cultural heritage in sport, it becomes possible to better understand the situation in Australia, where Greek males are so involved with sport. Therefore it becomes important to explain why sports have been coded “masculine” in Greek Australian society, why men of all ages are expected to concern themselves with sports and why young men are expected to play them.

As an organising conceptual scheme, this thesis uses the dichotomy of public and private. For the last twenty-five years a considerable amount of historical research has been generated by the idea that the world is divided into public spaces and private spaces, with the corollary that the public spaces are the domain of men and the private spaces are the

domain of women. Three surveys of this research are Kerber, Vickery, and Davidoff. These surveys agree that the research has concerned for the most part middle-class white women in Britain and America. They seem to agree that at one stage, in the early nineteenth-century, these women and girls were confined to their homes while men went out to work, to socialise with other men, and to perform civic duties; whereas the last century and a half has seen the breakdown of this divided world, with men becoming more domesticated and women entering public spaces more freely. A good survey of the present situation in Australia is provided by Thornton’s edited book.

The literature has been criticised for not distinguishing clearly between ideal prescriptions about the relative places of males and females and accounts of what males and females actually did in real situations. So that Vickery noted that:

In consequence of recent work both theoretical and empirical, doubts now circulate within women’s history about the conceptual usefulness of the separate spheres framework. But despite the dissenting voices, the questions, focus and chronology of the separate spheres framework still holds an uneasy sway.

Vickery means research mostly into middle-class white women in nineteenth-century England and America. Virtually all discussion of the subject until very recently has focussed on the experience of white women, mostly of the middle class. Although Davidoff noted that, "the ragged frontiers between public and private must be recognised as a site where identity - or race, ethnicity and class and sexual orientation as well as gender - is formed." Other historical research into women’s lives has questioned the original dichotomy, noting that even in the 1840s middle-class women went out to church, engaged in charitable work, and went shopping in the city. Ryan’s work, and Davidoff and Hall’s study, are standard portrayals of this situation, while Hall raises numerous questions about it.

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43Davidoff, "Regarding Some Old Husbands Tales, Public and Private in Feminist History", p.258.

Alongside the particulars of that subject-matter, however, theorists of the two spheres admit almost without question that the ideal prescriptions and even the actual practices are widespread if not universal. As Kerber points out:

> A great deal of recent work has made it clear that the separation of spheres was not limited to a single generation or a single civilisation. Surveys of the history of political thought have shown that the habit of contrasting the 'worlds' of men and women, the allocation of the public sector to men and the private sector (still under men's control) to women is older than western civilisation...The distinction between the private and the public was deeply embedded in classical Greek thought.45

Vickery likewise says:

> At a very general level, eighteenth and early nineteenth-century women were associated with home and children, while men controlled public institutions, but then this rough division could be applied to almost any century and any culture -- a fact which robs the distinction of analytical purchase. If, loosely speaking, there have always been separate spheres of gender power, and perhaps there still are, then 'separate spheres' cannot be used to explain social and political developments in a particular century, least of all to account for Victorian class formation.46

Davidoff reports that "from at least the time of the early Greeks, there has been some notion of a public sphere, if not a public place,"47 which has been opposed theoretically and practically to a private sphere and private place. Davidoff was neglecting, it seems, the agora in every Greek city, the square in every Greece village: there was a public space for the public sphere.

Hall develops this idea further:

> In classical Greece, for example, the public or polis was seen as purely political: it was separated from both production and reproduction. Both production and reproduction were centred on the household, but political life was carried on by a small number of adult male citizens who depended on women and slaves to provide for their social and economic needs. The Greek household, with its many functions, was seen as the private sphere.48

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48 Hall, White, Male and Middle Class, p.153.
It will have been noted in particular that public and private domains are traced back to the ancient Greeks by these theorists. On domestic organisation and sexual roles in Byzantium, Beaucamp is prepared to say of 4th century and 5th century texts, that:

A century apart, these two Oxyrhyncos papyruses offer two examples of a sexual division of labor in which the opposition between the two spaces (exterior--masculine, interior--feminine) is in effect doubled and is manifest at two levels. Firstly, the husband is active or is conducting his business far away while the wife is storing up at home. Secondly, the husband buys things outside while the wife works inside their home. Such a picture obviously corresponds to images very familiar from ancient Greece (for instance in Xenophon's *Economicus*) and again to familiar situations from modern times (in the Greek islands, for example).

Here Beaucamp brings over two millennia of Greek separate spheres into one view. Indeed the literature on separate spheres warrants this kind of boldness. Anthropologists and students of modern Greek society concur.

A number of standard studies of Greek society by Anglo-American scholars were published in the 1950s and 1960s. By the late 1990s these have dated rather obviously. However, if read for information on Greece, they are extremely valuable for portraying the Greece from which came the large-scale emigration to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s. In Margaret Mead's edited UNESCO collection, there is a section on society in Greece contributed by one "herself a Greek by birth and upbringing". Friedl describes society in central Greece by studying the town Vasilika. Sanders provides a general study of Greek rural life with fieldwork done in several localities. Campbell's work among nomadic shepherds in northern Greece in the 1950s was published in 1964. Two later books confirm the slowness of change in the countryside. Du Boulay reports on research in the island of Euboia during the 1960s, while Herzfeld's book derives from fieldwork in the village Glendi in Crete in the late 1970s. None of these books deals with life in Athens and Thessalonike where more than half the population was already concentrated by 1967; but the overwhelming majority of Greeks in Australia did not migrate from cities. One recent book, by Faubion, contains theorising largely derived

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from study in Athens. Loizos and Papataxiarches’ book is a collection of edited articles of the Greek scene; an article by Loizos about their findings appears in a Cornwall and Lindisfarne edited book.

The separation in rural Greece of male and female spheres is obvious in these books. Apart from working together in the fields at harvest time, the sexes were segregated even in their productive work. Friedl highlighted that “Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women.” The agora is a place of social intercourse and convenience for men only. Campbell found that:

Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of the children and the provision of food, clothes and shelter for their family.

Faubion elaborates further:

The segregation of the sexes appears, for example, to be far more extreme in the more isolated of rural villages than in towns and cities, and more extreme among the lower than among the higher socioeconomic classes... Female domains tend, in rural Greece, to be private and interior domains; male domains the opposite.

Du Boulay also claimed that “One final point remains to be made about the male role, which is that it is concerned principally with occupations external to the house, with the fields, the forest, and the outside world of buying and selling, and, in leisure time, with the café. ‘The man’, it is often said ‘is a guest in the house...’

The literature in Greece and elsewhere leaves the reader with the impression that the public spaces in society have been closed to women but open to all men. This has patently never been the case. On the one hand, women have worked alongside men in the fields. Women have managed shops and taverns, been sex workers; they have shopped, gone to church services and baptisms, gone picnicking and to places of entertainment.

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58 Friedl, Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece, p.42.
59 Campbell, Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community, p.32.
60 Faubion, Modern Greek Lessons, p.174.
61 Du Boulay, Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village, p.129.
Evidence of these activities comes from the research on women in their sphere. It must be said that it is women historians, indeed feminist historians, who have been most interested in the question of separate spheres. Very little work has been done on the public and masculine side of the equation. There has been some interest in the figure of the domestic man, but in general even historians of men like Tosh have not tried to chart the public sphere.\footnote{John Tosh, "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class", in Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds.), \textit{Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800}, London, 1991, pp.44-73.}

It is only recently, that such scholars as Rotundo and Chauncey have shown how men use public space.\footnote{E.A. Rotundo, \textit{American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era}, New York, 1993, pp.22-5, 248-55 and passim; G. Chauncey, \textit{Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940}, London, 1995, Chapter 7 "Privacy Could Only Be Had in Public", pp.179-205 and passim.} It is clear from these texts that while public spaces may constitute a masculine sphere, very many males in any society have been excluded from these or those public spaces by virtue of their youth, their age, their ethnicity, their servile or guest-worker status, their religion, their poverty or their sexual preference. Chauncey’s study of the homosexual milieux of New York between 1890 and 1940 is a masterly account of who could go where in Manhattan and when. The public space is not unstructured, as so many of the separate-spheres histories seem to imply, but is complex and hierarchical and not able to be utilised by all the males in the society. Some men find the public sphere alienating and some also find the public sphere in which they are forced to act, alien to them. The feminist critique of public/private spheres has always assumed that men are at ease in the public world, and that they move easily everywhere (from street corner to bars, to boardrooms to factories) because this public world was created by men. Yet it is not all equally accessible to all men: there are public places where some men cannot afford to go or are not allowed to go or are afraid to go; in fact very few men have access to every part of the public sphere. Young men especially are learning their way about the public sphere and are getting introduced over years, to various public spaces. Feminist research may be deemed to have romanticised the freedom that individual men, in reality have in the public sphere.

Therefore the public and private spheres are not (and never have been) conceptual absolutes, but a minefield of huge rhetorical potential. Despite their instability and mutability, public and private concepts have had powerful material and experiential consequences in terms of formal organisations, organisational forms, financial systems, familial and kinship patterns, as well as in language. In short, they have become a basic part of the ordering of our whole social world, but an ordering that is constantly shifting, being made and remade.
This inaccessibility of the public sphere has been the experience of male Greek immigrants to Australia. They entered a society in which the public sphere was owned by the dominant Anglo-Celtic group. Political activity, public offices, industry, farming, and trades unions, that is economic and civic activities, were foreign to them. Not merely ignorance of the language handicapped them in achieving a foothold in the separate sphere of male public life, as did the alien nature of the system and the prejudices positively excluding them from access. Tsounis as early as 1971 noted:

Their political interest was confined to the affairs of their own communities in Australia, rarely to politics in Greece, and even less so to Australian politics.64

Three publications deal with the matter of immigrants in Australian politics and unions, two of the main public spaces.65 These studies indicated that few immigrants get involved in politics at union, local or state levels - any level - because they do not feel accepted, do not understand what is going on because of differences in culture, education and language and do not feel they own the public institutions.

While Jupp noted that Greeks are more interested than most immigrant groups in political questions, neither of these observers noted that the Australian style of politics is not the European style, and especially not the Greek way where clientism is still very powerful and where bureaucratic relationships turn very quickly into personal relationships. Greek men felt alienated from Australian politics and by extension from Anglo-Celtic public life. Although only naturalised Australian citizens are eligible to vote, Greeks did not show a high rate of naturalisation. Citizenship levels in 1976 illustrate this idea, when Baltic State immigrants had 93.6 percent citizenship levels and Polish immigrants 88.6 percent but Greeks recorded one of the lowest levels of 65.3 percent.66 Gilson and Zubrzycki's study on ethnic language press concluded that Greek newspapers devote little of their content to Australian politics, concentrating predominantly on Greek politics.67

Such studies have failed to understand the nature of the Greek experience in Australia. It is possible to interpret what happened in the following ways. The male immigrants

66Charles Price, Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest, No.4, Canberra, 1979, Table 3.1.b, A56.
worked hard, then found refuge in their private spaces of shared bachelor accommodation and occasionally in marriages with non-Greek women. As more Greek women came to Australia, homes and families were established. But the conventional separation of spheres broke down under the pressures of migration, and the “guests in the house” found themselves trapped there. The public spaces in Australian society already belonged to the dominant Anglo-Celtic group and were alien and alienating to Greek men. They took refuge in their homes; but in so doing they put themselves into the domain of the feminine and so were threatened by being feminised. But worse, the women were no longer purely house-bound as they had been in Greece. Greek women were often forced to go out and work for the financial survival of the family. Almost all Greek migrant women worked and thus participated in public worlds previously closed to them. Whether in factories or helping in the family's small business, women had taken on men's roles. They were no longer so compliant. The new structures of everyday life in Australia put pressure on the traditional Greek way of seeing and behaving in the world. Men found it hard to adjust to this. For men, there was often a loss of authority because of unfamiliarity with the new ways of their adopted homeland. For many, menial labouring tasks damaged self esteem. Sons and daughters spoke better English than their fathers did, and interpreted for them in situations where grown men traditionally dominated. They were tempted to retreat to the home, their 'castle', but that brought them into the women's world, so they felt feminised. Something had to be done to restore their sense of themselves as masculine, their sense that they were in control.

Their response was to build up a public male space of Greek cafes, clubs, church organisations, patriotic organisations and sporting organisations. These, however, took years to create and were only, after all, the ghetto organised. The men constructed a tiny Greek public world for themselves. In particular, they feared for their sons: either being feminised in the 'castles' that were the Greek homes, or losing their Greek identity amid the swirls of Australia's multicultural society. It must be stressed that Greek public space is also a masculine space: Greek clubs were and still are masculine sites. In the Greek view of the world, men make men, so that men frequent the clubs and young Greek males are taken inside and exposed to Greek influences so that they will grow up masculine and Greek-identified. Unfortunately this coffee-house and club environment has its dark side, for it encourages male gambling and gaming.

The Greek community's answer to the dilemma, of how to masculinise youngsters and yet keep them moral, proved to be sports. First of all, sport would masculinise the boys so countering the influences of the feminised home. Secondly, because sports were conducted in Greek clubs and organisations, they would ensure traditional allegiances to Hellenism and to Greek traditions. Sport also provided an important area for male peer
group association and even language maintenance. Cox gives the example of newly arrived George, who was thirteen and attended school. At the same time he joined a Greek soccer team, which became the source of his friendships. Although he mixed with many non-Greeks at school, the influence of family and of soccer in his leisure time minimised the possible influence of school. Cox also discovered that, "Often the Greek boys discussed soccer in Greek while the Australian boys talked about Australian Rules football in English, and segregation during meal breaks was common". Walker, dealing with male youth culture in a school in Sydney, noted that, "Soccer is the province of migrant groups, especially the Greeks, and the sporting activities are not much integrated, thus reinforcing differences of ethnic culture". Therefore participation in Greek sporting teams gave the opportunity for frequent contact among Greek members and so promoted the intrinsic value of their cultures and ethnic identity.

For Greeks overseas, sport was made the main masculinising area, because in the Greek historical tradition, sports were one of the main privileged masculine activities. In diaspora communities, great effort and money have been put into sports. This of course makes sense, as it is far easier to be Greek in Greece, where everything influences you, than to be Greek in Brisbane, where one needs to make a special effort to maintain one's cultural heritage. If you cannot have the mountains and the islands of home, you can at least have Greek sports.

The Greek institution which has always been considered to be especially effective in masculinising young men, is the two years of obligatory military service. This is notably lacking abroad. Greek immigrants have always focused on maintaining their Greekness, thus sustaining the community in pure form. This tradition - of maintaining the culture and the race - lingers on from the Turkish Occupation, if not from the time of the Slavic invasions. Racial purity has been a paramount concern and this has of course sexual overtones and masculinist implications. Greek youth outside of Greece constructed their ethnic masculinity around sport as it provided the most effective available vehicle for producing and maintaining a distinct Greek identity.

These ideas are comparable with those of Connell and others on hegemonic masculinities. Connell theorises the existence of not one masculinity with a variety of manifestations but

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68 David Cox, "Greek Boys in Melbourne", in C.A. Price (ed), Greeks in Australia, Canberra, 1975, p.162.
69 ibid., p.170.
71 In Greece, since the 1850s, compulsory military service is generally undertaken between the ages of 18-20. During war, the Greek army is raised by conscription. Every male between 18 and 50 years of age, physically fit to carry arms is liable to service in the line troops.
a variety of masculinities which arise from the interactions of the men and women in a given society.72 These masculinities are expressed as codes of behaviour, sets of prescriptions for men's behaviour which individual men in the society are expected to learn and to perform, depending on which group they belong to. If every society generates a range of masculinities, then almost always one is dominant over the others or more prestigious than the others. Usually the hegemonic masculinity is the masculinity generated inside the dominant group. Vale de Almeida says that it is:

an ideal central model which, unattainable by practically any single man, exerts over all men a controlling effect, through embodiment, ritualisation of practices of everyday sociability and a discursiveness that excludes a whole emotional field considered as feminine” [page 5], and claims that “the culturally praised form of masculinity (hegemonic masculinity) is in constant tension with the real lives of most men”.73

This code of masculinity, it would seem, should be easy enough for a boy from the hegemonic group to learn and to perform when he is a man, at least most of the time. It is the other boys who may find it difficult or impossible to apprentice themselves to this model code. Hearn and Collinson give sixteen "references of identity" that can, individually or in combination, mark somebody as being "this or that sort of man"; but the hegemonic group will specify characteristics of "our sort of man" and men lacking those characteristics, that is anybody else, will be of no importance or in certain historical settings may be demonised.74 The masculinity of young men, even those belonging to the hegemonic group, will be less prestigious than the masculinity of men of virile age, just as old men's masculinity is less prestigious. Age is a most important reference of male identity, because while a man is not a woman, neither a boy is a man.

But from the many documents consulted for this research, only some of which will be quoted in the course of the thesis, it is possible to characterise the Greek hegemonic code of masculinity under four headings. It must be noted that Greek men are deeply committed to this ideal of manliness because of their personal honour and their reputation. Ideally, a man in Greek immigrant society should be athletic, be physically beautiful, have a certain constellation of moral values, and display his achievements.

The first desideratum, that a man should be athletic in the sense that he is interested in sports and plays sports, is of course the main subject of this thesis and will not be gone

into much further here. Basically, a Greek male should be interested in sports, participating in youth and following sports throughout life.

The second desideratum, that a man should be physically beautiful, that is should have a well-proportioned face and a strong body, is an enduring theme in Greek cultural history. The Greeks have always been explicit in their physical admiration of physical beauty, since the time of the male beauty contests at the Panathenaea. This ideal is of course linked to the above, because the promise of the universal sports ideology is that building your body builds character.

Thirdly, a man should act in moral ways, meaning that he should be family-oriented, hoping to marry and raise children; that he should be patriotic, being proud of his Greek background and determined not to blemish it especially in the eyes of other ethnic groups; and that he should be a church-goer, though the code does not prescribe deep religiosity. That is the ideal of filotimo (masculine pride), associated with ideals of manly virtue that the ancient Greeks, and all Greeks throughout the centuries and in Australia, held and still hold dear.

Above all, men should achieve. It is not given to all immigrants to be strong and handsome, to marry and have children, and so on; though indeed there is no man who cannot interest himself in sports. But every Greek male should strive to achieve something in life, to make the most of himself in some way, and to gain the world’s acknowledgment and respect by so doing. This is a very personal thing, but one who does not achieve something in life has failed as a man, according to this code of masculinity.

**Masculinity as Performance**

These seem to be the characteristics of Greek hegemonic masculinity that are repeated throughout the literature. But it is necessary to ask how such generalised characteristics are to be interpreted by a historian of Greek sports. The theory used here for discussing gender or masculinity is the concept of performance. Buchbinder, Brod and Simpson develop this theme, as more particularly do Bingham in the introduction entitled “I’m not really a man but I play one in movies”, and Heywood in her chapter called “Masculinity Vanishing”. The theoretical issue here is the artificiality of the masculinity

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which men present to the world. They are deemed to be acting it, or performing it, just as
women perform femininity. If masculinity is not perceived as an essence which is
produced in men’s souls just as testosterone is produced in their bodies, and if all
essentialist and biological explanations of masculinity are to be avoided, then it must be
conceived as a social construction (the society creates it) and as a performance by men.
Men put together a series of actions that are perceived as masculine by their audience, that
is the others in their society, and they enact this improvised performance as best they can.
The notion that gender is not simply an aspect of what one is, but it is something that one
does, and one does recurrently, in interaction with others, and in space, highlights the
performative character of both gender and of place.77

It is obvious that the cultural items pre-exist the individual men who are going to perform
them. Buchbinder refers to “the sex-gender system, which seeks to restrict the signs of
gender to the appropriately designated sex”.78 Otherwise men would not know what they
had to do and the 'audience' would not understand what they are seeing.

“Gender is here understood not as something we are,” writes Brod, “but rather as
something we do. Gender is fundamentally a codified form of activity, a social practice,
attaching itself to individuals as they internalise social structures, rather than an attribute
or trait of individuals externalised to be writ large in society. As such, gender is a social
relation practised in social interactions, and therefore not reducible to “roles” inculcated
by society and learned either on one’s own or in the “separate spheres” of female and
male “cultures,” nor reducible to the unfolding of instinctive psycho sexual “drives”.79

Brod perhaps protests too much, for gender can be learned in the women’s apartments as
well as in the courtyard of the palace, since any place where social interactions occur will
provide a site for internalising or learning social practices. The theory of gender as
performance only requires that there should exist in society a repertoire of gender-coded
acts, which individuals draw upon and appropriate according to the opportunities their
situation affords them. There is no coherent multiplex role that a man or woman must
play. Rather each person creates their gender performance out of the items that lie to
hand, beginning presumably with their family. Some men growing up in a society will
therefore appropriate many of the gendered behavioural items of hegemonic masculinity,
while others will appropriate few. Historians have very little chance of proving that

bodybuilding and contemporary culture”, in Pamela L. Moore (ed), Building Bodies, New Brunswick,
1997, pp.165-83.
77Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, “Doing Gender”, in J. Lorder and S. Farrell (eds.), The Social
79Brod, “Masculinity as Masquerade”, p.16.
people *internalised* these items (as Brod's language would suggest), or of contacting their "subjectivity or the sense of self"\textsuperscript{80} which Buchbinder refers to; but historians are very often able to say that they *exhibited* them, that they performed a masculinity. What they felt as they did so, what sort of man they really were, is not recoverable and indeed does not matter in this theory.

Men rehearse the act. They apply themselves to models by copying their father and other males, by identifying, by obeying orders, etc., and they create an artificial construction that becomes "second nature". Their performance is so convincing that the audience believes that they are inevitably like this and can not be, or could not have been, otherwise. An imitation of life becomes a *naturalised* performance. If their performance does not convince, they are usually called effeminate.

In general, men believe in their own performance. What men know in their hearts, when they look there, is that it is an act. It takes a moment of great stress for the performance to be broken off and the "real" male person to appear, but this "real man" is so embryonic, so exposed and vulnerable, like a crab stripped of its shell, that it scarcely can function, as everything outside is so unfamiliar and threatening and everything inside so inexpert.

So masculinity is a performance. This suggests that it is largely on the surface, i.e., enacted by a man's body, and judged by this. The body evidences masculinity by the stance, the walk, the hands, the set of the jaw and the face. The accessories add to the performance: the haircut, the clothes, the tattoos, plus speech habits and where the eyes gaze. All these aspects of *behaviour*: learned and acquired when young and put on display in adulthood. Indeed, scholars have identified this as one of the perennial features of Greek society, fieldworker Herzfeld for the village of Glendi in Crete noted, "In Glendi idiom, there is less focus on 'being a good man' than on 'being good at being a man - a stance that stresses performance excellence, the ability to foreground manhood by means of deeds that strikingly 'speak for themselves'".\textsuperscript{81} And in the case of the young Australian Greeks, this learning of approved behaviour was recommended to take place in the sporting arena.

Most theorists of youth are in agreement, that "youth" as a social category, with its special concerns and theoretical issues, became of importance at the time of the industrial revolution. Before that there were always young people, but they were not spoken of as a mass with its own characteristics. For the most part, research and works on youth history

\textsuperscript{80}ibid., p.16-7.
have concentrated on white male youth. Gillis and Mitterauer illuminate that the concept of youth is a Western construct that emerged in the nineteenth century. It appears then that the end of youth is when 'one gets one's act together for life'. The key determinant is 'dependency' and a so-called 'transition into adulthood'.

Historians like Gillis and Mitterauer have traced the spread of "youth" alongside the spread of modern industrial society. Their findings are to some extent paralleled in Greece. Modernisation of national institutions during the nineteenth and early twentieth century was accompanied by the appearance of a middle-class youth, with its own culture and presenting problems to the authorities. The famous language riots of 1901 were led by university youth. Greece has never achieved full industrialisation, its largest industries being shipping and tourism, but it is now one of the most urbanised societies in the world with 40 percent of the population contained in Athens by 1979, and 80 percent in Athens and Thessalonike by 1998. These urban centres produced a youth phenomenon and accompanying discussions of "youth". As early as 1986 a conference was held in Athens on Childhood and Youth, which was published in two volumes, which dealt with and stressed the connection of secondary education and youth.

So that Greece presents much the same picture as the societies discussed in Gillis and Mitteraurer, only rather later in time. Doulkera's edited collection deals with contemporary issues, in particular with the phenomena of youth in Greece insisting on problems and policy. It has articles by various experts with a few dealing with Greek male youth and leisure activities in Athens. Apart from these texts, it seems that the Greek government is investigating, and policy makers are concerned with the relationship between youth, delinquency and leisure. However, this phenomenon of urban youth was not very familiar to the emigrants to Australia, who came from rural areas where the older pre-modern patterns for young people were relatively undisturbed, still in the 1950s and 1960s. It was a shock to them to encounter Australian youth culture in Fitzroy, Unley and Earlwood, but it would have been equally shocking for them if they had seen Athenian youth in fashionable Kolonaki or Glyfada on Saturday nights. What there was in Australia was a battle between traditional rural ideas for youngsters and modern city ideals, masquerading as a clash between "Greek youth" and "Australian youth".

Though often not directly discussed, sport has clearly played a role in defining youth as being influenced in their interests and activities according to their peers and interest groups. The role of sport in secondary education schools has been well documented in this respect. Mangan and Sherington et al., are two such examples, which illustrate how sport is an instrument for the definition of masculine character in the school-moulded adolescent.85

Harris and Holt illustrate that sports are for the young because participants need to be young and fit to play them, and that sports evolved with the young in mind, as a way of organising their energy and time.86 It has been described as "an institution created by and for men".87 Firstly, the young have lots of energy, and males especially possess substantial levels of energy, much of it sexual. Secondly the young have more leisure time than adults. Even if they are employed, most youth do not have to attend to child-care, house repairs or balance the budget as adults do. This generous amount of time can make youth vulnerable to so-called delinquency. If anyone has the time and energy to devote to sports, then the young do. Thirdly, young people tend to be gregarious and in search of social companions, so sports provide important opportunities for peer-group interaction. Certainly Greeks and other immigrant groups were concerned about their youth and sought to provide them with opportunities for healthy socialisation and development.

It is not often remarked, that youth and sports have a natural affinity for the very reason that most team sports have to be played by young people. Children cannot play sports as ably as young people, and middle-aged people find their sporting abilities diminished. The sports of physical maturity are either those playable with less energy and speed, such as golf and lawn bowls or they are sports played almost without competition, where the aim is not to win but to pass the time and to socialise, like a squash game with colleagues and tennis with neighbours. One of course may take pleasure in sports all through life, but, when youth has gone, the pleasure will be that of spectator and not that of player.

In fact, *Play Sport!* has become the catch-cry which the bourgeoisie and its ideologies shout at youth, to serve their cultural needs, to fill up their leisure, to engage their spirits and to resolve their problems. Mr Missoffe’s recent remark to D. Cohn-Bendit, at the official opening of the swimming pool at Nanterre, is indicative of this: “If you have sexual problems, dampen them down in the pool”. After Missoffe was sacked, the new (and transient) Minister for Youth and Sport, Mr Nungesser, declared unequivocally: “Youth must find their outlet in sport”.

There are many places like this where the desirability of sports for youth is stressed, where young people are urged to take up sport and the advantages of playing sport are itemised. This thesis will report on many such remarks by the Greeks in Australia. It seems to be so blindingly obvious to everybody that young bodies are ideally suited to sports, or that sports were designed for young bodies. Their elective affinity remains a silent assumption of the sporting world. It is essential to understand that the assumption though unspoken is operative, because otherwise it is hard to explain why sport has been urged upon Greek male youth in Australia rather than other equally respectable Greek activities such as strumming a bouzouki or folk dancing or playing at backgammon.

Griffin states that:

Much of the youth research literature discussed so far has focused on sectors of the ‘public sphere’, including education, the labour market, training and leisure, and most studies have been concerned with young men’s lives. An equally important area of youth research has dealt with what might be termed the ‘private sphere’, specifically family life and sexuality, and this literature has focused mainly on young women. The distinction between the ‘private’ and ‘public’ spheres is not clear-cut...

Here we have the separate spheres dichotomy again, only the analyses here by youth experts do not treat the feminine sphere as a site of love and harmony but rather as a site of breakdown and subversion, with decaying nuclear families, teenage pregnancies, and other spectral dysfunctions that panic the conservatives.

In Greek society, there have always been age categories, some as elaborate as the named years of Spartan boys, some like the seven-year division of the life-cycle, others more simple divisions into young--mature--old. In the 6th Century BC, the philosopher

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Pythagoras is said to have addressed the inhabitants of Crotona in segregated groups: in one of these meetings he addressed the young men. Socrates was accused of corrupting the young men. Saint Basil in the 3rd Century CE wrote a famous book of advice *To Young Men*. There is little doubt that young men, male youth, were treated as a category from ancient times. Friedl reports on the conventional age groupings in the village:

These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping... When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades.91

Clearly by 1959 the school years had become a most important marker of age. Here it will be noted only that youth is taken to be the age from leaving primary school until marriage. But also the end of schooling means the taking up of some work, domestic, on the farm, or proto-industrial. The period is closed by marriage: Sanders tables ages at marriage in the early 1950s for various parts of Greece, showing that men married mostly about 25, when their military service was completed, and women before 25 unless they were to become old maids.92 It would seem that military service counted as part of youth, rather like the ancient *ephebia*, and with its ending, married life and adulthood began.

This traditional Greek age grouping, and the singling out of one group as “young people” has close resemblances to the analysis done by Zelinka of Australian statistical age categories. She reports that “youth” is treated as people 15 years old to 24 years old, that is from the permitted school leaving age (in most states) to an unspecified event on one’s 25th birthday (though it is hinted that completing tertiary studies is significant).93

In Greece there is a definite masculine space and a distinct feminine space. The children are brought up at first largely in the feminine space, and then at the age of seven the boy is introduced to the masculine spaces by his male relatives and other boys; whereas the girl continues at home learning female tasks and feminine behaviour. Mitteraurer does not realise that extended schooling has upset the age grades in traditional Greece too, so that the same raggedness in age grades that was apparent in advanced capitalist countries is

now appearing in Greece. Used to end at 25, now a man has to start a career after military service, marriages delayed. A note here must also be made about the expectations of migrant parents, frozen in their attitudes of 1970 when they left in the post war period.

It is with these theoretical constructs, the public/private dichotomy, all masculinities as performances and some as hegemonic, with youth as a period of human life which is subject to social redefinitions, the topic of this thesis - the sports of the Greek Australians over more than a century - has been studied. When Greek immigrants came to Australia they found, of course, a very lively sporting scene, what Cashman goes so far as to call the “Paradise of Sport”. But in that 'paradise', the sports of cricket in the summer and football in the winter (according to codes of Rugby derivation) were privileged. The sports which were commonly played among the Greeks were not popular in Australia. Yet the Greeks had no reason to feel inferior to the Anglo-Celtic group as sportsmen. After all, the Greeks had invented athletic sports as they had invented democratic politics. By introducing their young men to sports, Greek Australians were not merely making men of them, they were also making them the bearers of the three thousand year-old tradition of Greek sport.

CHAPTER ONE
The Tradition of Greek Sport: Origins to 1896 Athens Olympic Games.

Miller in *Greek Life in Town and Country* in 1905 noted that:

> Outdoor sports do not flourish in Greece, although cricket, a relic of the British protectorate, is still played (with the British terminology) at Corfu. But, as a famous foreign athlete, long established in the country, once said to me, 'the Greek is not a sportsman'.

The ideology has changed since then. In the late twentieth century, whatever the realities of modern Greek society may be, young Greek males, at least, are expected to be sportsmen.

In a parallel case, Stefan Zweig, visiting Brazil late in the 1930s and then resident there, was unable to detect any interest in sport. It is not that he was indifferent to it; he looked and could not find any. The truth is that Zweig did not want to see what was staring him in the face, because he hated the sports culture of his period. Within twenty years, Pele and Maracanã stadium (built 1949-50) were bywords across the world for sporting fanaticism. American Janet Lever writing of Brazil and soccer, identified an obsession with the game which she characterised "soccer fever". Thus the construct of the Brazilian passion for soccer seems to have been created in the mid-1940s. So, on the face of it, if Zweig was right about Brazil, but observation indicates that he was not; Miller might also have been right and the Greek passion for sport was still to develop. However, a closer scrutiny of sport in Greece reveals that there was genuine interest and activity from well before 1905. A tradition which has received minimal attention by scholars.

The Greeks have always been athletes and interested in sports. This was true of the Greeks in Homer's time and the Greeks today. There is in fact, a tradition of Greek sporting activities which has been continuous down the centuries, unbroken through the history of the Greek people, which otherwise has been full of changes and revolutions. In order to understand the rise and progress of sport in the Greek society of Australia, it must be understood that this phenomenon has to be seen as the local embodiment of the millennial tradition which this chapter sketches.

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Throughout Greek history, sports activities have existed at least at the basic regional level from ancient times at Mycenae to modern times at Port Pirie, Australia, for instance. This chapter does not detail the history of Greek sport. It simply illustrates that Greeks have had an unbroken sporting tradition over three thousand years. Therefore in this chapter, it is the linkages that become the important aspects, that is because of political periodisations that don’t work for every cultural phenomenon.

Aspects of sport in Ancient Greece (776-323BC) and the Hellenistic Age and Roman period (323BC-331AD) are briefly outlined, with reference to more detailed authoritative accounts by Gardiner, Kyle, Poliakoff, Harris, Wright et al. Due to the minimal attention and lack of existing scholarship, fuller accounts are given of the Byzantium (331-1453AD) and Turkish periods (1453-1821AD). In particular the Byzantium period is dealt with in more detail as it provides a transition from the ancient to the modern Greeks. The chapter will conclude by dealing with sport in Modern Greece (1821-1896AD).

**Ancient Greece (776-323BC)**

Scholars have long been interested in the history of Greek sport in antiquity. In Homer’s epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, descriptions of athletic events provide the first known, most detailed accounts of sport. The *Iliad* describes contests held beside the funeral pyre of Patroklos as an offering by godly Achilles to his beloved fallen friend. In the *Odyssey*, a very touching account is given of the funeral games held by the pyre of Achilles himself. These games had been set up by the goddess, Thetis, his mother. The practice of holding such contests beside the pyre of the departed was common among the Achaians, the early Greeks.

The *Iliad* also records the funeral games held in memory of other heroes, although the games dedicated to Patroklos are the most detailed, with almost a whole book dedicated to their description. Chariot races, boxing, wrestling, foot-races, and discus throwing were the main events, constituting an almost exclusive Olympic program. The honour given to the departed was of secondary importance at these games. The contests actually gave the Achaians an excellent opportunity to strive for *aristeia* - excellence. "Always to

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5Homer, *Iliad*, Book XXIII, no.256-897.

be the best and excel over the rest”, the famous advice Peleus gave his son Achilles, was the ultimate goal of the Homeric world.

The athletic contests described in the *Odyssey* were different. They were set up by Alkinoos, king of Kerkyra, in honour of his guest, Odysseus. Again almost an entire book is dedicated to the games, with emphasis on the ideal that:

> There is no greater glory that can befall a man living than what he achieves by speed of his feet or strength of his hand.  

Odysseus, although invited to participate in the contests, remains indifferent, preoccupied with thoughts of his homeland, Ithaca. Another competitor remarks significantly:

> No, stranger, for I do not see that you are like one versed in contests, such as now are practised much among people. You do not resemble an athlete.

This is the first usage of the word 'athlete' in Western literature. To tell a man that he was not an athlete seemed to be a grave insult in that era, for Odysseus put aside his grief, picked up a discus and threw it further than the other competitors.

Homer's epics give insight into the world of the Achaians. Their enthusiasm for sport and their commitment to excellence influenced both people of their times and later generations. Homer's works have been read continuously since ancient times and have been a constant source of inspiration for generations of Greeks. His works functioned as the Bible of Western societies, a kind of cultural, religious and social compendium for the socialisation of all Greeks.

At the dawn of the Archaic period, Dorians and Ionians presented distinct characteristics of their own, and in time, with Sparta and Athens respectively as their centres, became great rivals of the Greek world. Spartan emphasis on physical education was eventually implemented as military schooling. The Spartan education, had one goal: to build a strong, courageous warrior absolutely subject to the rules of the state. The true Spartan spirit was exemplified by the unyielding fight of King Leonidas and his three hundred men against Xerxes at the battle of Thermopylae. In Herodutus' account, we read the famous epigram by Symonides, expressing their determination and resistance:

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7Homer, *Iliad*, Book VI, no.208-09.
9ibid., no.159-64.
10ibid., no.234.
Go, stranger and tell the Spartans that here we lie in obedience to their laws.\(^\text{11}\)

Non-Greek races did not understand the Spartans' love of sport. The Spartans surprised the Persians when before battle they were stripped for exercises and games. Persian leader Xerxes was bewildered.\(^\text{12}\)

Athens differed significantly from the Spartan state in both geographical features and in the attitudes of the inhabitants. In contrast with the stern, rigid character of the Spartans, the Athenians were well-balanced and open-minded. Athens, in its Golden Age (5th Century BC), displayed an incredible vitality, with no parallel in the history of humankind. The main reason for this was the well balanced, well organised education \((\text{paideia})\). The principles of \textit{kalos kai agathos} - \textit{kalos} (beautiful) and \textit{agathos} (good, noble, learned) - were the ideals that Athenian youth sought to attain.

Gymnastics reached its peak and importance in ancient Greece during the seventh to second centuries BC, when it became a vital component of Greek education. The influential contribution of gymnastics to the education of young Greeks is well documented. This training aimed to prepare youth for athletic contests: foot-races, discus, javelin, long jump, wrestling and boxing. \textit{Paidotribes} were teachers and places of training were the \textit{palaestra} and gymnasiums, prominent institutions in Greek states.

The great Greek games - the Olympian, the Pythian, the Isthmian and the Nemean - were preeminently religious festivals. The victor in Olympia received a wreath of wild olive, in Isthmia one of pine, in Nemea one of parsley and in Delphi, some of the apples sacred to Apollo. Although these wreaths were tokens of the victory, their significance was much greater. The most famous and important games were the Olympic Games at sacred Olympia. Men from all cities and towns came together, and even the colonies were represented in the assembly. The great games were of the highest importance for impressing upon the Greek mind a consciousness of the unity of the Greek nation. All Greek speaking men were admitted, but women were excluded.

Popularisation of the 'Olympics' overshadowed similar athletic competitions in many other ancient Greek cities in widely diverse areas of the classical world. Every city had one or more athletic festivals dedicated to some god or hero. The most important was the Panathenaea of Athens, dedicated to the goddess, Athena.\(^\text{13}\) The typical Greek city had a stadium, at least one theatre and several gymnasiums and \textit{palaestras} with associated baths. All Greek city states' emphasis on sport and winning is sometimes underestimated.

\(^{11}\)Herodotus, \textit{History}, Book VII, no.228.  
\(^{12}\)ibid, no.208-09.  
by scholars. Indeed the participation of other cities in the Olympic Games was widespread and highlighted by the fact that:

...of 158 Olympic victories in athletic events in the fifth century won by men whose names and cities are known, no more than four were Athenian.14

Yet it has been well documented that athletics was widely practised and extensively taught, as part of formal education and teaching curriculum in Athens.

**Hellenistic Age and Roman Period (323BC-331AD)**

The Greeks, after their fascinating expansion towards the East, which occurred with Alexander the Great and the Macedonians, found themselves in almost all the known world, after the death of Alexander the Great (323BC). From the edges of the Mediterranean, to present Greece, to Asia Minor, the Black Sea, in central Asia, India and even Bactria, Alexander the Great brought something new: the 'Greek' character and *paideia*. That period (4th-1st century BC) is known as the Hellenistic Age because of the strong influence exerted by the Greek culture on the rest of the world.

An important cultural activity linking all those significant civilisations was sport. Sport had its roots in Ancient Greece, although its character like all aspects of Greek life, was always changing. Every Hellenistic centre: Leptis Magna, Alexandria, Antioch, Didima, Aphrodisias, Ephessos, Thessalonike, Dion, Nemea, Dodoni, etc, had a stadium and at least one gymnasiu and *palaestra*. The wealth flowing into these cities from the empires of which they formed a part, permitted the construction of modern sporting facilities. The institution of the gymnasiu continued and became the centre of social and cultural life in each of these Greek cities. The Pergamon gymnasiu operated on three levels: one for children, one for youths and one for adults. Like the gymnasiu, Greek games and festivals were also established and were an effective way of establishing the popularity of traditional Greek sport.

Sport during the Hellenistic period has been neglected by scholars.15 Scholars who have dealt with the topic, in particular Gardiner, have characterised the period as one of decline, mainly due to athletes and trainers becoming professional, as illustrated by: "When money enters into sport, corruption is sure to follow."16 Gardiner, influenced by

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14 Harris, Greek Athletes and Athletics, p.39.
the amateur ideal which took precedence when he was writing, in turn influenced subsequent writers who also described the period as one of decline. A closer view of the period reveals that this is not the case. The impact of the Roman occupation and the different way that Christians viewed the human body did not seem to play a part in the decline theory of sport in Greece. Sport continued until the early Byzantium, despite problems and seeking new dimensions. Urban sport was emphasised more, although rural sport was still supported.

The great blending of cultures after the death of Alexander brought rearrangements in the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of life. The organisation of the Empire by the successors of Alexander, in places such as Alexandria and Antioch contributed to the spread of Greek civilisation. The new political organisation helped to form a cultural unity and that the culture of the Hellenistic period linked the previous classical period with the periods that followed Greek-Roman and the Christian. Sport was an important instrument in this link.

The expansion of sport was supported by the kings of the Hellenistic countries who gave generous funds for 'athletic institutions' and for the organisation of athletic festivals. Thus sport, during the Hellenistic Period, evolved in relation to the conditions of the times. The introduction of luxury in contrast with the ancient simplicity resulted in more spectators and the entrance of money into sport. However gymnastic education was not negatively affected until the absolute subjugation of Greek culture by Rome. Polybius and Plutarch texts illustrate this point, as these two writers frequently refer to sport and physical education in the Hellenistic period.

In Macedonia, the support of kings for sport and athletic functions came very early when they showed an interest in Panhellenic games. Alexander I took part in the foot race in the Olympic Games. King Archeleas won in the chariot race in Olympia and established a Macedonian athletic festival at Aigai. In Olympia, Phillip II, a two time winner at the Olympic Games, erected a Macedonian tholos which bears his name and promoted various athletic games in Macedonian cities. For Phillip, the support of Olympia was of

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extreme importance because the festival stood for national unity, something that the Macedonians tried to achieve.23

Alexander the Great, an excellent athlete himself,24 organised nude athletic games accompanied by music on at least 24 separate occasions during his campaign. Unfortunately Arrian does not give detailed accounts of these games.25 In fact, Alexander's love of sport is well documented.26 Although, Alexander did not approve of professionalism in sport.27

Mouratidis supports the argument that the primary aim of the games organised by Alexander was to spread Greek sport to the East, and to use sport as a mechanism to unite the known world, with the gymnasion as the central institution in his new settlements of the spread of Greek culture.28 Slowikowski supports the view that Alexander's interest in sport was clear political propaganda, although noting the limitations of her own conclusions by noting, "since our information surrounding Alexander and athletics is scanty, conflicting proposals for the meaning of the evidence are bound to arise".29 The presence of Aristotle and other intellectuals in Macedonia and the various scientists who campaigned with Alexander demonstrate an alternative interpretation. Certainly when Alexander spread Greek civilisation to the East, every city in the newly Hellenised world built a stadium and inaugurated games. The Hellenistic stadium of Laodicea, in Asia Minor, was the largest ever built with a floor length of over 300 yards.30

The most significant evidence of how Macedonians used sport and gymnastic education comes from the 'Gymnasiarch Laws', in various cities of Macedonia. The most significant of these, dated 167BC, indicates that the aim of gymnasia was not only the
preparation and training of the athletes, but also the education of youth. This is not a unique decree, because "in every city there are gymnasiums".31

During Hellenistic Greece, the gymnasiarchos still played a leading role in the education of youth. A decree dated 183BC, written on the plaque of Phillip (238-179BC), deals with the role played by the gymnasiarchos in the declaration of athletes in games:

The gymnasiarchos of the Macedonian cities register the athletes and the sport they want to compete in, as they arrive to participate in the games of the city. Then the register is transferred over to the gymnasiarchos and to the priest who have been appointed to honour the winners of the contest with a garland.32

Hellenistic centres also provide appropriate examples of Greek sport in this period. Although Athens' role in the Hellenic world was reduced, during the Hellenistic period, the institution of education still functioned at a very high level and that the schools of Hellenistic Athens always cultivated the body and soul. Kyle noted about Hellenistic Athens that:

Ironically, the fame and practice of Athenian athletics fared better than the city itself: they remained a very significant element in the civic life of a city which itself suffered politically and militarily in the Hellenistic era... Altered but active, athletics remained a vital part of the glory, identity and legacy of Athens.33

Aristotle details how athletics and sport were thoroughly institutionalised and carefully administered in Athens.34 It seems that the sum total of all ideal perfections of mind and body - complete kalokagathia - was still operating.

By 146BC, the Greek world was under Roman Occupation. By 30BC the Hellenistic Age had ended with the Roman occupation of the last major Hellenistic kingdom. The Romans in their attempt to control all races used a policy based on the spear, violence and perfect organisation. An important element in the social policy of Rome, was that of 'Bread and Circuses', meaning the public provision of food and sport. In the era of Marcus Aurelius, the Roman calendar provided over 120 days for sport which included duels, chariot racing, and numerous festivals. The Emperor and the Senate had chief responsibility for organising these events. The stadiums were huge, like the Circus

Maximus which seated over 80,000 spectators. Grant vividly portrays the bloody events which took place in the circuses.35

The Greek world attempted to respond to this new situation and made compromises, although the Greeks were surprised when the Romans adopted and embraced the Greek spirit and philosophy. In those conditions, the role of sport and the sacred games diminished. In particular the Greeks had to compromise to accept the Romans while the Romans in turn learned to tolerate aspects of Greek life. This tolerance sustained the Greeks in their Greekness.

The Greek games lost some of their original character during this time. Although Romans included physical exercise in their education programs, they also emphasised entertainment, health and military training. The ideal Roman athlete was strong and the combatant (gladiator) was judged on how tough and ruthless he was in combat. The great victims of Rome were slaves and Christians. Spartacus, a Greek athlete from Thrace, took revenge on this system by organising a revolt.36

The Roman conquest affected all aspects of Greek life including sport. Games although significantly changed in nature continued as Greek games were tolerated. The Olympic Games did continue with the Romans giving the Elians political asylum, while the gymnasium of Olympia, which had been the largest in the Greek world still functioned. Pausanias, writing in the second century AD, gives a depiction of the Roman influence, describing baths, statues and the residences of Roman dignitaries. Pausanias' account is important because he saw Olympia with the impact of Hellenistic and Roman influence.37

In the East, in places such as Egypt, Asia Minor and the Middle East, athletics and games continued almost uninterrupted, a striking example being the Olympia of Antioch, until they were abolished in 521AD by Byzantium Emperor Justinian II, a great persecutor of pagans of the early Byzantium period. The Antioch games were organised at Dafni by Epifanis of Antioch (175-164BC). Epifanis wanted to surpass the games being held at that time in Macedonia, organised by the Roman general Emilius Pavlus. From as early as 171BC Emilius Pavlus organised Greek games with Roman influences in Macedonia. The Antioch games dedicated to Zeus took place every four years in July, with Greek citizens from any part of the world eligible to enter. Naked athletes participated in events including running, wrestling and chariot racing. The winner of each event received a wreath of laurel. The games lasted for thirty days, during which governors of the city

37Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Book 5 "Elis I" and Book 6 "Elis II".
provided various entertainments. During their existence, the Antioch games functioned at a high level and attempted to be greater than the games held in Olympia. They were fully supported by many Greeks in that wealthy city.\textsuperscript{38}

Greek games also were held in Rome itself where the earliest recorded Greek games were promoted in 186BC.\textsuperscript{39} They continued in Rome with the most important organised by Sulla in 81BC, by Aemilius Scaurus in 58BC, by Pompey in 55BC, Curio in 53BC and in 46BC by Julius Caesar.\textsuperscript{40} Harris dealing with the introduction of Greek games in Rome concluded, "we see old-fashioned Romans still nursing the belief ....that gymnasia were hotbeds of vice; we see too the fear that the traditional physical education of the Romans- training for war- was threatened by the introduction of Greek methods."\textsuperscript{41}

Romans sometimes inaugurated Greek games, the best known being the Aktia of Nicopolis, whose founder Octavian attempted to copy the Greek character. When he founded the city of Nicopolis at Aktium to celebrate his victory there, he re-inaugurated an existing athletic festival and reconstituted it as the Aktia. The games that celebrated the defeat of Mark Antony by Octavian in 31BC, included a complete Olympic sporting program where naked athletes participated. These games immediately became popular, with athletes competing from around the Mediterranean. The games were held on the second day of September, every four years, the games provided three divisions of competitors: men, youth and children. Sarikakis claims that because of the success and reputation of the games, several cities in the Mediterranean named their games Aktia, with the largest being in Alexandria.\textsuperscript{42} There are many other examples of Romans promoting Greek games, including Herod the Great (73-4 BC), who established Greek games in Palestine.\textsuperscript{43}

Other Romans renovated and refurbished many Greek stadiums such as Olympia and Delphi, and re-built others, including the Panatheniac. Roman Herod Atticus became the greatest benefactor and builder of public buildings in Roman Greece, three of the greatest works being the construction of the new Panathenaic Stadium in Athens (which replaced the one built by Likourgos in 330-326BC), baths at Thermopylae and the marbling of the stadium in Delphi.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{38}Libanius, \textit{Libanius,} Lipsia, 1850, Oration 1 "Autobiography". Libanius deals in great detail with the palaestras, the gymnasiu of the city and the athletic celebrations of the city.
\textsuperscript{39}Gardiner, \textit{Greek Athletics, Sports and Festivals,} p.164.
\textsuperscript{40}Harris, \textit{Sport in Greece and Rome,} p.50.
\textsuperscript{41}ibid., p.61.
\textsuperscript{43}Finley and Pleket, \textit{The Olympic Games,} pp.99, 111.
\textsuperscript{44}The stadium built by Herod Atticus, was dug up in 1870 and after its remarling it hosted the first Olympic Games in 1896.
Roman emperors displayed an interest in Greek sport. Emperor Tiberius won the four horse chariot race in the Olympiad of 37AD, and later established winter athletic games in Nemea and athletic celebrations in Argos. Emperor Augustus attended Greek games, honoured athletes and maintained the privileges enjoyed by athletes and instituted the Augustalia games at Naples.

The keenest promoter of Greek sport was Nero, who became Emperor in 54AD. Nero instituted games and tried to organise young men into athletic participation by founding schools modelled on Greek types. In 59AD, he instituted Greek games under the title "Juvenalia" (Youth Games) and invited all classes to take part both as participants and spectators. A year later he instituted the Neronia at Rome, a Greek festival modelled on the Pythian Games held in honour of Apollo, which included competitions in athletics, chariot racing and music. Nero, unable to participate in the Olympic Games in 65AD, moved them to 67AD, so that he himself could take part. In addition, he spent almost one year in Greece preparing for the games. He also contributed financially to the restoration and upkeep of Olympia to maintain its Greek character.

Interest in Greek sport is also evident in the contemporary literature. Horace gives a vivid glimpse of young Sybaris, renowned as a fine athlete, until reduced to effeminacy by his passion for Lydia, "A better horseman than Bellerophon himself, unbeaten at boxing and running". Virgil provides a Homeric style hero who is not Trojan but Roman and also devotes a whole book to Greek funeral games. Roman sculpture, with its copies of Greek models and translation of Greek authors, all helped to preserve and foster the Greek ideals.

In summary, during the Roman occupation, Greek games continued, especially in the East, as exemplified by the Olympia of Antioch. Romans showed an interest in Greek sport, especially in the early years, when Greek games were staged in Rome itself, until they could not compete with the Roman spectacles. Festivals of Greek games in the Roman Republic era did little to invalidate the general principle that the West preferred gladiators while the East remained loyal to Greek sports. The only sport continuously favoured was chariot racing. Therefore the Greeks’ mechanics continued through the

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46 Suetonius, Augustus, 45 and 18.
47 Tacitus, The Annals, Book 14, no.21.
48 ibid., Book 14, no.15.
49 ibid., Book 14, no.20.
50 Suetonius, Nero, 23-4, 53.
51 Horace, Odes, Book III, no.12.
52 Virgil, The Aeneid, Book V. Aeneas and his men decide to hold a day of games at Drepanum in Sicily to mark the anniversary of the death of Dido, queen of Carthage.
centuries and added to these were Roman spectacles. The impact of the Romans was a two way affair, as seen in the use of Roman baths and the introduction of Roman sports and games. Greek sport with an ancient Greek character continued up until early Byzantium, with major problems. The Pythia and Aktia games continued until the 4th century, while the Olympia of Antioch until 521AD. The institutions of the gymnasium and *palaestra* also continued in the Greek-speaking areas of the East.

The last celebration of the Olympic Games is believed to be the year 393AD, reportedly the result of an edict of Theodosius the Great (379 to 395AD). However, some historians have questioned this date. Drees cited the date 425AD as the final date, basing his conclusions on a fire that destroyed the temple at Olympia in 426AD. Also, the Justinian Code of 528AD still carried a regulation that exempted from civil obligations those athletes who had won at least three wreaths at a sacred festival. In fact the only evidence verifying the Theodosian Edict and the end of the Games was taken by historian Georgios Kedrinos in the 12th century.

**Byzantium (331-1453AD)**

From 331AD to the fall of Constantinople in 1453AD, the period of the Byzantine Empire, people participated in a wide range of sports, including traditional Greek sports. Greek sports had shed their pagan character at the Byzantine Emperors' insistence. The new religion, Christianity, was opposed to anything to do with the body, which was considered the prison of the soul. Nudity which had dominated the old religion shocked Christians.

Despite the longevity of the Byzantine Empire, and the importance attached to sport by its inhabitants, little has been written about the subject. This is surprising when one considers the role of sport in Byzantine society as illustrated in the tenth century by Leo the Deacon who stated that "Byzantine people, more than any other population in the world, loved their sports":

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Much of the available information gives the impression that sport in Byzantium consisted of nothing more than Roman activities transplanted to the shores of Asia Minor, while other sources simply refer to Byzantium in sections devoted to the final period of Greek athletics.58

Over the centuries Byzantium became a cosmopolitan state, which the Greeks called ecumenical. After the fifth century, the Empire itself was not based on nationality, but on religious Orthodoxy. The Greek language dominated from the sixth century onwards. The administrative system of the state was strictly centralised and directed by the Emperor, who lived in the Great Palace.59 Byzantine civilisation was a continuation of Greek culture, while also becoming the bridge linking the Graeco-Roman world to the Europe of the Middle Ages. Thus there was no sharp break with the past. Paganism was combined with Christian tradition and the population of the Orthodox Church was not forced to relinquish the traditions and treasures of classical antiquity.60

From as early as the late 4th century when Theodosius began to outlaw pagan activities, authorities seemed to turn a blind eye to chariot racing and games, activities which were perhaps above the law. However, gladiatorial and animal events were targeted and abolished. One of the first public works of Emperor Constantine was the building of a hippodrome in his capital to cater for sport. Constantine and later Emperors had pieces of sculpture brought to decorate the hippodrome. The hippodrome housed masterpieces of classical statuary including three statues of Hercules; Lysippos' Hercules, Hercules and the Nemean Lion and another portraying him seated and resting after the cleaning of the Aegean stables.61

The use of statues of Hercules in the Hippodrome were most appropriate. Hercules was renowned for his successful completion of twelve physical Labours. His accomplishment of these feats made him the model for male strength and masculinity, for he was always associated with physical culture. Among both pagan and Byzantium Greeks he was

58See Harris, Sport in Greece and Rome, pp.238-43; Robinson, Sources for the History of Greek Athletics, pp.203-32.
61 For more detail see: Sarah Guberti Basset, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople", Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Vol.45, 1991, pp.87-96. When the Crusaders sacked and burnt the city in 1204, most of the statues were destroyed; for statues and fire see Niketas Choniates, Historia, in I. Bekker (ed), Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonn, 1835, no.554-56, 647-55.
patron of athletic contests. Hercules was also admired for his moral strength which complimented his physical power and ensured the success of his feats of labour. Thus he was a perfect exemplar for not only the Hippodrome athlete but also for spectators.

Sports events in Byzantine hippodromes, especially chariot races and wrestling, were the main social entertainment for all people, regardless of social background, and age. Although Greeks had changed their religious beliefs, they never stopped considering sport as a part of everyday life. Traditional Roman circuses lost their appeal and were immediately abolished when Byzantium was established. Through its ethical philosophy, Christianity immediately changed people's attitude towards gory gladiatorial contests, and charioteering consequently became the most popular social entertainment. During the early years of the Empire, the Greek form was still practised, as evidenced by the custom of awarding victory to the owner, rather than to the charioteer. As the most popular sport with all classes, chariot racing became ritualised as part of the ceremonies surrounding the imperial court, and maintained a pre-eminent position throughout Byzantium.62

Of the four hippodromes in Constantinople, the largest was the Big Hippodrome, built next to the Great Palace and Saint Sophia. There was a wooden hippodrome in Galata, one in the suburb of Patria and one at Araseriano.63 It would seem that all other major Byzantine cities had hippodromes. Thessaloniki not only had a hippodrome in use, but until the 10th century its ancient stadium was still in use.64 The Constantinople Hippodrome accommodated at least 50,000 people. There were sections for each demes and seats called the kathisma, for the Emperor's family. In front of these seats an area called the skamma was where the wrestling took place.

The Byzantine chariot was similar to the Greek. Chariot racing took place with either two horses (difros) or four horses (tethripo) with tethripo being the most popular type. Charioteers drew their starting positions and raced seven laps around the hippodrome. The number of races presented varied over time. In sixth century Constantinople, the standard program offered twenty-five races, but by the tenth century, this had been reduced to eight.65 At the conclusion of the races the winners and their supporters celebrated in the streets. Chariot racing took place in three divisions: boys under 17; youths 17 to 20; men over 20.66

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62 For a good account of chariot racing see Cameron, Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium, Chapter 1, pp.5-23; For Greek style chariot racing, pp.19-20, 201-11.
63 E. Stamatiades, The Hippodrome of Constantinople, Athens, 1868.
65 Cameron, Porphyrius the Charioteer, p.256.
66 ibid., p.155.
Byzantine chariot racing included another feature not recorded in other cultures: the *diversium*. This provided the opportunity for the winner of a morning race to challenge the loser to a re-match in the afternoon, while horses and chariots exchanged. In this manner, the doubly successful charioteer could demonstrate that his wins were the result of skill, rather than luck. An epigram honouring the outstanding charioteer, Constantine, records that he won twenty-five morning races and twenty-one afternoon races.67

Several significant church festivals were also celebrated in the hippodrome. For example the Hippodrome of Meat marked the last day on which meat could be eaten before Lent. The occasion also heralded the beginning of spring, a time for ceremonial chariot races and sports. The most important national festival of the year was the Genethliaca, celebrating the anniversary of the founding of Constantinople by Constantine the Great. The races to commemorate this event were known as the 'Hippodrome of Vegetables' and took place each year on 11 May, with both the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople in attendance.68 The days of the 'Golden Hippodrome' began on Easter Monday and continued to the following Sunday.69

Races were held to commemorate great victories as well as birthdays or religious events, such as the baptism and birth of a prince. Races were also conducted when royal weddings occurred. Far from outlawing them, the Church supported sporting activities. Emperor Justinian conducted games in 534AD to commemorate a battle win and brought into the hippodrome captured king of the Vandals, Gelimer.70 While in the Byzantine Persian War 540-45AD, general Chosreos organised games in the Syrian city of Apamea, after its capture.71

In general the Hippodrome activities were a male public space as attendance was only male. Procopius commented that women joined the factions of the city, although they were never allowed to go and attend the hippodrome activities.72 Cameron noted that it was not proper for women to attend games, even for the nobility in the kathisma.73 During Byzantium women, although more active in Church activities, especially charities, were still confined to domestic activities.

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68Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Book Of Ceremonies, II, p.143.
70Procopius, History of the Wars, Book II "The Persian War", no.xxi, 28; Book IV "The Vandalic War", no.ix, 11-2.
71ibid., Book II "The Persian War", no.xi, 31-5.
72Procopius, History of the Wars, Book I "The Persian War", no.xxiv, 5-6.
73Cameron, Porphyrius the Charioteer, p.53.
Cameron’s texts on the famous charioteer Porphyrius and the Circus Factions gives little detail on sports other than chariot racing. In fact, all existing literature tends to concentrate on the sports of the upper class. Little has been written about the sports of ordinary people. Other events held in the hippodrome included the 5,000 metre foot race, the vota where the athletes ran in sporting equipment, representing the various factions. This was the first event of the year. Wrestling also took place in the skamma. Baths were found throughout the Byzantine Empire, and fulfilled similar social and recreational functions as in previous eras. Byron noted that the Turkish bath is a direct offspring of the Roman through the Byzantine, and within a hundred years of the city’s foundation, Constantinople boasted eight public and 153 private baths.

The horseman’s team game of polo tyzkanion was played in Constantinople, where it became a popular activity of the nobility. The introduction of tyzkanion to the Byzantine Empire is generally attributed by historians to Theodosius II, (408 to 450). The field on which Byzantine polo was played was called the tyzkanisterion. Basil I (867 to 886) built such a ground, within the walls of the Imperial Palace. John Kinnamos, secretary to Manuel I Comnenus (1143 to 1180) described the game, played in the winter of 1166-67 AD, as follows:

Some youths who divided themselves equally cast a ball made of leather... As it lies in the middle like a prize, they charge [their horses] at full speed toward it, against one another. Each holds in his hand a stick sufficiently lengthy... Each side makes great haste to sweep it up and get it first to the other end and force it into the opponents' goal. Whenever the ball, driven by the sticks, comes to either end, this constitutes victory for that side. Such is this sport, very perilous and dangerous... Such is this sport. The emperor was astonishingly devoted to it.

The popularity of the game is illustrated by the fact it was played even in the last days of the Empire. Anna Comnena claimed that her father, Emperor Alexius I, was more interested in playing the sport than in ruling the Empire.

Apart from tyzkanion, tzostra and tornemes seem to have been the most common games. Tzostra played by two opposing athletes on horseback while tornemes was an encounter between two equal groups of riding men. Nikiforos Grigoras, the Byzantine chronicler, describes the sport of tornemes:

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77 Bryer, "Byzantine Games", p.457.
They are divided according to race, municipality and party, and they arm themselves (with spears) all the same and they all sit in their two respective groups. An election takes place by drawing lots for the leadership of the two groups and they fight freely with sticks without mercy. They struggle against each other using their spears and the one that throws their opponent off the horse is proclaimed the winner.\textsuperscript{80}

The activities described thus far were urban or aristocratic. It is important to note here that such so-called 'high' sports, including the palace hippodromes sports, were subsidised by the state, and were only a publicly visible layer on top of the scarcely visible folk sports. Rural dwellers also participated in a variety of recreations. Unlike in Classical Greece, the state did not subsidise sport at grassroots level. Popular games started to take place at the festivals, which commemorated Saints' Days or at market fairs where there were opportunities for archery, dancing, wrestling, running and fencing.

Wrestling, much loved by the Byzantines, is described in much detail by many writers. Efstatios of Thessalonike describes it as similar to the Greek style as it is hand to hand \textit{exokambo} and standing \textit{orthopalli}.\textsuperscript{81} Running was also popular, with Loukas Christovertis in the 12th century, describing a race which took place on the first day of fasting. The pentathlon as an event was still popular. Konstantinos Laskaris deals with the consecutive events of wrestling, running, discus, javelin and pancration.\textsuperscript{82} Leo the Wise, at the end of the 9th century, claimed: "Anyone participating in sport for money was prevented from participating in running, jumping, archery and wrestling as these events were only for excellence."\textsuperscript{83}

To ancient Greeks, the main goal of human beings was to develop both their physical and spiritual qualities. Gymnastics and games were for them an integral part of education. The Byzantines, however, saw athletics and games as recreational activities and the Christian writers criticise athletics not as an instrument of education but as a spectator sport. Byzantines rejected the idea that the human body needs a special educational program. Spectator sports such as chariot racing and \textit{tyzkanion} took place either in hippodromes or on temporary grounds, all only for recreational purposes. Therefore physical activities and sport were permitted in an unofficial way.\textsuperscript{84} A well structured system of physical activities existed only in the military. The Byzantines had a rigorous

\textsuperscript{80}Nikiforos Grigoras, \textit{Roman History}, Book I, pp.482-83.
\textsuperscript{81}Koukoules, \textit{The Cultural Life of the Byzantines}, Vol.3, p.98. For wrestling see, pp.94-102.
\textsuperscript{82}Konstantinos Laskaris, \textit{Epistolai}, p.970.
\textsuperscript{83}Leo the Wise, \textit{Book Of Kings}, 60.3.9.
\textsuperscript{84}S. Giatas, Chariot Racing and Tzykanion in Byzantine Constantinople from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century with a Particular Reference to the Great Hippodrome and Other Places of Entertainment of the City, Chapter 8.
and selective three-stage (primary, secondary, higher) system of education where the study of religion secured a more prominent position in the general curriculum. 85

During Byzantium, Christian leaders used the training of an athlete as one of their metaphors to describe the disciplined Christian life, especially the life of the ascetic. The works of John Chrysostom, Basil, Isodore Pelusiotes, John Climacus, Efstathios of Thessalonike and others abound in metaphors drawn from sport. These works give information on running, wrestling, discus, boxing, the diets of athletes and the hippodrome activity. Terms such as nude games, andreia (manly, masculine), spectator, gymnast, athlete, kalos kai agathos (fair and noble) and wrestler are commonly found.

Anna Comnena gives more emphasis to the physical descriptions of husband, general Nicephorus Bryennius and her father Emperor Alexius I: "Both were good athletes and had well-exercised bodies". She describes her father as "like a second Hercules" and compared him "with a modern and more noble Hercules". 86 She also describes Bryennius: "he was more powerful and boasted that he could wrestle with the giants ..... his chest broad and he stood taller by the head and shoulders than the men of that time." 87 He is a prototype of the Byzantine ideal 'author, soldier and athlete'. The Christian scholar Michael Psellos claims Emperor Constantine VIII (1025-1028) revived nude wrestling and he himself was competing in that sport in the hippodrome. 88 Procopios informs us that the soldier Andreas, who was also an educator, taught wrestling and gymnastics to the soldiers of the Byzantine army. 89

In the late Byzantine period, some popular texts gave useful accounts of the relationship between the body and sport. The heroic poem, "Belthandros and Chrysanta" and the epic work "Digenis Akritas", depict the Akrites, guardians of the borders as having super-human powers. The Akrites wrestle, throw the stone and conduct running races in either the valley or the threshing floor. Digenes Akritas, the folk hero of a long poem, is a multi-talented dekathlos (decathlete). Wrestling, running, hunting and throwing the stone, he is unbeatable. The Akrites protect the boundaries of the Empire. In fact, Digenes dies in his final wrestling match with Charon.

Let's go and wrestle on the iron threshing floor.

And they went and wrestled on the iron threshing floor.

86 Anna Comnena, Alexiad, I, Pelican Books, p.IX.
87 Comnena, Alexiad, III, no.174-77.
88 Michael Psellos, Chronographia, Book II "Constantine VIII", no.8.
And nine times the young man threw death to the floor
...... "Let me go Charon, from my hair and grab me from the front.
And then I will show you who is the pallikari."90

Even in the last years of the Empire, sport and games were written about. Constantine Laskaris in the 15th century laments the death of a friend, admiring both his athletic performance and his good posture, mentioning words kalos kai agathos and andreios.91

Byzantine art portrayed sports themes, such as the depiction on silk materials and carpets of the sixth to seventh century of the Winning Charioteer. He is shown with a four horsed chariot between two stablemen who each holds a wreath to crown 'Saint Horseman'. The sculpture, the 'Acrobat', now in the Museum of Constantinople, dates to the twelfth century, and depicts the winners of athletic games.92

Charioteers in particular embodied andreia. Baynes remarked the Byzantines had two heroes, "the winner in the chariot race and the ascetic saint".93 Porphyrius the Charioteer, the subject of 32 surviving poems in manuscript anthologies, is much admired because he is young, strong and fearless.94 Although his place and date of birth are unknown, his victories with the quadriga, the four horse chariot event, were celebrated from one end of the Empire to the other. Porphyrius is both athlete and warrior and this is why people admire him.95 He is celebrated because he is a handsome youth, such as even a goddess might fall in love with.96 When Porphyrius entered the stadium in Constantinople, the crowd greeted him with cheers of encouragement "May You Win". His racing exploits and his embodiment of masculinity are romanticised:

The charioteer who distinguished himself in dexterity among the others and he showed how much of a great man he was.97

Other athletes, like the Akrites had these attributes.

No one was like me in the grace of andreia
in wrestling, in running, in jumping and in javelin.98

91Laskaris, Epistolae, p.970.
94The achievements of Porphyrius are found in epigrams in the Palatine Anthology, Book 15, no.41-50.
The four other epigrams deal with other charioteers.
95Cameron, Porphyrius the Charioteer, p.128: quoting Palatine Anthology, Epigram 347 and 348.
96Ibid., p.135: quoting Palatine Anthology, Epigram 337.
97Palatine Anthology, Epigram 352.
98Petropoulos, Greek Demotic Songs, Part I "Akritika Songs", Song of Andronicus, pp.36-40.
Sport in Byzantium is without the reward of the wreath (stefani), but the winner embodies and illustrates andreia that is, bravery, courage and valour. In the Akritic songs there are frequent references to the words andreia and andreiomenos always celebrating physical strength, athletic prowess and masculine pride. During the Turkish Occupation andreia comes in the form of lebentia (youthful manliness) and the term always referring to the above ideals.

**Turkish Occupation (1453-1821AD)**

Five years before the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, the book *Gymnastics* was published in 1891. The author Takis Sakellariou comments on sport under Turkish occupation:

> During the first days after the fall of Constantinople all those who could not bear to live under the oppression of the conquerors fled far away... The klefites trained themselves like the ancient inhabitants of this land, wrestling, jumping and running, improving their physiques, stimulating their pride. At the peaks of Pindus and Olympus they trained continuously in their palaestres and attempted to create bodies equal to those of their ancestors. In time their exercises progressed and were transferred to the plains and became more manly, enrolling new members. 99

Similarly Damaskinos Stoudites noticed, in the 17th century, that sport was being played by Greek youth during the Turkish occupation, "In festival days the youths of the neighbourhood were playing outside, some were winning in running races, some in wrestling and others in various games." With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Greece was conquered by the Turks. This began Hellenism's dark ages for over 400 years of misrule, repressive taxation, atrocities, massacres and the conscription of children to be raised as Ottoman soldiers. 100 Although the War of Independence was proclaimed on 25 March 1821, the Turkish occupation endured until 1827 for Southern Greece and until 1913 for the rest of modern Greece. The Greeks themselves have tended to neglect the history of their forefathers under Turkish occupation. The period bears witness to the brave and unquenchable vitality of Hellenism and to the spiritual strength of the Greek Orthodox Church. Nicholas Biddle remarked about Greek masculinity in the Turkish Occupation, "The higher classes are more alive to these misfortunes from the sad remembrance of what Greece once was; and even the meanest among them, feels that he is a man." 101

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The Turkish occupation changed the character of Greek life. Internal movements of population occurred only in the safer areas for the first few decades. Language, religion and culture made the Turks live separate from the Greeks. The Greeks though were united in their tradition. The old glories of Hellenism and Byzantium became a symbol of hope. In this period, two types of sport were clearly visible. The first, lebentiki is associated with the kleftes. Sport, in a general sense was part of the everyday life of these kleftes, as they had to be physically fit. The second type of sport is associated with the popular games that took place at local (panygiria) festivals.

**Sport and kleftes**

Those Greeks who did not want to be ruled by the Turks took to the mountains and became known as kleftes (brigands). The kleftes moved between illegal and legal existence and maintained a semi-independent existence by hiding in the mountains and raiding Turkish territory. Sport for the kleftes was an important part of their existence and took up much of their leisure time. Tradition and history of pre-revolutionary Greece gives us many detailed accounts of the people who constituted the nucleus and the motivation of the revolution (1821-27). The lifestyle of the kleftes was difficult, living in temporary shed sites or caves which provided safety.

Evidence of social life and in particular sport, come from foreign chroniclers and demotic songs. Research into the everyday life of kleftes has been handicapped by the lack of written material of the times. The information in this section on the kleftes is based on several separate demotic works that survive today by Petropoulos, Politis, Passow, and Chasiotis. Fauriel's work is perhaps the most detailed account on the topic, as he spent time in Greece in the late 1790s and recorded the everyday life of the kleftes. The point of the folk songs is that they are not only sources of information, but also celebrations of sportsmen, highlighting the Greek admiration of the athletic Greek male. Training was used to produce well developed bodies and sport was used as a solution to the masculinization and control of the kleftes. Most of their training and games took place on the threshing floors which had replaced the Greek palaestra and gymnasium.

The athletic life of kleftes is seen in the games of their young people. The boys are organised into two groups and play war games (kleftopolemo). For the kleftes, this

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104 Ibid., p.42.
activity is not a game at all but in effect training for war and glory. The following phrase is found in many songs, "They took part in nine wars from dawn to noon and another nine in the afternoon and another nine in the evening".105

In fact for the kleftes war was an art that needed training and they had their own physical education training methods. In target shooting, they could shoot an egg hanging from a tree branch, from a distance of 200 feet or pass a bullet through a ring hanging from a tree branch.106 In combat, especially one on one, the importance of a good aim was extremely important. Target practice was a skill the kleftes developed well, participating in barracks or at village festivals: "where they eat and drink in the village, they also shoot the target", or "the pallikaria are happy and they shoot the target".107

The sporting life of kleftes began early. Strength, endurance, speed or perseverance were necessities and decided their fate. Leading a simple life, especially in times of danger, was a natural consequence. Dress was always dirty (for camouflage) and lightweight and was made complete with the classic cape which also served as a blanket. Generally they were considered by the people of their age, as a prototype for who they called lebentes. They were the kalos kai agathos (fair and noble) of the time. Proud in mind and manliness, strict and decisive in appearance, the kleftes had good posture and a straight forward manner in words and deeds. A lebenti was a pursued outlaw and a proud man who preferred to die rather than to live enslaved. On the other hand, the Digenes Akritis of Byzantium were owners of land and feudal lords. Despite this fundamental difference, their sporting activities are similar because of their Greek tradition.

Quick movement was a necessity in the lives of kleftes. In many popular songs, their speed is recognised: "in one night, he walked three days". The traditional dromos (footrace) as a sport was much loved by the kleftes. Zacharias of the Morea was so quick footed that when he ran his heels hit his ears. On many occasions, their swiftness of foot saved the kleftes from the Turks. It is said that Andreas Androutsos was saved many times by his speed. A Souliot soldier is said to have run 120 kilometres, from Ioannina to Souli, to inform his compatriots that Lambros Tsavellas had been captured by the Turks. Pheidippides’ myth lives again with a soldier running a long distance to relay information. Legend also has it that seventy Souliots, after disarming, played sport, thus providing the Turks with opportunity to ambush them.108

105This verse comes in many variations for example, "Three days he involved himself in wars, three days and three nights. For variations see Passow, Romaika Songs, p.183; Politis, The Demotic Song: Kleftika, p.58.
106Fauriel, Demotic Songs of Modern Greece, pp.34-5.
107Passow, Romaika Songs, p.61; Politis, The Demotic Song: Kleftika, p.33.
THE KLEFTES

Artist Foti Kontoglou's depiction of the kleftes
Throwing sports were also popular. There was the throwing of the javelin: "They came out to play with swords, to throw the javelin." The ancient Greek sport of discus evolved to throwing the stone, to become a popular sport of the klefites. The sport was accessible because of the simplicity of the activity and the availability of the implements.

In the marshes, in the wells
The klefites throw the stone
Karachalio pallikari
come and throw the stone
and if you win by a step
the prize a silver belt
and if you win in the running

Demotic songs refer to numerous sporting activities including wrestling. As stated previously, wrestling is found in the Akritika songs, where Digenis wrestled and lost against Charos (death), the only opponent that a courageous and masculine man could lose to. In the klefites' songs, Digenis is replaced by common people such as shepherds, and they also wrestle and struggle with death.

Come out and wrestle with me on the marble threshing floor.
And if you defeat me, Charos, take my soul,
But if I defeat you Charos, I'll take yours.
They grabbed each other and wrestled for two nights and three days.109

Wrestling is a sport that is frequently practised and a test for men's strength and skill and seems to be always practised on the marble threshing floor:

If you want, take your sword and I'll take mine
and we will wrestle on the marble threshing floors.

Whoever has a chest of marble, and hands of steel
come and wrestle with me on the marble threshing floor.110

Jumping, another sport with a long history was conducted over streams, stones, walls and other obstacles. Jumping came in three forms, single, double, or triple, eg "where they triple jump, they also throw the stone."111 Niko-Tsaras could clear seven horses

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109 Polites, The Demotic Song: Kleftika, p.303.
110 ibid., pp.303-10.
111 ibid., p.131.
standing in a line, while other men could clear at a bound three carts laden with thorns to a height of seven or eight feet.\textsuperscript{112}

The sport of lifting weights above a man's head or shoulders, has been known from ancient days. Mythical Atlas is shown as holding the world on his shoulders. In the Olympia Museum there is a 400 kilogram stone that Bibon allegedly lifted. In Byzantium, weight lifting continued to be a measure of manliness and body strength, while for the kleftes:

Marble, I have at my door, stone in my courtyard,
Whoever takes the marble, will lift the stone,
He'll be the one I accept, the one I will marry.\textsuperscript{113}

**Popular Games in Festivals (panygiria)**

The second type of popular sport involved various games and sports, played for social and entertainment purposes at village festivals, such as running, throwing the stone, jumping and other activities. Awards included sheep, other animals and food. Dancing and songs, together with other entertainment, created an atmosphere clearly of ethnic Greek character. The maintenance of this sporting tradition cultivated the very essence for independence.

Didot described a typical wrestling match during an Easter festival in Cydonia:

The wrestlers were naked, and, before entering the ring, they rubbed their bodies with oil; short breeches, in leather, did not hide their vigorous frames. Before coming to grips, they went round the arena several times circling around and swinging their arms from side to side; then they grappled several times before actually starting to struggle. On occasions, when a famous athlete entered the arena, he stayed some time before finding any antagonist. It was a wrestler from Pergamon who grounded the last two champions, and who was proclaimed winner....One Cydonian, a wrestler named Tettix had a celebrated school of gymnastics at Cydonia.\textsuperscript{114}

The character and the role of games in Greece during the Turkish occupation have received little scholarly attention. Only some entries in *Hellenic Agoge* exist. In the 1930s, *Hellenic Agoge* attempted to trace the origins of the games by describing the phenomenon in modern form. It is obvious from these accounts that century old sporting traditions in some cases had progressed relatively untouched into the twentieth

\textsuperscript{112}Fauriel, *Demotic Songs of Modern Greece*, p.35.
\textsuperscript{113}Petropoulos, *Greek Demotic Songs*, Part II "The Demotic Song", The Test of Love, p.82.
century. These games took place in all areas of Greece but systematic research of villages in all parts of Greece and other areas now in foreign hands (such as Pontus and Asia Minor) is needed to document these activities.

The popular games that took place either after church or during Saint's days were the continuation of the Greek sporting tradition. Sometimes the festivals were commercial exhibitions. In addition they were places where young men and women met and socialised, or where relationships were formed. Pallikaria (young men who were preparing themselves all year for these games), wrestled, jumped, ran and threw the stone. The word pallikari comes from the ancient Greek word pallinx, the youth who is vigorous and strong.

The games at festivals played an important recreational role in the provincial society and can be traced back to the Byzantium period. The festival was a cultural adaptation, having religious and social character which was clearly visible during Byzantium. Generally the games took place on the second day of the festival at a special open site near the local church. The organisers of the games were the local authorities who provided prizes. Athletic contests varied, although wrestling, running, jumping and horseriding seemed the most common. Various amusements and activities, especially dancing, closed the festival. Running took place as a cross country event. The throwing the stone event winner was declared after three attempts. Jumping and horse-racing took place in the valleys. Folk songs comment on the pride shown by winners and prestige afforded to them after winning events.

The dynamics of local society permitted the continuation of the Byzantine church festivals, panygiria. Speros Vryonis stated that Byzantine saints became the heirs of the pagan past and since then, heirs to the occupied nations. In this context, the origins of the popular games are to be found in antiquity. We can claim that they existed uninterrupted in the local level as remnants of hero-ship which, under Christianity, was transferred into veneration of Saints.

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116 This theme also ties in with J.R. Gillis' Youth and History, New York, 1983, Chapter One "Like a Family and a Fraternity", pp.1-36, suggestion on youth in pre-industrial society.

Descriptions of famous festivals in Byzantium were first documented by Timarione who visited the city of Thessaloniki at the end of the 12th Century. The Demetria, he documents, "are a feast, just as the Panathenaea were in Athens and the Panonia among the Milesians... They flow to it not only the indigenous Greeks but the Greeks from all parts of the world".118

Alongside the festivals of St Demetrius in Thessaloniki, other festivals took place in other occupied cities and towns during the Ottoman Empire.119 Such large religious festivals with important commercial, social and athletic activities, are described by Evliga Celebi concerning the festival of Doliane of Stromnitsa in the 17th century:

Once a year, at the time of the cherries, 100,000 Greek men from the Ottoman Empire, Arabia, Persia, India, Samarkand, Balkh, Bokhara, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, the entire West, and generally from the four corners of the world come together at the festival... there are from every land, singers, players of kithara, dancers, wrestlers, athletes, archers, brave and handsome youths, honourable and beloved boys of their era.120

The games in the small villages were organised by the superiors of the church (epitrope), who, when necessary, obtained permission from the Ottoman authorities. The typical events were running, wrestling, jumping, throwing of stone, shooting and horse racing. The choice of the events was made according to local traditional rules and customs which varied from region to region. The judges were usually the organisers or people of social standing or former athletes. Competitors were young men from the same or nearest town. Prizes were handkerchiefs, shortcakes or bread, sheep, bulls and in many cases an olive wreath. When the contests were completed, a banquet was followed by dancing and folk music. Women did not take part in the folk games, but they were always involved in the dancing.

Lawson claimed that the festivals were diminutives, both in name and form, of the ancient festivals with the same medley of religion, art, athletics, and amusements which constituted the Olympic Games:

The occasion is most commonly some saint's day, and a church or a sacred spring the centre of the gathering. ....Then in some open space there will be a gathering of young men, running, wrestling, hurling the stone; and with them the girls indulge in their favourite recreation of

118R. Romano, Pseudo-Luciano Timarione, Naples, 1974, p.5. The 'Demetria' are still celebrated in Macedonia today, with sports being an important aspect of the celebrations.
119G. Megas, Greek Festivals and Customs, Athens, 1988, documents many of these festivals and the activities that took place.
Greece, those graceful dances.... It is impossible to be a spectator of such scenes without recognising that here, in embryonic form, are the festivals of which the famous gatherings of Olympia and Nemea, Delphi and the Isthmus, were the full development.121

It is obvious that the festival games in the Tourkokratia are a remnant of the ancient Games. Pouqueville travelling in Greece in the late eighteenth century, noted:

Among the various amusements which youth engage in, the most important are foot-races. The youths, especially in Arcadia, engage in this exercise on fine summer days. The old men, or a priest, preside sometimes over the games, and the winner receives a prize. Wrestling is reserved for ‘grown men’ and is between athletes entirely naked, except for the part of the body where modesty makes them cover up with shorts made of leather.122

These popular games in festivals are relevant to the situation in Australia, as these games manifested themselves in modified form at the picnics in Australia in the pre-World War II period.

Modern Greece (1821-1896AD)

George Theotokis, then Minister of Education, tabled a report, to the Greek parliament on 4 December 1889:

There are currently 105,000 students (84,000 boys and 21,000 girls). Only half of these turn up to school and there are 3,000 towns where there is not only no school but no teachers to teach them, so all the male students do all day, from morning to night, is play games, in particular war-games.123

Where schools existed, physical education was assuming an urgent militaristic aspect. From the introduction of gymnastics by the Bavarians in 1834 until the curriculum reforms initiated by Ion Ioannidis in the Papandreou government (1963-64), when team sports became part of the physical education curriculum, physical education stopped being a purely militaristic and gymnastic orientated curriculum.124

121John Cuthbert Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion, New York, 1964, pp.34-5.
123Georgios Theotokis, Minister of Education, report tabled to the Greek Government on Greek Education, 4 December 1889.
124Ion Ioannides, Physical Education Reforms, Athens, 1965. In this text the author, then Minister of Education and Sport, documents the 1964 reforms and reasons for them.
Traditional Greek sporting traditions were already in place: dances, games, running, jumping, wrestling and traditional Greek games in the festivals. Some sport forms changed very little from the ancient years. The sport of triple jump is one that needs research in this regard. For example in Byzantium, jumping comes in *tsris* (triple jump), which might in fact be copied from the classical Greeks. When the first Olympic Games took place in 1896, the sport of triple jump was only known by the Greeks and Americans, while The Graphic produced an image of the Greeks performing a sporting event that they referred to only as the hop, skip and jump. The caption read "Greeks at sport" and it depicted an athlete in Greek army dress performing this 'hop, skip and jump' while the rest of the soldiers in the army barracks watched the event. This surely illustrates the continuity of the sport in its various forms from at least the Classical Greek period.

Newly liberated from the Turks in 1827, Greece needed leadership and reform. The nation's first president, Ioannis Kapodistrias, made the first attempts at organising a complete educational system. After his assassination, however, and the election of the Bavarian Prince Otto as King of Greece, the Bavarians took over. Their main objective was to serve the needs of the foreign powers. Like every other aspect of life, education was affected by this Bavarian system. The foundations of the modern Greek system of education were laid in the Bavarian plan of 1834-36, which established a two ladder system of elementary-secondary education.

On 6 February 1834, by the Royal Decree, the curriculum and regulations of the first elementary schools were issued and included the direction that: "there will be physical exercises twice a week, under the supervision of the teachers". In that same year, the first German gymnasium headed by German Kork was established in Nafplion. On 31 December 1836, by Royal Decree, the regulations for the establishment of the secondary school system were issued. Again physical exercise was stressed: "The pupils of these schools, will do gymnastics and other exercises during their recess hour and their free days as well as on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, under the supervision of their teachers". The regulations on gymnastics seemed only a decorative phrase in the programs of the schools.

About this time Georgios Pagon, a teacher of history and classical Greek in Germany, was asked to attend the Gymnastic School of Massmann. When he returned to Greece he

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128 Chrysafis, The Modern International Olympic Games, p.15.
129 Kalfarentzos, Summary of Gymnastic Laws 1834-1934, p.22.
was appointed to the newly established teachers' college on the Island of Aigina. In 1837 Pagon wrote a book based on Guts-Muths' and Jahn's writings, which is considered the first guide for school teachers in Greece. The last chapter of this book, titled "Problems on the Application of Gymnastics, Oppositions, Rejections," gives a clear picture of the difficult conditions under which he carried out his pioneer work. Interestingly he claimed that although the German gymnastic system should be the basis of Greek physical education, Pagon believed that the Greeks should not ignore their traditional sports. Yet he does not explore this idea further.  

To the dynamic, open minded Greeks of this period, newly freed from a hateful tyranny, remembrance of any event of the glorious past awakened enthusiasm and initiative for noble undertakings, such as the re-establishment of the Olympic Games.

In fact, the idea for the re-establishment of the Olympic Games was first proposed in Cephalonia in 1797, the year when Venetian rule in the Ionian Islands ended. In Cephalonia, the Greek Jacobin revolutionary group, suggested the revival of the Olympic Games and the abolition of the Christian religion. The games never materialised. Mavrogiannis claims that:

> Since the Christian religion it seems unsuitable for the new political authorities, it was proposed in this group that the Christian religion be abolished and the Olympic Games and the pagan religion be revived.  

Archbishop Evgenios Voulgaris (1716-1806) having studied the great philosophers of the West and classical Greece, translated the work of Hieronymus Mercurialis (1530-1606), into Greek. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Voulgaris, from the Ionian Islands, translated the work soon after the idea of the revival of the Olympic games in Cephalonia. In 1829 Kallirois published a book, which is the first book published in modern Greek dealing with sport and, in particular, its role in good health.

Reports indicate that as early as 8 September 1829, three events were held in one day in the army camp of Megara, with the names of the three winners, their origin and their battalion mentioned.

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132 Hieronymus Mercurialis, *The Art of Gymnastics*, Venice, 1569. In this text the values of physical activity are discussed in maintaining health.
1) target shooting; won by Georgios Kokkinos, Cretan, Company Evzone, A Battalion and won a silver cup.

2) running; won by Stavros Anagnostopoulos, Pelleponese, C Company, B Battalion and won a ram.

3) jumping; won by Konstantinos Antoniou from Anatolia, regular navy and won a skinbag with wine.  

More formal than the events in 1835 were the games conducted in Athens. They included three events and lasted for three days (21-23 May). From newspaper reports of the day, much is learnt about these previously unrecorded games.

For three continuous days sport will take place: 21st - there will be a running contest, 22nd - jumping, 23rd - horse racing. The winners will be awarded prizes.  

While another newspaper details that:

On the 21 May the program of the games began and the first prize was awarded to a man from Tripolis for his fleetness of foot.  

In 1837, King Otto, the German teenage prince of Greece, passed a law establishing a great panhellenic gathering, with contests and prize money in three categories, agriculture, industry, and athletic games. This Royal Decree to revive the Olympic Games included Article 4: "to take the necessary measures (12 member committee) to conduct public games with horse racing, chariot racing, wrestling, discus throwing, foot-races, long jumping, javelin, national dances and others which must take place with musical accompaniment. The protagonists would receive from this committee in the program of the festival awards and would be crowned with the wreath of laurel."  

The name 'Olympics' was not used, nor did the games actually take place. A year later, in 1838, people in Letrini (modern day Pirgos), near Olympia announced an Olympic revival, and even though a committee was formed, there is no surviving account of these games to substantiate their actual existence.  

It would be fair to assume that further research will perhaps reveal other unrecorded games. Even two years before the first Zappas Olympics, athletic games took place in the port city of Piraeus on the 25 March 1856 the Greek Easter Sunday.  

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134 General Newspaper, 19 October 1829, p.2.
135 Ethniki, 20 May 1835, p.2.
137 Committee for the Olympic Games, Laws, Royal Decree of Otto, King of Greece, Dated 25 January 1837, Article 4.
139 Dragatsis, The First Games in Piraeus 1856, Pireaus, 1914.
1821-56, 25 March was chosen as the opening date, expressing the cravings of Greeks to liberate Greek lands still under Turkish occupation. In this period the Great Idea was propagated and the phrase *Helleno-Christian* was also first used. Sport was playing an active role in this movement.\(^{140}\)

It is scarcely recognised, that the Greeks themselves revived the Olympics before Coubertin was born. Writing about the modern Olympic Games, Tarasouleas in his two texts, which were commissioned by the Greek Olympic Games committee, fails to mention the Zappas Olympics.\(^{141}\)

The Greeks themselves held Olympic Games in 1859 in Ludwig Square, 1870, and 1875 at the Panatheniac stadium; and in 1889 at the Central Gymnasium, followed by Panhellenic Games in 1891 and 1893. Only a few recent historians, such as Mandell and MacAloon, make passing reference to these earlier Olympics. They rely heavily on some inaccurate French and Irish sources and as a result, the Games that actually took place, have never been properly dealt with.\(^{142}\) In Coubertin’s memoirs, he does not mention the Zappas Olympics nor any other Greek games. This omission gave validity to the rumour that he was the 'sole instigator' of the modern Olympics.\(^{143}\) They were not only the forerunners of the 1896 Olympic Games but in many ways they were authentic descendants of the ancient Olympic Games. Chrysafis and to a lesser extent Manitakis provide the best account of the Zappas Olympics.\(^ {144}\) David Young’s article, based on Chrysafis’s book, is first to deal with the Zappas Olympics, in the English language.\(^ {145}\)

From as early as 1835, Panagiotis Zoutsos proposed that Greece institute a revival of the ancient Olympic Games. A well known, educated reporter of the times, Zoutsos published his proposals (continuously for almost 20 years), insisting the Games take place on 25 March each year in various cities around Greece. He proposed that the first Games be held in the then capital, Nafplion, in 1835, followed by Athens in 1836.

\(^{143}\)One of the first accounts to neglect the Greek presence is Pierre de Courbetin “Why I revived the Olympic Games”, *Fortnightly Review*, 90, July 1908, pp.110-15.
\(^{144}\)Chrysafis, *The Modern International Olympic Games: For 1859 Games*, pp.29-49; 1870 Games, pp.50-88; 1875 Games, pp.89-111; 1889 Games, pp.112-59; P. Manitakis, *100 Years of Modern Greek Sport*, 1830-1930, Athens, 1962, pp.13-25 also contains information on the Zappas Games.
The inspiration for the revival of the Olympic Games in Greece came from Evangelos Zappas, who was encouraged by Zoutsos's article. Zappas, a hero in the Greek War of Independence of 1821-27, had acquired a large wealth in Rumania, where a wealthy Greek community existed. By the 1850s he was one of the richest men in Europe. Like many Greeks who had prospered in the diaspora, he decided to devote his fortune to his homeland. Zappas wrote to King Otto in 1856 offering to fund the entire Olympic revival, thus initiating the Zappas Olympics and establishing the Zappeion building. Chrysafis believed that Zappas advised King Otto that he wanted the games to be exactly the way Zoutsos had proposed them. But King Otto believed any modern Olympic Games should focus, on agricultural and industrial progress, not on athletics. Otto did not want to appear to reject Zappas' original Olympic idea completely and included a three-part program.

In Paris, a Greek, Mynoide Mynas, translated Philostratos' work, for he had heard from the many Greek students of the city that the Greeks intended reviving the Olympic Games. He thought that the translation would be useful to his compatriots for this purpose. Mynas published this book in Paris in August, 1858, with an addendum entitled "Regarding the Establishment of the Olympic Games in Greece" severely criticising the misuse of the donations of Zappas by having industrial games part of the event. This, he said, would cause a great loss in the development of Hellenic athletics. The athletic Olympics needed to be given more emphasis if there was to be an authentic revival of the ancient Olympic Games.

A committee was formed to establish the first modern Olympics in Athens in 1859. Much of Zappas' money was directed off elsewhere, but the Zappas Olympics did take place. The first Olympic Games of the modern era were promoted and held in Athens in October, 1859. Chariot races were held in two categories: professional drivers and amateurs (filathlos). The amateur victor was Manuel Argyropoulos who won pistols, while Elias Georgiou won the professional race and received 300 drachmas. Two weeks later, on Sunday, 15 November, the first modern Olympic athletic program took place at Freedom Square. Zappas donated 200,000 drachmas to excavate and restore the stadium. The Royal Olympic Law specified games in the stadium, but not one drachma was spent there. Instead the games took place on the square. The first Olympic victor of the 200

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146 The Government received the promise graciously and with the Royal Decree 19 August 1858 stated the games would take place every four years with the name Olympics; Committee for the Olympic Games, Laws, Athens, 1892, contains all Royal Decrees to do with the Zappas Olympics.

147 Chrysafis, The Modern International Olympic Games, pp.24-5.

148 Committee for Zappas Bequest, Olympia in 1859 - The Programme and the Rules of their Establishment, Athens, 1859.

metre race was Demetrios Athanasiou. Costas Chestou won both javelin throws (distance and accuracy) and the discus; Petros Velissariou from Smyrna won the 1500 metre race.\textsuperscript{150} The newspaper Avgi describes that day: "First event of the day was running and this was followed by throwing the stone, jumping, javelin and finally fencing."\textsuperscript{151}

The 1859 competitors came from Cyprus, Smyrna, Tripolis and Argos, as well as from Athens and Eleusis. This fact alone shows that these games were in keeping with the ancient Olympics. All winners received cash prizes. The biggest problem of the games was that not many of the 20,000 spectators could see the events because of the flat square.\textsuperscript{152} These games were not so successful by today's standards but given the place (war torn and poverty stricken Greece) and time (non-existence of sport in most countries), these games could be considered a success. Testimony to this is that Zappas maintained his financial and personal commitment to the games. In 1865 Zappas died, bequeathing his immense estate to fund the modern Olympic Games, every four years, "in the manner of our ancestors, and for the stadium be excavated and restored".

In the meantime, King Otto had been exiled and King George, became King of Greece. Political turmoil postponed the second Olympiad until 1870, yet these Olympics were a resounding success. The Olympics Committee spent almost 200,000 drachmas on the 1870 Olympics. The athletic events took place in the stadium, as Zappas had intended.\textsuperscript{153} The athletic sub-committee called for entries about three months in advance. Athletes were to report in person to the Olympic Committee in Athens for six weeks' of supervised training and preliminaries. All athletes were on oath to follow the rules and not cheat. Just as in antiquity, a herald announced the competitions and declared the names of the winners. Travel expenses for needy athletes were paid, as were board, room and uniforms in Athens. Cash prizes were offered and athletes from all over the Greek world participated once again.\textsuperscript{154}

On the opening day, 15 November 1870, 30,000 spectators flocked to the renovated stadium. Before the games commenced, various religious ceremonies gave a classical Greek atmosphere. Thus the 1870 Olympics, in the world's first stadium, was a real success. Also included in these games were non-sporting contests. In the fine arts,
contests included printing, postal sketches, copper engravings and literature. In the poetry competition, sections included lyrical poetry, comedy and drama.\textsuperscript{155}

The sporting program included both track and field events and modern gymnastic events. Top three athletes in each of the ten events were published. The first victor was Evangelos Skordaras, a butcher, who won the 400 metres; Georgios Tsantelas of Eleusis won both the long jump and triple jump; Sotirios Ioannou won the discus throw; Kardamylakes, a manual labourer, was crowned wrestling champion.\textsuperscript{156} Chrestides present at the games concluded:

\begin{quote}
The spectacle was glorious and it honours the Greek people. Quietness and order were maintained during this Greek festival... we wish in the future to witness these magnificent games again, fulfilling the sacred aim of the great Evangelos Zappas.\textsuperscript{157}
\end{quote}

At the conclusion of the games the organising committees recommended that gymnasiums be built in each town and in all town schools. Sporting prowess should not be confined to only Athens.\textsuperscript{158}

At first the 1870 Games were praised. However 1870 was a crucial date as the earliest concept of amateurism had reached Greece through the Royal family. A system of social class attempted to keep the working class out of the games. Men from the working class had competed in the Olympics and some elitists were upset by their successes. The powerful Athenian aristocracy influenced entry requirements for the next Zappas Olympics, Olympiad III, 1875, restricting entry to the 'upper class'. John Phokianos, chief organiser and Olympic coach, accepted athletes from only the higher social orders. The 1875 Olympics were a failure. The newspapers denounced them as a dismal failure and a betrayal of Zappas' intention. Chrysafis claimed other reasons as well as "the absence of the working classes", citing "the complete ignorance, the pettiness of the organisers during the judging of the events, and no crowd control in the stadium". Phokianos left Athens in disgrace and went to Thessalonike to work as a gymnastics teacher.\textsuperscript{159}

No Olympic games were held for twelve years. The Olympic Committee used some of Zappas's money to build the Zappeion, a splendid exhibition hall which still exists in central Athens. As the building neared completion, the Olympic Committee announced

\textsuperscript{155}Committee for the Olympic Games, \textit{Laws}, Olympia 1870.
\textsuperscript{156}D. Chrestides (ed), \textit{Olympia of 1870}, Athens, 1872, details the various events and winners; Chrysafis, \textit{The Modern International Olympic Games}, p.51.
\textsuperscript{157}D. Chrestides, (ed) \textit{The Inauguration of the Second Period of Olympia}, Athens, 1970, p.3.
\textsuperscript{158}Chrysafis, \textit{The Modern International Games}, p.87.
\textsuperscript{159}ibid., pp.109-11.
that Olympiad IV would take place in October 1888. The athletic games, expressly 'public games', would take place in the ancient stadium, while the rest would take place in the Zappeion. However, in Olympiad IV, in October 1888, only the agri-industrial games took place and no athletic part of the games.  

At about this time, Phokianos, who had left in 1875, was recalled to run the Athens Central Gymnasium. When he discovered that the athletic component would not be organised, he decided to produce these games himself. Instead of public games in the stadium in 1888, these games, (called 'Olympics' in the press), took place in May 1889 in Phokianos' Central Gymnasium. In 1889, when the Olympic Committee again refused to hold the games, he organised and financed them himself, out of his own modest means. Only a privileged few were personally invited to observe his socially elite athletes. However, these spectators and athletes caused so much unrest and disorder that the games were temporarily cancelled only to be held a few days later, when they were conducted admirably.

In 1891 Phokianos merged his club with the Omonoia Club, forming the Panhellinios Gymnastic Club, where he was president from its inception till his death in 1896. This newly formed club organised Panhellenic Games on the 30-31 May 1891, at the Central Gymnasium attended by three thousand supporters. A cross section of Greek society attended these Panhellenic Games, including the Royal Family, along with the president and members of the parliament. The second Panhellenic Games took place in 1893, also with support from the Royal Family. Historically, these games were significant: firstly, Spiros Samaras set to music Konstantinos Manos' Hymn of the Olympic Games, and secondly, event winners received 50 drachmas prize money, thus making the games open to the working class. Public interest once again was stirred by the heroic performances of such athletes as Sotiris Versis and Miltiades Gouskos.

That concludes the history of the Zappas Olympics (1859, 1870, 1875 and 1889) and the Panhellenic games (1891 and 1893). The history of the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens

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160 ibid., pp.113-16.
161 Estia, 14 May 1889, p.1
162 For a detailed account of the formation of the club see Petros Linardos, Panhellinios, Athens, 1991, p.13-5; The constitution of the club was produced in the Newspaper of the Government, No.183, 28 June 1891, p.1.
163 The most detailed accounts of the 1891 and 1893 Panhellenic Games are found in Chryssafis, The Modern International Olympic Games, pp.131-56.
IOANNIS PHOKIANOS AND IOANNIS CHRYSAFIS

Ioannis Phokianos (1845-1896) dominated Greek sport and physical education from 1868 to 1896, and Ioannis Chrysafis (1873-1932) from 1896 to 1932.
is still not well known. Anninos and Paraskevopoulos provide the most detailed and accurate accounts of the 1896 Athens games.\textsuperscript{164}

George Averoff, a wealthy Alexandrian Greek, who donated the necessary funds to remable the whole Panatheniac Stadium was acknowledged in Greece as the principal establisher of the Olympic Games. A festival spirit claimed the city of Athens and all buildings were draped in multicoloured streamers which floated in the wind. Everywhere were the letters, O.A., the Greek initials of the Olympic Games and the two dates 776BC and 1896, indicating the past and the renaissance.

The timing of the Games combined symbols of religious, political and ethnic resurgence with emblems of international recognition. 25 March, the Greek Easter Sunday, happened to coincide with Western European Easter Sunday; it was also Greek Independence Day. The holiday was always the occasion for military parades, patriotic speeches, displays and rejoicings but since its inception had never assumed such magnificence as it did with its linkage to the restoration of the Olympics.

The inauguration of the Games took place in the newly constructed Panathenian stadium, with an estimated attendance of 100,000. Until it was surpassed four days later, on the day of the marathon, it was the largest single gathering until then for a peaceful celebration in the world. The size of the crowd is even more impressive, considering that Athens, at the time, had a population of 130,000.

In his opening address, Prince Constantine said, "May it be, Oh King, that the revival of the Olympic Games binds the links of mutual affection of the Greeks and other people. May it bring new life to physical exercise and to moral outlook and may it contribute to the formation of a new Greek generation worthy of its ancestors. With these hopes, I pray, O King, that you graciously agree to declare the opening of the Olympic Games".\textsuperscript{165}

The King responded, "I declare the opening of the First International Olympic Games in Athens. Long live the nation. Long live the Greek people".\textsuperscript{166} Greek national poet Costis Palamas wrote the lyrics to the Games anthem, 'Ancient Immortal Soul', while the music was composed by Spiros Samaras.\textsuperscript{167} Five events took place on that first day, with the crowd disappointed that none was won by Greeks.

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\textsuperscript{165}\textsuperscript{165}Anninos, "Description of the Games", p.143.

\textsuperscript{166}\textsuperscript{166}A. Argiros, The First Athens International Olympic Games 1896, Athens 1896, p.5.

\textsuperscript{167}\textsuperscript{167}Chrysafis, The Modern International Olympic Games, p.343.
Until the final day, 29th March, the Olympics had not yet united in a single, unified experience of feeling and meaning. On the fifth and final day, the awaited moment of unity and victory arrived in one dramatic event, the marathon race. Over 100,000 Greeks had come in the hope of witnessing a Greek victory. The marathon event possessed greater historical significance than any other event and was no doubt, the greatest test of endurance. Rich Athenians had pledged great sums of money to any Greek who could win the marathon.

Twenty-five runners set out from Marathon, and at 4:30 pm, Spiridon Loues entered the stadium victoriously, to the roars of the crowd, "A Greek. It is a Greek! Long Live Loues!" As the band played the National Anthem, Greek flags waved and the two princes lifted Loues onto their shoulders. White doves were released into the sky, as the Greek flag, followed by Loues' number 17, was lifted to the masthead. The newspaper *Asti* reported:

> A whole race stood up tall, clapping and cheering, waving handkerchiefs and flags. Many were crying, some did not know how to express their joy and threw themselves in each others' arms and they were kissing.

Loues, previously an unknown soldier, became a national hero. Importantly, the Olympic Games produced great sporting enthusiasm as witnessed by the *Fortnightly Review* that claimed:

> The nation was seized with a remarkable fit of athleticism. At the present moment one sees athletics being practised at every street corner. Sometimes one discovers youths tossing a rude weight, some six times too heavy for them; at other times one finds every man and boy in a quarter of the town long-jumping, with a policeman and a soldier to keep the course clear. And there seems to be every likelihood that the enthusiasm will continue.

The 1896 Games were a success not only for the Olympic movement, but also for the Greek nation. Of the 311 athletes, 230 were Greek. The Greeks won ten events, the Americans 11, while the Greeks came second in 19 events, while the American in six. Such was their sense of victory, Greeks wanted future Olympic Games to be held in

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168 Paraskevopoulos, *The Ten Days*, p.12; A survey of crowds in the first Olympics rarely reached 20,000. The Athens Olympics of 1896 had by far the largest crowds of any Olympics before Los Angeles 1932.
1896 ATHENS OLYMPIC GAMES

Above. The Stadium

Below. Going To The Games
Athens on a permanent basis. Loues' victory and the fine performances of other Greek athletes generated an illusion of national preparedness. The success of the games had aroused national sentiment.

Summary

Across the millennia, Greeks have celebrated the sporting feats of Hercules and Theseus, Achilles and Odysseus, Alexander the Great and Belisarius, Porphyrius the Charioteer and Digenis Akritas, the kleites and Spiridon Louis, creating in all periods, a continuity of inspiration that seems truly natural to Greeks. A type of hero in whom the ideals of the Greek spirit express themselves and renew themselves. Such a hero always played and involved himself in sports. Historically, Greeks have always praised the concept of pallikari or lebenti. The ideals of ancient Greece are still operative today. The idea of arete - excellence - has been of great importance in Greek culture throughout the centuries and Greeks have always used sport as a method to construct masculinity. Dominant images of sport and masculinity originated in Greece from the earliest recorded times, from the Homeric period and up until the growth of organised sport in the Western World.

In short the ancient Greeks developed a unique network of sporting events, starting with humble village games and ending with the great Panhellenic meets. This network remained intact, and by 321BC was carried to the East in places such as Bactria, where it was intact for the next 600 years, (with the Roman spectacles added to it), until the pagan games were abolished. Therefore sporting traditions and the sports scene changed little over 1000 years.

This period was followed by another 1000 years, the Byzantine centuries, where again nothing much changed. The essential aspect was that Homer was continuously read and Homer's sport ethic was continuously inspiring the Greeks. By 1453, there was nothing left of the Roman games, but at the village level there was still humble village games and sports and this went on for 400 years during the Turkish occupation.

The Greek independence movement produced an apotheosis of the humble sports into full athletic festivals once again, as exemplified by the Zappas Olympics. Meanwhile, abroad, in Egypt and the USA, immigrant sports blossomed and from there fed back into Greece itself, along with both a genuine and a spurious philhellenism, culminating in the 1896 Olympics Games.

172 Manitakis, 100 Years of Modern Greek Sport 1830-1930, p.304, traced the establishment of 37 new sporting clubs in Greece alone, within two months of the conclusion of the games. He further claims that, in January 1897, SEGAS was established, to co-ordinate the sporting activities of the sports clubs, and at its inception it was affiliated with 28 sporting clubs. (p.80).
During the following decades, the Olympic Games of 1896 were a most successful stimulus for sporting activity not only in Greece, but also in Greek communities abroad, including the Australian community. There is reason to believe, however, that by 1896 the Greek tradition of sport was actually flourishing more in the diaspora than in Greece itself; and it is these developments abroad that will be explored next.
CHAPTER TWO

Greeks and Sport in the Diaspora: Old and New Settlements.

The tradition of Greek sports outlined in the previous chapter, and the figure of the athlete-as-hero or hero-as-athlete sketched there, have shaped the attitudes of Greeks in Australia and wherever they have found themselves in the world. Especially in the last century, Greeks have been present in most countries of the world, because they participated in the immense migrations of the twentieth century; and so Greeks playing sports are found throughout the diaspora. In this chapter some examples of diaspora communities are examined to place Australian developments in perspective by virtue of the comparison. The communities selected for study are also those which have influenced Australian events, by providing immigrants or providing inspiration. The long-standing diaspora communities in the Levant, the old settlements in Turkey, Cyprus and Egypt are noted, along with the new settlements in the United States and West Germany, the communities produced by labor migration. In each of these diaspora communities, the role of sports in forming a sense of masculinity in young men was subtly different. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate how Greek diaspora men’s concerns with their masculinity contributed to make sport an integral part of their lives. Sport redefined for them their sense of manliness and provided mechanisms to achieve it. In all these diaspora communities the crises in masculinity were influenced by many factors.

It must be remembered that the people calling themselves Greek have always been more numerous outside the territory now called Greece than inside. Migration has been a factor in Greek life since ancient times. Shortly after their arrival on the Hellenic peninsula, Greeks started migrating to all parts of the Mediterranean shores. The Odyssey of Homer is the first poem of Western literature. It depicts the wanderings and the suffering of Odysseus who has become the symbol of Greek migration. The character of Greeks as a migratory people is firmly supported by Bryer’s observation, that "at no time since the third century before Christ have the majority of Greeks lived in Greece itself". ¹

These Greek communities formed outside the borders of Greece are important both as non-state entities and as Greek minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries yet maintaining strong sentimental and material links with Greece. These communities have been termed the Greek diaspora, from the Greek word for

'dispersion'. These overseas communities were often larger than cities in Greece itself and also richer. Greek sporting traditions have flourished in the diaspora.

Study of the various Greek diaspora communities has been neglected in international literature. Apart from a few studies, Greek communities, especially those with a low profile, like the ones in Europe, such as France, Italy and Sweden or in various South American countries, have not been widely researched. Relevant historical studies of the Greek communities have been conducted mainly in the USA and the Greek communities of Asia Minor. None of these, however, has dealt with the function of sport in their respective communities in any detail.

This lack of scholarship is surprising when one considers that the Greek diaspora has always played an important role in the history of Greece. In Romania, organisations such as the Friendly Society, emerged to become largely responsible for preparing the revolt against the Ottoman Turks, while in the twentieth century, the wealthy Greek diaspora in Western Europe and United States was instrumental in helping Greek premier Venizelos to achieve his foreign policy objectives in the first decades of the twentieth century. The history of the Greek community in Australia occupies a unique position in political and ideological terms when compared to that of Greek communities established in other regions.

The migration movements, which took place after the establishment of the modern Greek state in 1821, however, were of a completely different nature. Recent migration to all parts of the world has exhibited its own distinct characteristics. The reasons for migrating, the means of travelling, the locations of settlements and finally the types and structures of the new settlements were different and much more complex from those of earlier times. To all these factors are added the differentiation and the cultural diversity within the Greeks who arrived in those countries. That diversity becomes even more complex when the differing ages of the migrants are considered. Of course, the problems they faced in their new country were the same as those of other immigrants, since all came to a place with its own social, political and economic systems. All of them suffered the same feelings of displacement which discouraged them and intensified their feelings of estrangement.

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2A scholarly text dealing with the history of the Greek diaspora is yet to be written. The most thorough accounts are D.A. Petropoulos, Greece and Greeks Abroad, Athens, 1972; John M. Fossey (ed), Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora: From Antiquity to Modern Times, Amsterdam, 1991; I.K. Hasiotis, Survey of the History of the Neohellenic Diaspora, Thessalonike, 1993; There is also a forthcoming publication George Stubos, The Greek Diaspora, Canada, 1999, which will perhaps shed some light on the topic; For statistical information see: M. Papadakis, Greece: Migration Statistics, Athens, 1981.
The Australian Greek press has commented on the fact that wherever Greeks migrated this century, they set up their own sporting teams which could create an example for the sporting teams in Greece. An earlier issue noted that Greek athletes and teams were succeeding in the domestic leagues of various sports in various countries such as USA, Canada, Germany, Brazil and Africa. Murray, in his world history of soccer has acknowledged that the Greeks have taken the game of soccer around the world and followed it with the wildest enthusiasm, yet have to still produce a national team to match this enthusiasm. Unintentionally, Murray and the Greek press in Australia acknowledged that Greeks abroad seem to have given more importance and status to sport than their counterparts in Greece. The Greek diaspora has always produced superior athletes, teams and sporting associations.

This chapter deals with the role played by sport in the various Greek communities. The first section deals with the long-established Greek communities (Old Settlements) which existed outside the borders of the modern Greek state, namely Smyrna, Constantinople, Pontus, Cyprus and Egypt. The second section deals with Greek communities established in the last century (New Settlements) in the United States of America and West Germany, and created by labour immigration.

OLD SETTLEMENTS

The modern Greek state (officially dating from 25 March 1821) emerged after a long war of independence from the Ottoman Empire. It contained only Peloponnesos, the southern part of mainland Greece, and several islands in the Aegean. At this time, most Greeks lived in territories still occupied by the Turks. Large numbers lived in territories and countries to which Greece had claim in the so-called unredeemed lands; territory that once made up the Byzantine Empire. The territory to be encompassed within the Greek nation had yet to be determined, both in practice and in theory. But at the moment of liberation from the Turks, the precise territorial boundaries were of a lesser importance than the establishment of a nation which would represent all Greeks, irrespective of their geographical location.

Dealing with the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, Runciman claimed that until the end of the Balkan War in 1913, they were far more numerous than their fellow Greeks living within the boundaries of Greece, and more wealthy. Just before 1919, there were still

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large and thriving communities close to Greece. Constantinople, with a Greek population of 400,000, surpassed Athens in both population and business activity. Smyrna with 150,000 Greeks surpassed Thessalonike; Alexandria's 75,000 Greeks were more numerous and prosperous than the people in Patras, Greece's third largest city, while the Pontus area contained at least 500,000 Greeks.\(^7\)

Following World War I and the creation of a 'national' Turkish state, attitudes towards the Greeks within its borders hardened. In the process the tension between Greece and Turkey heightened culminating in the Greek-Turkish War of 1920-22. By 1922, Turkish forces ethnically cleansed Greeks from Asia Minor in what is known as the Asia Minor Catastrophe, which ended three thousand years of Hellenism in Asia Minor. The number slaughtered is not known, although as many as 2,000,000 Greeks became refugees. Most were resettled in Greece, with many also migrating to Western world and Eastern block countries. The refugees who settled in Greece were given particular areas. The refugees who settled in Athens named their suburbs New Philadelphia, New Smyrna and New Ionia.

The sporting traditions of the people in Greece and those in Asia Minor were different. The differences between the Greeks at home and those abroad in places like Smyrna and Constantinople can be explained by the needs of the Greek Army. Greece was in need of military training for defence and expansion and therefore their sport and physical education assumed an urgent military aspect. Only later was sport regarded as a useful adjunct to military drill.

Abroad, Greeks were not preparing for military service. They were a minority in cities, and with the rise of nationalism, Turks were deeply suspicious of their movements and training. The Turks always were fearful that sport was linked with insurrectional ideas, and in volatile periods, such as the Balkan War of 1912-13, Greek sports were banned. Greeks were also in contact with British seamen and soldiers who had shown them team sports, such as soccer many years earlier. Sport was a powerful way to mobilise Greek youth who, by competing both against themselves and against other minorities, could reinforce and accentuate their ethnicity, whereas participation in gymnastic type military training would have been regarded with some suspicion.

Physical education in Greece, from its inception until the curriculum reforms in 1964, when team sports were introduced to the school curriculum, remained strictly gymnastic.

\(^7\) For Greek population statistics in the Ottoman Empire see H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914 Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Madison, 1985. In particular the Greek population of Asia Minor centred in the coastal areas of the Aegean, Mediterranean, Marmara and Black Seas.
with an emphasis on military drill. Books and curriculum reforms throughout this period promote this ideal and illustrate the militaristic aspect of physical education. After the Balkan Wars 1912-13, physical education takes an even more militaristic approach, after the Greek army had many successes in recapturing lands held for centuries by the Turks. It is the time of the 'Great Idea' in Greek political life to reclaim lost lands from the Turks.

The militaristic aspect of Greek sport was emphasised. Pirgos illustrates that fencing was an organised sport in Greece for decades before the book was published, while shooting was taught in Greek schools from 1862 until as late as 1960. Polioudakis highlights the militaristic aspect of shooting, taught in Cretan schools.

Linardos' club histories of Panhellinios and Ethnikos also highlights the connection between physical education and military training. Linardos claims that the athletes of these clubs were the "first in the invitation of national debt and duty". In the history of Panhellinios Athletic Club, he devotes much time to the so-called fallen stars of the club. Telemachos Karakalos, a silver medallist in fencing at the 1896 Olympics, fought in the 1897 Greek-Turkish War and died in the Balkan War 1912-13. He was a personal friend to Greek freedom fighters, Pavlos Melas and Lorentzos Mavilis. The legend of Costas Tsiklitiras was immortalised through his death in battle. A veteran of the 1906 Athens Intermediate Olympic Games, he won two silver medals at the 1908 Olympics in the standing long jump and standing high jump. After winning a gold medal at the 1912 Stockholm Olympics in the standing long jump and a bronze medal in the standing high jump, he was killed two months later at the age of 25 years in Macedonia, fighting the Turks. Tsiklitiria is still honoured today, for the annual games of the Panhellinios Club are called the Tsiklitiria.

The military connection is even more evident at the Ethnikos Athletic Club. Constantinos Manos, a famous composer, died after his bi-plane was shot down in the Balkan War 1912-13. Athanasios Skaltsogiannis, an all-round athlete and 1896 Olympian, was killed on the Epirot front in the same war. While athletes were fighting in the Balkan War, the club set up games on 21-25 May 1913 for school students "to honour those athletes of

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8 No Greek scholar has dealt with this aspect. My conclusions were reached by sampling official curriculum reforms from the various periods between 1834-1934, which are found in E. Kalfarentzos, Summary of the Gymnastic Laws 1834-1934, Thessalonike, 1937; Interview with Alexi Dimaras, leading historian of Greek education, Athens, September, 1996.


11 ibid., pp.169-78.

the club who had died for their country". The front entrance of the club premises in Athens, bears an honour roll of athletes killed in the 1912-13 Balkan War.

The modern sporting traditions of the Asia Minor Greeks date back at least to the first Zappas Olympics in 1859 when Petros Velissarios of Smyrna won the *dolichos* event. At the following Zappas Olympics of 1870, George Akestoridis of Constantinople won an event as did Pontian Con Molakidis at the 1875 games. Savvidis lists the number of Greek sporting clubs in existence, prior to 1900: seven in Athens, three in Piraeus, four in rural Greece and twenty seven outside Greece, with the majority in Asia Minor. At the 1906 Intermediate Athens Olympic Games, 88 Greek athletes took part, over 25 per cent of whom were from Asia Minor and so subjects of the Ottoman Empire. These subjects of the Ottoman Empire were greeted with wild enthusiasm in Athens.

Evidence from documents of schools, Educational Committees and Brotherhoods, and from the various histories of the Greeks of Asia Minor, demonstrate that the subject of physical education was part of the curriculum in the last years of the 19th century, taught by specialist physical educators. By the 1890s Greek schools in Constantinople and Smyrna had an established and organised physical education system program. The magazine *Hermes* in 1879, claimed that Greek male students of all ages in Constantinople had their strength in left and right hands tested by the use of a power meter.

From as early as 1895, the differences between the clubs of Greece and Asia Minor were significant. The newly established Ethnikos Athletic Club of Athens organised the Tinia Games, held on the Island of Tinos on 15 August 1895, the day of the festival of Theotokou, in the big and historical church with the famous wonder working icon. The mayor of Tinos funded the games and invited clubs from both Greece and Asia Minor to participate. Unlike the four Zappas Olympics (1859-89) and the two Panhellenic Games (1981-93), these were the first games organised outside of Athens and took place one year before the 1896 Olympic Games.

The games at Tinos hold an important and as yet unacknowledged position in the history of Greek sport. First, the games were held on a holy religious day, a practice similar to the ancient Greek festivals, attracting a crowd of over 20,000 people. Secondly, it was the first time contact was made between sporting clubs in free Greece and those still in

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13 ibid., p.100.
17 For a detailed account of the Tinos Games see Petros Linardos, *Ethnikos*, pp.27-31; *Panhellinios*, pp.30-2; Athenian newspaper, *Avgi*, 14-23 August 1895.
unredeemed lands in Asia Minor. Orpheus and Gymnasion of Smyrna sent a team of athletes including the head of the delegation, the Independence poet and journalist, Miltiades Seizanis. At the end of the games, Seizanis in a keynote address discussed national survival and success through sports, and had an emotional impact on the audience.\(^{18}\)

Thirdly, the reports of these games give concrete evidence of the differences between the clubs of Asia Minor and Greece. For example Greek authorities were impressed by the professionalism of the Asia Minor club Orpheus whose athletes wore:

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short athletic pants (shorts) and running shoes with spikes, without socks, whereas the other athletes wore shirts, with wide belts and long white pants.\(^{19}\)
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The Athenian newspaper *Avgi* stated that the Greek athletes wore:

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trousers with blue belts, while the athletes from Smyrna were dressed in contemporary attire, athletic shirts, knee length shorts and running shoes with spikes, while surprising their opponents and spectators with their sporting skill.\(^{20}\)
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The Orpheus Athletic Club also introduced the starter's gun and international rules of track and field. They pleased spectators by winning many events including the triple jump, 100 metres and 1500 metres races. At these games, the establishment of a union of sporting clubs, both in free and unredeemed Greece, was first discussed.

The sporting exchanges between the clubs from Greece and these unredeemed lands continued, although by 1903 they made their first appearance outside of Greece. In August 1903, the first Samian Games took place in Vathi, Samos. Organised by the local Laiko Gymnastic Club of Samos, invitations were sent to all sporting clubs inside and outside the Greek borders, a difficult task as Samos was still under Turkish occupation. The games ran from 19-21 August in a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm, with Georgantas breaking a shot put world record. With the inspirational help of the president of the Greek community of Samos, Alexandros Mavrogenos, the games were historically significant, being the first meeting between athletes from free Greece and Greeks from unredeemed lands with Samos, Smyrna, Ionia, Mytilene and Constantinople clubs competing on what was technically Turkish land.\(^{21}\)

\(^{18}\) Linardos, *Ethnikos*, p.29.
\(^{19}\) ibid., p.28.
\(^{20}\) *Avgi*, 25 August 1895, p.1. Also contains a photo.
The first athletic club, Orpheus, was formed in Smyrna in September 1890. By 1898 it had changed its name to Panionios Athletic Club after merging with the Gymnasion Athletic Club (formed in 1893). It was the dominant club in Smyrna until the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1922. In 1893 the Apollon Athletic Club was established, but never matched Orpheus in prestige or importance. The first Panionian Games were held in 1898 and all athletes from Smyrna were encouraged to take part. The highlight was the bridge-to-bridge run of 8.5 kilometres from Bornavasi bridge to bridge Chatzilario to stadium Bornova. Increasingly more and more clubs began attending from all over the Levant. At the Panionian Games in 1902, the athletic clubs of Milon Alexandria, Kastrianis Pergamon, Theseus Constantinople and Samos took part. However the Turkish authorities were suspicious of the activities and allowed only Smyrna teams to take part in the 1903 Games.

In Smyrna, sporting clubs proliferated so that by the time of the twelfth annual games on 18-25 May 1908, twelve Smyrna teams were taking part including Aiolikos Cydonia, Sipilos Magnesia and Pelops Melantias. A record seventeen sporting clubs participated in the 1909 games and the Greek press boasted they were still the only athletic games held by subjects in the entire Ottoman Empire. For the Greeks of the Levant, and outside the borders of Modern Greece, the games functioned as their Panhellenic Games. The similarities between the ancient Panionian and modern Panionian Games are striking. In ancient times the Panionian Games were dedicated to the god Poseidon and city-states of the Ionian League took part.

In October 1910, Panionios celebrated its twentieth year (1890-1910) with a very patriotic celebration. The Metropolitan of Smyrna, Chrysostomos, announced that the Church would donate a large area of land, adjoining the Greek cemetery and contribute to fund-raising to build a modern stadium with a full sized soccer pitch. This seated stadium would be modelled on the great stadiums of the day and built by the British Railway Company at a cost of 100,000 gold pounds. The stadium of Panionios, with seating

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22 Results of the 1st Panionian Games, Smyrna, 1898, pp.1-4. Between 1898 and 1922 the Games took place 20 times. Results of the Panionian Games are all taken from the "Panionios Sports Collection".
23 Results of the 1902 Panionian Games of Smyrna, Smyrna, 1902.
24 Manitakis, 100 Years of Modern Greek Sport 1830-1930, p.131.
25 Results of the 1908 Panionian Games of Smyrna, Smyrna, 1908, p.4. Pelops Melantias first president was Homer Onassis. The name Aristotle Onassis appears on a 1919 Pelops club list.
26 Results of the 1909 Panionian Games of Smyrna, Smyrna, 1909; Pavlos Manitakis, 100 Years of Modern Greek Sport 1830-1930, Athens, 1960, pp.246-47 claims that even as late as 1909, there were no purely Turkish sporting clubs in Turkey.
capacity of 20,000, was inaugurated at the May 1912 Panionian Games.\textsuperscript{27} Thus began the official involvement of not only the Church in Smyrna but more importantly Chrysostomos, who between 1914-22 was president of the club, and, as the existing records of the club show, was a pioneer in the promotion of sport. Chrysostomos viewed sport as a central element in the education of Greek boys and claimed that, "It was the religion of our youth."\textsuperscript{28}

In 1914, after the Balkan War, Chrysostomos became president of Panionios, where his power and influence made the games more attractive and more influential in the moulding of Greek youth. By this stage the Turks were deeply suspicious of Greek activity, so team sports became more attractive in the mobilising of Greek youth. Single handedly, he altered sporting traditions and team sports, primarily soccer, was adopted as the principle sporting activity of the club.

Chrysostomos was by no means alone in Asia Minor in the promotion of sport for Greek youth. The Metropolitan of Amiso, Germanos Karavangelis, used church money to build a gymnasium which at the time was the largest in Anatolia.\textsuperscript{29} At patriarchate level Joachim III, also showed official support for the promotion of sport. In Greece itself, there seems to have been no Church involvement in sport. In fact, the first mention of sport in a religious context occurred on 28 May 1928, when the athletic games of Rizarion Theological College took place for the seminaries with sixteen events in the program, with an Archmandrite winning an event.

Smyrna was even more successful in promoting school games. The most prestigious games were the annual Panionian School Games, the first taking place in 1900 at the Bornova Stadium. Greek athletes, from the various Greek schools, both public and private, would take part with the Evangelical School, established in 1773, the most dominant. In fact the Evangelical School had implemented a physical education program in 1891, and the school’s gymnasium walls were decorated with verses dealing with sport and the masculine body mentioned by ancient Greek authors.

On 31 March 1904, at the Hellenic Educational Conference, members of local, communities, various Greek societies, and educational and sporting organisations discussed the problems of local Greek youth. They agreed to use sport to unite Greek youth.

\textsuperscript{27}Panionios Gymnastic Club, Panionios Gymnastic Club - 25th Anniversary 1890-1915, Smyrna, 1915; Christos Solomonides, Memories of Smyrna, Athens, 1922, pp.21-2 claims that Greeks also erected modern stadiums in Tralis, Pergamon, Ephesus, Magnesia and Laodocia.

\textsuperscript{28}Christos Solomonides, Chrysostomos of Smyrna, Athens, 1963, p.167. Chysostomos was a graduate of the Chalki Theological School in Constantinople.

\textsuperscript{29}Envelope Amiso, letter from Germanos Karavangelis, Ion Ioannides Archives.
youth in the hostile Turkish environment. At the 1912 Panionian School Games, 5,000 students from 18 schools participated with the non-participants taking part in an alternative mass Swedish gymnastic exhibitions, which had reduced "the spectators to tears". At the 1918 Panionian School games, the Turkish leader of the city Racmi Bey, was very impressed at the games, sports and demonstrations and recommended that the Turkish educationalists of the city "open their eyes and see how the Greeks educate their youth".

In 1920, the name of the Panionian Games was changed to the Freedom Games, after Smyrna's liberation by the Greek army in May 1919. The games functioned as a national, military and sporting demonstration. By June 1921, with the Turkish army in retreat, the significance of the Panionian Games increased. Between 17-21 July 1922, the last and perhaps the most significant Panionian Games took place. All Greeks in the area were invited to attend, including Greek soldiers. Athletes from General Plastiras' famous 5-42 Regiment, which was composed of well known athletes, participated. On the first day of competition, Dimitrios Karabatis won the 100 metre race and broke the world record in the Greek discus throw of 38.94 metres. On the following day, he left for the front in Afion-Kara-Hissar and was unable to compete in other events.

On 3 September 1922, the event known as the Asia Minor Catastrophe began and by December, most Greeks of Asia Minor had either been killed or became refugees. Many of these refugees were resettled in Athens. Chrysostomos, having ample opportunity to leave the city, refused to go. After spending a night in a Turkish gaol, he was released to an angry mob who kicked and trampled him to death.

Dimitri Dallas reestablished the Panionios Club in Athens on 2 July 1923 in the area of New Smyrna and became its first president in Athens. On 27-30 October, the Athenian Panionian Games took place, Karabatis won the 100 and 200 metre and discus events. Other events included soccer and hand grenade throwing. The games were attended by president Gonatas and minister of Education Gontikas. For the first few months, with no field to play on, the club's athletes trained on the area surrounding the temple of Olympian Zeus, until they built a soccer stadium and gymnasium in New Smyrna.

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30 Manitakis, 100 Years of Modern Greek Sport 1830-1930, p.140.
31 Results of the 1912 Panionian School Games, Smyrna, 1912.
32 Results of the 1918 Panionian School Games, Smyrna, 1918.
33 Results of the 1920 Freedom Games, Smyrna, 1920.
34 Report on the 1922 Panionian Games, Athens, 1923.
36 Manitakis, 100 Years of Modern Greek Sport 1830-1930, pp.415-20.
Η ΝΙΚΗ
Η ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΚΗ
ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΠΙΘΕΩΡΗΣΙΣ
ΚΥΚΛΟΠΙΔΙΚΗ–ΑΘΛΗΤΙΚΗ–ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΙΚΗ–ΣΧΟΛΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΤΩΝ SPORTS ΈΗΡΑΣ, ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΕΡΟΣ
'Εκδίδεται κατά μήνα από Άθηνας συνεργαίων των ειδικώτερων λογίων, φιλάθλων, γυμναστικών και πρωταθλητών
ΙΔΡΥΤΗΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΦΕΤΕΗ
Καθηγητής της Γυμναστικής
ΕΤΟΣ Γ'–ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Β.–ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ 1922–ΤΕΥΧΟΣ 2.

COLONEL PLASTIRAS EVZONES REGIMENT 5-42
Greek-Turkish War 1920-1922
Pontus, Egypt and Cyprus

Many sporting clubs existed in Pontus, such as the Athletic Club Prometheus Trebizond, which built a gymnasium and established the first gymnastic club of Pontus in 1890, while the Education Society of Moudania of Vithonias established their own club even earlier, in 1888, for the youth of that society. The quick development and promotion of games in Pontus helped to create a bond of sport. The sporting club Panevksenios of Amisos, whose achievements were known inside and outside of its home Amiso, organised the first Pan-Pontian games on 28-29 June 1909, and invited all sporting clubs from Pontus to send athletes. The Pontian clubs did not have strong contact with other Greek clubs in the Levant, and the Pan-Pontian Games did not attract other non-Pontian teams, and therefore were quite regionalised.

The Cypriots and the Greeks of Egypt also aggressively pursued sport. The wealthy community of Alexandria is perhaps without parallel in this regard. Alexander the Great founded Alexandria in 331BC and since then the Greek presence was always an important part of the city. In modern times, thanks to the Egyptian cotton boom in the 1850s and with Greeks receiving more favourable civil rights in the 1840s, when Egypt signed an agreement with Greece, the Greek community became one of the most wealthy and important diaspora communities.

The Greeks in Alexandria were, by virtue of their trading activities, part of the Levant's cosmopolitan merchant class. Yet this did not clash with their attachment to their homeland and substantial assistance to Greece's struggle for independence. Michael Tositsas became the first president of the Greek Community of Alexandria with its first general meeting taking place in 1847. The city's first major Orthodox church 'Evangelismos' was inaugurated in the same year, while the school of 'Korasion' was built in 1855. In 1885 George Averoff became president of the Community and devoted much effort to education, building the high school, 'Averoff'. Later, Emmanuel Benakis purchased land and built a sporting field, Shiatbi, in 1912, which later became the home ground of the Greek schools of Alexandria, and the Alexandria Sportsmen's Association, seating 10,000 spectators.

The first sporting club formed was Milon Athletic Club in 1873. By the 1890s the dominant club was the Greek Amateur Athletic Sports Club, while a decade later the

37 Mikra Chronika, Pontian newspaper, 1888. Material on Pontus sport is taken from Ion Ioannides Archives.
38 Program Pan-Pontian Athletic Games 1909. Soccer was one of the events.
39 For a good analysis see A.G. Politis, Hellenism and Modern Egypt, Paris, 1930.
40 Politis, Hellenism and Modern Egypt, p.157.
Greek Sportmen’s Club assumed superiority. The Greek community reached its peak just at the start of the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. Alexandrian-Greeks joined in the war of liberation, supplying forces (thousands of Greeks travelled to Greece either as conscripts or as volunteers) and money. At the end of the Balkan Wars, the sporting activities of the city peaked. The Greek Boy Scouts developed into a significant organisation. The first group, formed in 1914, quickly mustered much support. By 1914, eight major soccer and sport clubs had developed in Alexandria. They included the clubs: Alexandria, Ajax, Milon, Apollon, Olympia, Olympiakos, Graduates and Greek Sports Club.

The Alexandria Greek Sportmen’s Association was formed to coordinate the Greek clubs’ sporting activities in 1908. On the 5-7 March 1910 the organisation played a significant role in the organisation of first Egyptian Panhellenic Games where all Greeks and Greek organisations in the Levant were invited to participate. The Panionian Games were cancelled in 1910 and 1911 due to the Italo-Turkish conflict in the Aegean and therefore the Egyptian Panhellenic Games assumed great importance. Greek athletes also took part after the steamship Diakaki arrived in Piraeus to transport athletes to Alexandria. With 17 sporting clubs participating, the stadium was crowded daily, for three days, with 10,000 spectators including officials such as Association president Emmanuel Benaki and church leaders such as Patriarch Photios of Alexandria. A full Olympic program, which included a marathon race, took place. Patriotic feelings ran high, with the statue of Averoff in the stadium showered with flowers. Sailors from a nearby Greek warship berthed in Alexandria competed in fencing and shooting events. Spiridon Louis was also brought over. In April the following year the festival activities increased. The battleship Georgios Averoff was berthed in the harbour. Concerts and feasting were abundant, while many spectators were unable to get into the capacity filled stadium.

In 1911 Alexandria Greek Sportmen’s Association organised school games in Alexandria, and eleven schools and 538 students took part, with one each from Cairo and Zagazig. In Cairo the biggest clubs were Hercules formed in 1902 and Ifitos formed in 1903. The first Cairo Panhellenic Games took place in 1905. Achilles Cairo also had a great sporting tradition. In the native First Egypt Games in 1914, the strength of this club was demonstrated when it took second place in overall scoring. The Greek Boy Scouts

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42 Milon Athletic Journal, Athletic Life, Alexandria, weekly sporting newspaper 1914, deals with the activities of the above clubs.
43 Results of 1910 Greek-Egyptian Panhellenic Games, Alexandria, 1910.
44 Alexandria Greek Sportmen's Association, School Games, Alexandria, 1911.
45 Manitakis, 100 Years of Modern Greek Sport 1830-1930, p.325.
of Cairo also enjoyed a large following with well organised troops. A survey of the monthly periodicals illustrates their organisation and activities.46

When Cyprus became part of the British Empire, British influence on the Cypriot way of life was significant. Cyprus’ first athletic club, Olympia, was formed in Lemesos in 1892. In 1896 the first Pan-Cypriot Games also took place with Olympia and the newly formed Pan-Cyprus club of Nicosia competing. Andrew Andreou, of Olympia, who represented Greece in the 1896 Olympic Games, won four events.47 By the turn of the century, the major clubs of Cyprus were Zenon of Larnaca, Olympia of Limassol, Pan-Cyprus of Nicosia and Euagoras of Ammokostos. At the Panhellenic Games in Athens 1901, three Cypriot teams took part: Zenon, Olympia and Pan-Cyprus, with the crowd shouting *Zito I Enosi* (Hail the Union) during the events. At the conclusion of the Games, a special Cypriot Exhibition honoured Cypriot athletes with patriotic songs and ethnic celebrations.48 English sports seemed to have made little impact on Cypriot sporting traditions. All the Cypriot sporting clubs were affiliated to SEGAS and their primary aims were to foster national instinct and they openly propagated for the Union of Cyprus with Greece. Cypriots were the overwhelming majority and refused to allow Turkish Cypriot athletes to compete in their competitions until 1934.

By 1925 the Panhellenic Games were taken out of Athens for the first time and took place in Lemesos. It was the first time Greek teams visited Cyprus where they were greeted with wild patriotic enthusiasm, thus strengthening ideas for union with Greece. On 22 April the Games began with a procession of participating athletes and former Cypriot athletes which was watched by Cypriot dignitaries including the Archbishop.49

Perhaps the most important aspect of the sporting traditions of Asia Minor was that once Greeks were ethnically cleansed from Asia Minor, Greek refugees were responsible for transplanting team sports into Greece itself. Soccer is perhaps the best example of this phenomenon. Until the establishment of the refugee teams in Greece after 1922, soccer and all team sports had made very little impact in Greek sporting traditions.50


47 *Manitakis, 100 Years of Modern Greek Sport*, p.75.
48 ibid., p.114.
49 SEGAS, *Report on the 1925 Panhellenic Games*, (Held in Cyprus), Athens, 1925.
50 The sporting activities of the refugees is a topic which has also received little attention. Typical of this neglect is R. Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: the Social Life of the Asia Minor Refugees in Pireaus*, Oxford, 1989.
In 1898, Ioannis Chrysafis produced the first official translation of the rules of the sport and taught the sport at Panhellinios in that same year. A match between Panhellinios and Cycling Club Athens (formed in 1897) on 23 September 1898 ended in a 4-4 draw.

In the early years, most soccer teams operated at a basic level and were confined to the port cities of Piraeus and Thessaloniki. In 1906 the first Panhellenic Soccer Games took place, and Panhellinios defeated Ethnikos 3-0, thus becoming the first Panhellenic soccer champions. The low standard of the team and soccer playing in general is illustrated by the fact that a few days later Ethnikos played and was soundly defeated 18-0 by a select team of British sailors, stationed at Faliro Bay. The first team formed in Thessaloniki in 1904 was Union Sportive, made up largely of foreigners including a general of the Italian Army, Galloni; the Belgian Ambassador, Kioupers, and the best player of the team, Teat, a minister from the local Church of England. Later, Greeks, who knew the game from their studies abroad, particularly in England, joined the team. These Greeks taught the game to some locals in Salonika and established the Filomouson Club. In their first match, Filomouson played Union Sportive and lost 3-2.

The Greek national team made its debut in the 1906 Olympics Games (although the team was basically the Ethnikos team in disguise). They played the Danish national team and after conceding nine goals in the first half, accepted defeat at halftime, after the two captains were involved in a scuffle. Coach of the team was Panagiotis Vrionis, who had lived in Switzerland for years, and had been a goalkeeper in Swiss team, Servet. During the first half, the two Greek referees frequently stopped the match to consult their manuals on the rules of the sport.

After the 1906 Olympic Games most Greek soccer teams folded, even, Ethnikos. It would seem that soccer had only received support, because as hosts of the Olympic Games, a Greek national team needed to be entered into competition. In 1907 the game of soccer was banned in Greece by the government due to concerns regarding military training. Apparently government officials believed that it would undermine the militaristic gymnastic instruction traditions in place. The Greek national team did not appear until the Allied Games were held in Paris in 1919, to mark the end of World War I. The Greek team lost 11-0 to the French and 5-1 to the Italian team.

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51 Thanasiós Vlastos, Soccer, translation of the English F.A. Rules, Athens, 1895.
54 ibid., p.15.
55 ibid., p.17.
The soccer scene was significantly different in Asia Minor. With teams like Panionios and Apollon, Asia Minor was becoming the soccer capital of Hellenism. In Asia Minor, soccer had been introduced by British sailors and engineers in the 1880s. In the port cities, the British played soccer near the docks and in the city squares. The English had played against Greek teams at Bornova Stadium in Smyrna since the mid 1890s. Although the first known teams formed in Smyrna were Apollon and Panionios while in Constantinople the Hephestos club was formed, followed by Hercules, Asteras and Kinegiros.

In 1922 Greek refugees from Asia Minor regenerated enthusiasm for soccer in Greece by establishing teams. Refugees, primarily from Constantinople founded AEK (Athletic Union Constantinople) in Athens and in Thessalonike PAOK (Pan-Macedonian Athletic Club of Constantinople). These two teams eventually became the third and fourth most important clubs in Greece. AEK (Athletic Union Constantinople) was formed in April 1924 and as demonstrated in its constitution, the primary aim of the club was to unite all refugees from the Byzantine capital, until they would return to Constantinople. The club colours were yellow and black and the club emblem was a double headed eagle. In its early days, the club trained around the temple of Olympian Zeus but later used the Olympic Stadium. In 1929, with donations, it built its home ground in the suburb of New Philadelphia. PAOK (Pan-Macedonian Athletic Club Constantinople) was formed in 1926 and used black and white as their colours as AEK Athens already had the Byzantine colours of black and yellow. The double headed eagle was also their emblem.

The influence of Asia Minor immigrants is further demonstrated by their domination of all levels of the game. They were responsible for establishing the first Greek soccer league and spreading the gospel of the sport. For example, Konstantinos Negropontis apart from being one of the founders of the Greek Soccer Federation in 1927, also taught the sport to youth in Athens. Asia Minor supported clubs were also the most successful. The first soccer league in 1927-28, was won by ARIS Thessalonike (formed by Asia Minor refugees), while the first Greek Cup Final was played in 1932 between ARIS and AEK, both supported by Asia Minor refugees. Of the four Greek Cup Finals played before World War II, six of a possible eight contestants were Asia Minor supported teams.

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56 AEK Athens collection found in the National Library Athens.
57 PAOK Thessalonike material found in the National Library Athens. The chants of both AEK and PAOK supporters demonstrate the historical roots of the club. Typical of this is "We Only Live, To See You One Day In the City" (Constantinople).
58 The Greek Soccer Federation was formed in 1927 and affiliated with FIFA 1927.
GREEK SOCCER IN ASIA MINOR

Top. Panionios Soccer Team 1909.

Bottom. Greek Soccer in the shadow of St. Sophia.
It must be stressed that soccer was not the only team sport that was transplanted to Greece, by Asia minor refugees. Petros Linardos' club histories of Panhellinios and Ethnikos clearly shows that the growth of team sports begins only after the 1922 period. Pontian Greek refugees introduced the sport of basketball to Greece. The club history of ARIS basketball team, illustrates that until the arrival of Pontian immigrants, basketball was unknown to Greeks. In particular, refugees from Merzifond in Pontus promoted the sport and it was not until 1929 that the first Panhellenic basketball championships took place with AEK Athens winning the first title. Despite difficulties, Pontian refugees, who had settled in the slums of Kalamaria Thessalonike, formed the Apollon Club in March 1925. Unable to obtain any sporting facilities, the athletes trained at the Aristotelio orphanage.

Volleyball was also introduced in Greece by Panionios, which established the first volleyball team in 1924. In Smyrna, it is not documented when the sport was first played, although volleyball championships took place in 1919. The 1920s saw the publishing of numerous books dealing with soccer and other team sports, thus providing information on sports previously unknown to the majority of Greeks.

Thus Asia Minor immigrants influenced the sporting traditions of Greece after this 1922 period. Until the formation of Asia Minor soccer teams, most Greek sports were dominated by track and field and classical sports such as wrestling. As soon as the Greek Soccer League was formed, most clubs in Greece became actively involved in that sport. Therefore, unlike the situation in most European countries such as England, Italy and Spain, soccer in Greece was a late arrival.

Constantinople

After the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1922, the only Greeks left in Turkey were those in Constantinople, a situation which continued until the infamous Black September purge on 15 September 1955 when Greeks were finally ethnically cleansed from that city. During 1946-55 Greek culture, especially sport experienced a resurgence in Constantinople because the post-World War II conjuncture of circumstances isolated Turkey as a result

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60 Linardos, Panhellinios, pp.194-95.
62 Program Panhellenic Basketball Championship, Athens, 1929.
63 Many of these books were concerned with rules of the sport. See A. Kastriotis, Soccer, Athens, 1927; G. Tsakiris, Rules of Basketball, Athens, 1934; A weekly newspaper, All the Sports came into existence in 1929 providing information on team sports.
of her position in the war. Various sporting activities of the resident Greek population in Constantinople flourished causing increasing displeasure to the Turks.

The sporting activities of mid twentieth century Constantinople Greeks differed from those at the turn of the century when there were approximately twenty Greek sporting clubs and associations. The oldest and perhaps the most important of these was Hermes Athletic Club which was formed in March 1877. There was a proliferation of clubs after the 1896 Olympic Games, including the Hercules Tataoulon Club formed in 1896, which quickly obtained a sports field, Saint Eleftherio. By 1900 the main clubs were Hercules, Hermes, Olympia, Theseus and Aris. In the same year, the Union of Constantinople Athletic Clubs was formed and became the controlling body of the clubs. At the 1906 Olympic Games, brothers Georgios and Nicholaos Alibrantis of Hercules both won gold medals in the pentathlon and gymnastics events respectively, while another Constantinopolitan, Michail Dorizas of Hercules, came third in the shot put.

The first Hellenic Athletic Games of Constantinople (HAGOC) took place between 25 August and 1 September 1910 organised by the Aris club and seven clubs took part. Until 1922, dynamic sporting events such as HAGOC and the Panhellenic Athletic Games Artemisia, (which ended in 1922) occurred. Nine sporting clubs took part in the second HAGOC held on 14, 15 and 18 August 1911, organised by Aris. Aris won with 33 points, Hercules came second with 16.5 and Pheidippides came third with 13.

In 1923, with the social impact of the Asia Minor Catastrophe, sporting activities came to an abrupt end. However, some athletic clubs survived and some new ones were established as part of educational or charitable associations. In general, their performances were not significant and their reputation did not reach beyond the local level. With the defeat of the Axis powers in World War II, there was a new awakening in sporting activity. From the dozen Greek sporting bodies, two clubs in particular were superior: the Athletic Club Peran and the Athletic Club Tataoulon. They excelled in team sports such as soccer, volleyball and basketball.

65 Manitakis, 100 Years of Modern Greek Sport, p.117.
66 For activities of this association see: Union of Constantinople Athletic Clubs, Year Book, 1902; The following material dealing with Constantinople sport is taken from the "Constantinople Sports Collection".
67 The lifting of the Greek flag twice, outraged the Turkish Embassy officials, who technically protested to the IOC claiming that the Turkish flag should have been lifted because the Alibrantis brothers were Turkish citizens.
68 Results of the Second Hellenic Athletic Games Constantinople 1911, Constantinople, 1911.
Tataoulon Athletic Club was formed in 1923 from the remnants of the Hercules Club, which had been destroyed, as had most clubs, in the Catastrophe. Existing since 1896, Hercules had been housed in its own two storey building, opposite the Greek School, in the main street of Taftalon, and enjoyed much success in Constantinople. The Afternoon newspaper described the inauguration of the Tataoulon club:

In the same historical building which was built by the Greeks, whose names are engraved on the plaques, the youth of the suburb meet up and exercise..... they already have 500 members who pay monthly subscription fees varying from 1 pound to 10 pounds because the law does not permit any more money for subscriptions. President of the club is dairy magnate, Stavros Karatzas. 69

Athletic Club Peran was also founded in 1923. Its first athletic games took place on 6 June 1924. In its first three years, it used the defunct Hermes gymnasium behind the Circle d'Orient before it moved to Azarian Chan to be situated in the building Philoptokou. Largely due to its soccer team, it was the most important Greek club in the city.70

Basketball was the only sport where the Turks allowed two Greek teams to be in the competition concurrently. In this sport, Tataoulon and Peran had many successes. Peran were champions of Constantinople in 1945 and 1946 while Tataoulon dominated the next two years, coming second in the National Competition in 1946 and winning in 1947 and 1948. At youth level, more successes were gained in the period 1950-54. Peran youth team were champions of Constantinople and Turkey in 1950 and 1951, while Peran junior team were champions of Constantinople 1952, 1953 and 1954.71

Volleyball was another sport that was enthusiastically supported by the Greek sporting clubs. Peran in particular had many successes and they were volleyball Champions of Constantinople: 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952 and Champions of Turkey: 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953.72

The paramount soccer club was Peran which produced the best soccer players in the city. The most notable was Lefteris Antoniadis, who played in the 1950s, and is still regarded as Turkey's greatest ever soccer player, even representing Turkey. Other Greeks who represented Turkey included Sofianides and Kasapoglou. In the 1950s, when the Turkish Soccer League became professional, Peran was the only amateur team in competition. The Greek teams in all sports were not only subjected to racist taunts but also to physical

69 Afternoon, 27 September 1924, pp.2-3.
70 The history of the Peran club can be found in Athletic Club Yearbook 1947.
71 Athletic Club Peran Year Book, Constantinople, 1954.
72 Athletic Club Peran Year Book, Constantinople, 1950-54.
abuse. A prerequisite for eligibility in competition was that these teams surrendered their identifiably Greek names.

Every summer, from 1947 onwards, a select Greek side from Constantinople, called "Moda Sport", competed against teams from the Greek islands, despite very suspicious Turkish authorities. Other soccer matches and tournaments were organised by the Greek press such as the newspaper Afternoon and Marmara. Important soccer matches between the 'older' and the 'younger' generations took place annually on Easter Sunday afternoons at Makrochorio, organised by the local athletic club Makrochorio. Annual meetings between the clubs Peran and Tataoulon were held routinely. The highlight in this renaissance in Greek soccer in Constantinople occurred on 15 July 1949 when Olympiakos Piraeus from Greece played Peran.

Community leaders emphasised the importance of school sport for Greek students. School sport, especially the sports days of Zografeio at the stadium of Roverteio, was the area where Greeks excelled. The Athletic Day Zografeio, was recommenced in 1947, after a sixteen year lapse. Athletes represented their schools in yearly school athletic tournaments, such as the annual one in Ankara, competing with and defeating Turkish schools. Three Greek schools in particular (Zografeio, Zappeio and Genous Schools) had established a strong sporting culture.

The playing of team sports was widely encouraged. Greek sports activities were organised at both junior and senior levels, beginning at primary schools. Tataoulon Primary School, for example, had annual athletic days. Even rural schools such as Saint Stefanos had well structured physical education and sports programs. Interschool championships between Greek schools usually involved team sports.

Sport was always important, emotionally for the Greek residents of Constantinople, as demonstrated by the great honour awarded to deceased sports stars. For example a newspaper article, "Well Attended Athletic Memorial", discussed a memorial service at the Church of Christ the Saviour in Galata:

...... wants to remind churchgoers and everyone, not only the followers of sport that, next Sunday, a memorial service will be conducted for the peace of the souls of the blessed memory of the athletes... (lists eleven names). The service will be conducted by the Bishop of Pontus, Grigorios, who will make a speech for the occasion and the hymns will be sung by the most acclaimed chanter in the city Panagiotis Constantinides.

73For example in 1949, the newspaper Marmara, organised three Greek soccer tournaments, apart from other single exhibition matches.
74Afternoon, 19 May 1954, p.5.
NEW SETTLEMENTS

The map of the Greek diaspora had been radically transformed by the mid 1950s. The old diaspora centres had virtually disappeared. The diaspora communities in Asia Minor, Central Europe and Russia had all ceased to exist, while the Greek community of Egypt, entered the final chapter of its long history following the Egyptian officers' revolution in 1952. Meanwhile, the surplus availability of Greek labour and the demand for labour by several industrialising countries soon created a new migration stream from Greece. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed a general movement of Greeks to the United States, to Western and Eastern Europe, to Africa and to Australia. The new diaspora communities, made up of first generation immigrants naturally retained strong links with their homeland.

United States of America

The Greek presence in America began with the first voyage of Columbus, who had a number of Greek crew members. The era of mass migration to America began in 1890. The overriding motive for Greek migration to the United States was economic gain, the majority of immigrants wanting to return to Greece eventually with sufficient capital to enjoy a comfortable life. At the least, male immigrants expected to ensure appropriate marriages of their daughters and sisters by building up dowries with their American earnings. The role of the host society was of considerable importance and this was especially true in the case of the United States, a society which had encouraged its immigrants to adopt US citizenship and to assimilate into American society. Greeks and other immigrants were the subjects of an intense and effective "Americanisation" campaign.

During the 1880s, about 2000 Greeks migrated to America and during the 1890s more than 15,000 Greeks, drawn from a wider regional base, departed for the United States. A flood of Greek immigrants occurred in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Thus, all in all, upwards of 450,000 Greeks, the vast majority males, arrived in the United States between 1890 and 1920. Then figures were drastically reduced because of the Immigration Quota Act of 1924, the Depression, and World War II. Later they increased, especially as a result of the reformed Immigration Act of 1967. The total

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75 The most accurate statistical information relating to Greek emigration can be found in M. Papadakis, *Greece: Migration Statistics*, Athens, 1981.
76 Some speculation has existed that Columbus himself was a Greek. See Seraphim G. Canoutas, *Christopher Columbus: A Greek Nobleman*, New York, 1943.
number of Greeks migrating to the United States from the time immigration records were kept in 1820 to 1980, is said to be 675,158.\(^{79}\) Between 1890 and 1920 the majority were male unskilled workers from Peloponessos. With them they brought their sports as they came from the region where sport flourished: the Olympic Games, the Isthmian Games and Greece's greatest hero Hercules, Phidias' Zeus, (one of the seven wonders of the ancient world), Praxitelis' Hermes and others.

Chicago attracted the largest number of Greek immigrants, remaining until after World War II the largest community of Greeks in the nation, with approximately 10 per cent of the Greek population of the United States. The 1900 census showed 1,493 Greeks in Chicago, in 1904 there were 7,500 Greeks, and by 1909 about 15,000. The first permanent Greek community consisting of a church and a school was organised in an area called the Delta, which became Chicago's famous "Greek town". The Delta became the most important settlement of Greeks in the United States. In this transplanted part of Greece emerged the first Greek-language newspapers, churches, schools and offices of fraternal, social organisations, and new businesses.\(^{80}\) According to Fairchild, the district became more typically Greek than some sections of Athens: "... coffee houses flourish on every corner ..., on every hand one hears the Greek language, and the boys in the streets and on the vacant lots play, with equal zest, Greek games."\(^{81}\)

In particular Greek immigrants were closely associated with the famed Hull House, which was inaugurated in December 1899 with a presentation of the classical tragedy The Return of Odysseus. Throughout its existence numerous Greek organisations for men met regularly at Hull House, including Greek sports clubs. The Chicago Greek-American Athletic Club (Olympiakos), which was established in 1900, had exclusive use of a room for its trophies as well as the use of the gymnasium. Many athletes began to engage in amateur wrestling and won national and regional titles for Hull House.\(^{82}\) The gymnasium was also used by young Greeks for military training in preparation for the Balkan War of 1912-13.\(^{83}\) The Greek immigrants' apogee at Hull House was reached on 12 February 1911, when the former President Theodore Roosevelt was informed during his visit that the young men exercising in the gymnasium were Greeks. Seizing this opportunity, the


\(^{80}\) For a colourful description of Chicago Greecetown at Halstead and Harrison streets, see Theano P. Magaris, Chronicle of Halstead Street, Athens, Greece, 1962 and Etchings of Chicago, Athens, 1967.

\(^{81}\) Fairchild, Greek Immigration to the United States, pp.123-24.

\(^{82}\) Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, New York, 1910, pp.388-89.

\(^{83}\) Jane Addams, Hull House Yearbook, 1 January 1913; Hull House Yearbook, 1 Jan 1914.
president addressed the assembled Greek athletes and stated that, unlike other ethnic
groups who were expected to abandon old-world loyalties and look toward a new life in
America, Greeks were exempt because of their own illustrious history. 84

One of the most effective endeavours at Hull House was the Greek Education
Association, formed in 1909. A group of young men organised this association to
promote the "educational and physical development of young Greek immigrants", and it
was popularly known as the "Hellenic League for the Moulding of Young Men". The
organisation, with hundreds of active members, sponsored sports and athletic activities
along with military drills, in which young men met regularly at the Hull House
Gymnasium for strenuous training under the direction of former Greek army officers. In
her memoirs, Jane Addams speaks of this group, saying:

"It was in connection with a large section of Greek lads that Hull House finally lifted its restriction
against military drill. If athletic contests are the residuum of warfare first waged against the
conqueror without and then against the tyrants within the State, the modern Greek youth is still in
the first stage so far as his inherited attitude against the Turk is concerned. Each lad believes that at
any moment he may be called home to fight this long time enemy of Greece. With such a genuine
motive at hand, it seemed mere affectation to deny the use of our boys' club building and
gymnasium for organised drill." 85

Sport, in fact, replaced military service and was used as training for military
preparedness. Saloutos estimated that as many as 45,000 Greek immigrants returned to
Greece from the United States to fight in the Balkan War in 1912-13. 86

The military phase of the Greek Education Association was only one aspect of its
program. The nightly gymnastic program was well attended because the young men,
bereft of families, found it friendly, educational and a male public space. Many became
amateur and professional fighters who won regional and national championships which
greatly enhanced the Greek name. 87 During the pre-1930s period, the Greeks tried as
much as possible to use traditional Greek sports as their inspiration. Distinct North
American team sports such as basketball, baseball and gridiron were not adopted.
Traditional Greek sports such as track and field competitions and wrestling were popular
and appropriate choices. 88

84 Jane Addams, Forty Years of Greek Life, Chicago, pp.55-6.
85 Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, p.444.
86 Saloutos, Greeks in the United States, p.114; Chapter 5 "For God and Country", pp.96-117.
87 See Hull House Yearbook, from 1912 to 1930.
88 A survey through the newspaper The Hellas, 1909, 1914 and 1919 clearly illustrates this point of no
team sports being adopted.
The situation in New York was somewhat different as the Greek settlement was less centralised and distinctive. As soon as Greeks arrived in New York, they went about establishing their churches, schools, regional fraternities and sporting teams. The first Greek Orthodox Church of New York City was established in 1892. From the very beginning, the immigrants had a predilection for forming regional fraternities. As early as 1907, in New York alone, 30 such organisations existed. An incomplete list of twenty-four Greek societies in New York City in 1911, furnished by Burgess to show the "number and variety" of these associations, includes 19 regional fraternities, as well as two business associations, an athletic association, a ladies' charitable group, and a volunteer military company. The Greek language newspaper *Atlantis*, founded in 1894 by Cretan Solon Vlastos, quickly became another of the community's most important organisations.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of the New York Greeks was the Greek American Athletic Club, Hermes, which was formed in 1906, when Greek immigrants of the city were greatly encouraged by the success of the Olympic Games and especially by the Greek success in the Games at Athens in 1896 and 1906. Hermes became arguably the greatest sporting club inside or outside of Greece before World War II. In its early years the club was primarily involved with track and field events and wrestling, with soccer, introduced in the late 1920s.

Wrestling in particular captured the imagination of Greeks in America. Antone Pierre, one time Greek wrestling champion in Europe, first introduced professional wrestling to the United States, after he sponsored Turkish wrestler Youssef to America in 1880. Youssef's visit started a boom in professional wrestling in America that continued even after Youssef drowned. "Greek George" arrived in America in 1882 to wrestle against America's best, William Muldoon, for the unofficial world championship, but he lost to Muldoon, a veteran of the American Civil War. In 1904 Dimitris Tofalos, who would later win an Olympic gold medal in weight lifting, toured America doing strongman shows, wrestling exhibitions and also concert performances as he possessed a fine tenor voice.

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89Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, p.147.
92Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States*, p.89. *Atlantis* was perhaps the most important newspaper outside of Greece. By 1904 *Atlantis* was a national daily publication; by 1912, it had a daily circulation of twenty five thousand.
93*Atlantis*, 11 September 1906, p.1. Hermes was by no means the first club formed, although unlike the other clubs that existed in the United States, from the first day it operated systematically and professionally.
A popular venue for wrestling matches was the 21st Regiment Armory in New York (situated on the corner of 34th Street and 6th Avenue), where men like Vasilios Dimitriadis and Jim London competed. Johnny Pater (Johnny Apollo) and Johnny Mazza were both popular but when Johnny Mazza defeated London in a 1 hour 15 minute bout, supporters' loyalties were divided. Mitropoulos, an Olympian, was also a popular wrestler.

The list of sporting activities for Greek-Americans was substantial with the main Panhellenic activity being the annual Greek-American Panhellenic Games. The Panhellenic Games of 1927 included a full Olympic Games track and field program (including 100, 1500, 400, 1000, 5000 meter races, high jump, discus and long jump) and a soccer match. The winner played in the final. The Greek Consul of the time, Marinos, presented trophies to the Hermes players. Meanwhile, the Greek-American Boxing and Wrestling Championships each took place in the Christmas period, while Hermes entered twenty-five of its members in the New York Boxing Championships.
voice. Other notable wrestlers included John Maxos and Bill Demetral. As early as 1906, Dimitri Prokos was a national wrestling champion in America.  

A popular venue for wrestling matches was the 71st Regiment Armoury in New York (situated on the corner of 34th Street and Park Avenue), where men like Vasilios Dimitriades and Jim Londos competed. Johnny Paxos (Johnny Apollo), and Johnny Mazos were both popular but when Johnny Mazos defeated Londos in a 1 hour 15 minute bout, supporters' loyalties were divided. Mitropoulos, an Olympian, was also extremely popular. Unlike in most other western countries, amateur wrestling was always a popular sport in American schools and colleges where the needs of Greeks were catered for. In the 1920s professional wrestling increased in popularity.

Hermes also conducted Greek wrestling tournaments in their gymnasium (313 West, 32nd Street) with the greatest wrestlers of the day taking part including Jim Londos and Georgios Pantelides, who was world champion in the 158 pound weight group and whose coach was Dimitrios Tofalos. Olympic Champion Dimitrios Tofalos was a member of the club and the president was Anargiris. Hermes entered teams into the New York Boxing and Wrestling Championships, as well as organising track and field meets. For example, a Greek only five-mile race was held on 3 April 1927, which started and finished at the Evangelismos Church on 314 West 54th Street, opposite the club's gymnasium. Pan-American racers such as Vasilopoulos, Kourkos, Moundalis, Vasilakis, Chazelis, Mousis and Nicolaides participated. The race was followed by a presentation dance.

The list of sporting activities for Greek-Americans was substantial with the main Panhellenic activity being the annual Greek-American Panhellenic Games. The Panhellenic Games of 1927 included a full Olympic Games track and field program (including 100, 1500, 400, 1600, 5000 metre events, high jump, discus and long jump) and a soccer tournament where New York teams Hermes and Astiras played in the final. The Greek Consul of the time, Maxairias, presented trophies to the Hermes players. Meanwhile, the Greek-American Panhellenic Boxing and Wrestling Championships each took place in the Christmas period, while Hermes entered twenty-five of its members in the New York Boxing Championships.

94 Atlantis, 6 February 1906, p.6.
95 ibid., 2 March 1927, p.5.
96 ibid., 5 March 1927, p.5.
97 ibid., 30 March 1927, p.5.
98 ibid., 26 October 1927, p.6.
At the conclusion of World War I, Greek Boy Scouts organisations formed in most American cities with substantial Greek populations. The highlight of their calendar was their annual picnics, where the Scouts participated in sports competitions. The establishment of these sporting organisations coincided with the rise of the second generation, for older Greeks were keen to educate the young in cultural, social and sporting traditions of the homeland.

Whether large or small most Greek organisations made provisions for sport. The Order of AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) was founded in Atlanta, Georgia in 1922. With over one thousand Chapters around the world, it is reputed to be the third largest organisation of its kind in the world, after Lions International and Rotary International. For over 75 years, AHEPA has conducted sports programs for Greek males at the local, regional and national levels. The organisation has also acknowledged Greek-American athletes, establishing the only recognised Hellenic Sporting Hall of Fame, which includes athletes such as wrestler Jim Londos, footballers Bill George, Harry Agganis and Alex Karras, basketballer Alex Grammas and baseball player Milt Pappas. It has also strongly supported Athens as a permanent base for the Olympic Games, as well as endorsing the 1996 and 2004 Olympic bids by Athens.  

It is not the place of this thesis to trace the history of AHEPA's sporting involvement; however as late as 1997, sporting activities included the golf tournaments at national, regional and local levels. Some of these include the 26th Annual Southern Regional, 26th North Eastern Regional Competition and the 25th Annual Far-Western Tournament. The 18th National Softball Championship was won in 1996 by the team from St. Louis and the 37th Bowling Championship was held in Chicago. AHEPA has focused on the promotion of basketball. In 1997, Ypsilanti Chicago defeated Atlanta in the 49th National Basketball Championships, while Detroit defeated Salt Lake City to win third place.

In the 1998 competition year, the AHEPA sports budget maintained 29 tournaments as well as the Awards, Hall of Fame and the All-Star Basketball Programs. They also supervise the fund "AHEPA Athletics Boosters, Order of AHEPA", which attracts large donations each year. The most interesting aspect of AHEPA sports is that many of the membership and participants are third, fourth or even fifth generation Greeks. 

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99 Material posted out and interview with: George Savvidis, (AHEPA President) and Nick Garnett (AHEPA Associate Director); AHEPA sporting activities are found in George Leber, History of the Order of AHEPA 1922-1972, Washington D.C., 1972.

100 Interview with Dr. Monthe Kofos, Supreme Athletic Director AHEPA.

101 AHEPA in Australia, established in 1934 by a small group of immigrants, did not really focus on sport at all. In fact the Australian group has little contact with their American counterparts. It was not until 1972 that Dr Michael Spirtos, Supreme President of the Order of AHEPA, visited Australia planning to establish ties with AHEPA of Australia, but these plans were never implemented.
The Greek American Progressive Association (GAPA) organised in East Pittsburgh in 1923 also organised a well structured sports program for its members. This organisation in the pre-World War II period clung to classical Greek sports and refused to adopt American sports even longer than AHEPA had done. In fact any slight to the Greek faith, the Greek language, Greek customs and Greek traditions was anathema to GAPA members.102 Perhaps because of its chauvinistic and non progressi ve approach, GAPA never mustered the strength that AHEPA did in its peak period.

Early Greek success in the Olympic Games (1896-1906) impacted on the various Greek communities in the United States. In particular the 1904 Olympic Games, held in Saint Louis, saw Periklis Kakousis and Nicholas Georgantas win gold medals. Nicholas Georgantas, with the financial aid of the Greek Community of Saint Louis, arrived early in USA to train. At the end of the 1904 Games, gold medallist Periklis Kakousis stayed in America. By 1906 Georgantas also migrated to America. For the duration of the 1906 Athens Games, the Atlantis newspaper dedicated a whole issue of detailed Games coverage.103

The popularity of all these events, and the publicity given to them, stimulated the growth of further clubs including the Greek Gymnasium in Haverhill Massachusetts, formed in March 1906. The press claimed it was worthy of warm encouragement and "we wish that the athletes work in harmony for its progress".104 The Greek-American Athletic Club Lowell (Massachusetts) organised the first Panhellenic Games in Lowell in July 1907 and Greek societies were invited to send athletes to participate. At the 1908 Panhellenic Games sporting clubs represented primarily various Greek communities of the smaller towns and cities of New England such as Lynn, Ipswich, Springfield, Haverhill and Lowell in Massachusetts. A number of mid western area clubs including Saint Louis and Indianapolis participated.105

By 1909 Greek immigrant, 19 year old Georgios Kimpouropoulos (Brown), a member of the Greek Athletic Club of Atlanta, was a champion sprinter and had also run a marathon in the time of 2 hours 48 minutes. In later years, he became a national running champion, representing the Atlanta regional team in the USA track and field championships. After this success, the Greeks of USA attempted to make Kimpouropoulos compete for Greece. By 1911 athletes from all parts of USA were

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102 The differences of AHEPA and GAPA are dealt with in greater detail by Saloutos, The Greeks in the United States, pp.244-57.
103 Atlantis, see for the month of April 1906.
104 ibid., 21 March 1906, p.2.
105 ibid., 18 July 1908, p.10.
taking part in the Panhellene Games. Polinikos, who had run third in the New York Marathon organised by the newspaper Evening Mail, dominated the distance events in these games as did Peter Trivoulides, a Boston Marathon winner in later years.

The pinnacle Greek-American Panhellenic Games of this period, was the Games of 1927, organised by the New York Club Hermes. The program included a march of all athletes, a full track and field program and a soccer tournament. The three strongest soccer teams were Hermes, Asteras from New York and Olympiakos from Chicago. Before the tournament, Hermes had practice matches against Czech team, Prague.  

Christos Vrettos, a former champion of the Ethnikos Club, left Greece after the 1924 Paris Olympic Games to become a citizen of the United States and eventually president of the Hermes Club. He claimed that it was the national duty of Greeks in America to keep alive Greek sports. He urged all Greeks to take part in the Greek American Panhellenic Games. Reviewing the history of Greek sport from 1896 to 1906, he claimed the reduced participation and success was not due to lack of ability but because of war, poverty and the lack of funds. However, this was not the case in America where the prominent and wealthy Greek American associations transformed America into the centre of Greek sport by the late 1920s.  

Outcomes of the 1927 Greek-American Panhellenic Games were significant. Firstly, many of the athletes were in fact American-born, a new generation of Greek-Americans. Secondly in five of the ten track and field events, better times were recorded than the Greek national records, with many of the athletes being of world standing, in particular distance runner Vasilopoulos and sprinter Efstathiou. Fifty year old Tolis won the shotput event, while Hermes won the soccer match against Chicago Olympiakos. Vrettos and Tofalas tried hard to ratify the results with SEGAS, which showed little interest, their justification being that many of the winners were American citizens.  

Greek-American societies had not only the best wrestlers in the Greek world but in the world generally. In Greece by 1927 only Panhellinios had a distinct wrestling school. Only the great wrestling champion Georgios Servinis did not go overseas and in 1933, he was responsible in forming the Greek Wrestling Association. Wrestling was still an amateur sport in Greece but in America it had professional status, encouraging talented Greek wrestlers to tour and earn money both in the United States and abroad.

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106 ibid., 13 April 1927, p.4.
107 ibid., 5 July 1927, p.4.
108 See Atlantis, for the month of August 1927 for a thorough description of the games.
This movement of talented athletes to the USA was constant from 1906 when Theologos Anastopoulos migrated to New York after representing Greece in the 1906 Olympic Games. Others included Christos Vrettos and Frank Vasilopoulos. Dimitrios Karabatis, a Panhellenic champion from the Panionios Club and three times Olympic Games representative, after being suspended by club president Dimitri Dallas in Athens, also left Greece to join Olympiakos in Chicago in 1925 where he became a leading discus thrower and a sports promoter. In the late 1920s he wrote two books on Greek sport in America which were the first texts on Greek sport written outside of Greece. Had it not been for the Greek-American societies funding the Greek Olympic team at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games, the Greek squad might not have participated. Thus, in this period, notable Greek athletes, coaches and administrators left Greece for the greater opportunities available in the USA.

The Greeks of America put time and effort into sport, because they knew that other youth organisations such as the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) were more than willing to attract their youth. By the late 1920s, the popularity of the YMCA impinged on the success of Greek sporting clubs in the United States. Vrettos, president of Hermes New York, stated that even though Greek-American club athletes had participated at Junior Metropolitan, Senior Metropolitan and Senior National Championships in various sports, more funding was needed to encourage, support and retain the involvement of Greek youth in sporting clubs. Nationally, the YMCA had made an extensive effort to counsel and enlist America’s youth population in its activities. Nationally the organisation had hundreds of sporting centres, valued at millions of dollars. In New York, the YMCA was set up in the 1850s and by the late 1910s, had established a branch in the Greek area of Astoria. The Atlantis newspaper carried numerous advertisements for the YMCA in the Greek language.

This encouragement of Greek youth in sport continued up until World War II. American team sports were supported after the war to make sporting participation more attractive to the second and third generation Greeks. In amateur leagues, American football, baseball and basketball included specifically Greek teams. A shift had obviously occurred. The biography of Harry Agannis highlights the socialisation that occurred through his participation in the Greek Boy Scouts (Troop 40) in his childhood years to playing

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109 Manitakis, 100 Years of Modern Greek Sport 1830-1930, p.487.
110 Both of Karabatis’ books Athletic Book, Chicago, 1928 and Biographical Notes on Greek Athletes of America, Chicago, 1927 are listed in the National Library in Athens, but went missing in the late 1970s. Biographical Notes on Greek Athletes of America is catalogued as being 250 pages long and certainly would have been an important reference.
111 Atlantis, 7 June 1927, p.4.
basketball in the St. George Church Lynn team which was unbeatable in church leagues and tournaments.\textsuperscript{112} For the decade, 1945-55, the exploits of Harry Agganis dominated sports headlines across the United States. He was a quadruple All-American football star and one of the most sought after baseball players.

Throughout its existence, the Greek paroikia in the USA took great pride in their athletic achievements, which included champions in sports such as wrestling, boxing and track and field. Other sporting champions have emerged over the years, with the striking example of tennis player Peter Sampras, who is regarded as one of the greatest players in the history of that sport. Greek-American business interests patronise sport. Second generation Greek, Peter Angelo, is president of the Baltimore Orioles baseball team, while Alex Spanos is president of the San Diego Chargers American Football team.\textsuperscript{113}

The organisations that have provided sport for male youth in America have been many and varied. For example, on 14 April 1950, the George K. Menichios Greek-American Veterans Post honoured Greek-American athletes. One church organisation that promoted sport was the Greek Orthodox Young Adult League (GOYAL). Formerly known as Greek Orthodox Youth of America, it is the largest national youth organisation in the United States. Founded in 1951, it now has 35,000 members in regional groups and in 545 local groups. Apart from Greek and religious education workshops, it mainly focuses on athletic tournaments and summer camps.\textsuperscript{114}

\textbf{Greek Soccer in West Germany}

Germany was an advanced capitalist economy and a great employer of immigrant labor, but unlike Australia it did not encourage immigrants to take on German citizenship. On the contrary, immigrants were not allowed to settle permanently and were always likely to be deported. They were always referred to as guest-workers (Gästarbeiter) to emphasise their temporary status, even if they were temporarily working in Germany for thirty years. There were in Germany, therefore, unlike in America and Australia, no pressures on Greeks to assimilate. Sport was not used in Germany as a device for keeping young Greek men from intermarriage and from losing their ethnic identity. Instead, sports were used almost in a spirit of defiance, to insist on Greek identity even though the Germans might despise and penalise it.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{112}Nick Tsiotos and Andy Dabilis, \textit{Harry Agganis: The Golden Greek: An All American Story}, Massachusetts, 1995, pp.23, 46-7 and passim.
\item \textsuperscript{113}Some of the sporting achievements were also infamous as in the case of Jim Snyder the sports gambler. See Jim Snyder, \textit{Jimmy the Greek - By Himself}, Chicago, 1975.
\item \textsuperscript{114}Correspondence with Janet Coles, Spiros Vryonis Centre, New York, December 1995.
\end{itemize}
The men of this post-Civil War period (Greek Civil War 1946-49) were not confronted with problems of poverty and survival, like our parents. On the contrary they came to Germany, in a higher standard of living. There was only one problem: the National change and loss of pride in the Greek heritage. The German could not be caught as a friend. If he saw you down and out, he would still step on top of you.\textsuperscript{115}

Costas Lainas noted that:

The Germans despised us and would keep away from us as much as possible. They saw us as third class humans, sub-human. German women would much rather be in the company of a dog than a Greek man.\textsuperscript{116}

The German sporting situation was different from other Greek communities established by labour immigration, such as Australia. In most areas of Germany, non-Germans were not eligible to join and enter sporting teams in the German sporting associations. There was also no official Church involvement in Greek sport in Germany, unlike in the rest of the diaspora communities.

Germany prior to World War II was a linguistically and ethnically homogeneous country, but after the war it experienced a great influx of immigrants. The increase in migration movements over the past few decades was a process fraught with social and educational problems. The scale of immigration was closely connected to the labour market and economic situation in Germany. Labour immigration started in the late 1950s and recruitment in the 1960s and 1970s was from south-eastern Europe, while in the 1980s it was from the Middle East. The unique experience of Greek sport in West Germany was affected by these historical and geographical forces.

The great majority of Greeks came to West Germany as labour workers between 1960 and 1970 when they were seen as temporary workers. In the post-World War II period, Greeks also made up a large percentage of the total number of foreign workers in West Germany. This percentage peaked in 1968, when Greeks made up 42.2 per cent. Up until 1974, 623,000 Greeks had entered Germany, making up 53 per cent of the total number of Greek emigrants in the post-World War II period. The overwhelming majority of Greek immigrants in Germany were male. For example in 1962 females made up only 29.7 per cent of the Greek population. Many of the males were young. In 1963 males under 35 totalled 80.4 per cent of the total Greek male population. Many were single. In

\textsuperscript{115}Interview with Ioannis Tolis, Thessalonike, September 1996.

\textsuperscript{116}Interview with Costas Lainas, Epiros, October 1997.
1965, 62.4 per cent of Greek males were single. These single male immigrants, free from any obligations and restraints of family life and originating from Greece, where soccer had no equal, easily found the time to support, play and watch soccer. This flood of Greeks initially began kicking a soccer ball around, during work breaks, followed by casual after work games and eventually teams were formed. Nation-wide, Greek soccer teams flourished and eventually Greek soccer associations were established to manage the affairs of these clubs.

In 1972, The National Centre for Research in Athens published research which claimed to have listed all the Greek organisations in West Germany, yet it did not list one of the existing soccer clubs. While a Greek wine tasting association was included, sporting clubs and organisations were not mentioned. John Deloglou remarked, "Whoever wants to know the hearts and minds of German-Greeks had better learn soccer." Although his claim that soccer's importance may have been exaggerated, scholars have given little serious consideration to the magnitude and significance of Greek soccer in Germany. Deloglou stated that Greek soccer was supported because "youth were beginning to head towards criminality because of the inferiority complex which had swept through them".

Germany had always been a venue for Greek First Division soccer teams pre-season training. In particular, the sporting facilities offered in the city of Karlsruhe even attracted the Greek national soccer team. Numerous Greek soccer teams were found in the city of Munich. The oldest and greatest was Blue and White Dachau formed in 1967, while the following year another significant team FC Pontus was established and by 1988 had three competitive teams. Four other teams deserve recognition: Doxa Munich formed in 1978, Ethnikos Munich formed in 1972, Hercules Munich formed in 1984 and Ethnikos Puchein formed in 1972.

In the area of Baden Wurttenberg a dynamic all Greek soccer association was established. As late as 1990, with the number of Greeks in Germany falling to only a fraction of the 1960s figure, 56 teams were still registered in this competition. Reaching its peak in 1973, this association was comprised of 80 competitive Greek soccer teams. However after the fall of the Junta in Greece in 1974, and the return of many Greeks to Greece, some 18 teams promptly collapsed and disbanded. Some teams survived, such as

118 National Centre for Research, Greeks Abroad, Athens, 1972.
119 Interview with John Deloglou, Germany (October 1996) and Thessalonike (August 1998).
120 Team, September 1988, p.4.
Macedonian Svaickheim which had folded in 1974 only to reform in 1980. In all, over 100 different teams participated in the competition throughout its existence.\textsuperscript{121}

In areas other than Baden Wurttenberg, Greek soccer flourished all over Germany, particularly in the industrial northern areas and in Bavaria. Unlike Baden Wurttenberg, some states did allow Greek soccer teams to enter local German competitions. Most of these teams had little success although teams like AEK Dachau made it to the top state divisions. Others included Greek Athletic Union Frankfurt, Acropolis Bergis Gladebach, Zorbas Hannover, Panhellenic Bonn, Union Pontian Hamburg, and Blue and White Cologne. This situation is comparable with Australian soccer, the only important difference being that in Germany, soccer was the undisputed premier sport. The many Greeks who arrived in Australia in the post-World War II period were amazed that soccer was such a minor sport.

Generally the Greeks of Germany only established soccer teams. Research indicated that Olympia Stuttgart was the only club that participated in sports other than soccer. Most Greek clubs were established in provincial areas, but this club was city based. By 1988 it was the only team in the whole of West Germany to be involved in volleyball, swimming and athletics as well as soccer.\textsuperscript{122}

Baden Wurttenberg was the centre not only for Greeks but for their soccer teams. In this area where teams had proliferated, they were not allowed to join the local German competitions. That is, non-German teams were considered, had to adopt German name, and their policies had to be non-ethnic. Other ethnic groups in the area such as the Turks, Italians, Croatians and Serbians had also established soccer teams. The Greeks however took the initiative in adapting and forming their own teams to respond to this policy of non-assimilation.

The first three teams formed in 1960 were Odyssey Esslingen, Poseidon Macraingen and Hellas Kornwestheim. The following year PAOK Ludwigsburg, Olympia Geislingen and Panhellenic Waiblingen appeared.\textsuperscript{123} Panhellenic Waiblingen's constitution stated its aim as: The training of youth, the promotion of soccer, the promotion of intellectual and spiritual cooperation and getting to know each other.\textsuperscript{124}

In the same year, Greek immigrants in Leonberg formed the team Hellas, whose success in 1961, motivated the Greeks (originally from Drama in northern Greece), to form their

\textsuperscript{121}John Deloglou Archives contain the numbers of teams registered in this competition.


\textsuperscript{123}John Deloglou Archives.

\textsuperscript{124}Constitution of Panhellenic Waiblingen, 1961.
own team in 1962, providing two Greek teams to play from the one town. By 1965 they joined forces to form the Union Leonberg.\textsuperscript{125} In later years they won championships while also being one of the first teams to import famous Greek international soccer players such as Sofianos and Simopoulos. Also formed in 1962 was PAO Rotterberg. Panhellenic Bitingheim formed in 1964 with its first president Angelo Bakolas stating:

New immigrants who had been here for only a couple of years were eager for entertainment. They would come down to the games to see people from the same part of Greece. To come down to hear their voices and to talk, for in those years, there were no Greek restaurants and coffee houses where they could socialise and really few places to meet.\textsuperscript{126}

PAOK Vaihingen was formed in 1965. This strong team in the competition, had a fanatical following. Vaihingen was a small town 16 kilometres from Stuttgart and its Greek population never numbered more than 150. In 1974-75 the Greek population was considerably less. Thus the development and success of the team was a remarkable achievement.\textsuperscript{127}

Not all teams were established by Greek immigrant workers. Some were established by Greek Orthodox Communities, such as AOEK Duisberg, some by regional fraternities, and others by Greek restaurants. Apollon Ammebuch was formed in 1981, even though two other teams, Olympus Tubingen and PAO Rottenburg, were well established in surrounding areas.

At first, these teams competed against each other in weekend tournaments usually held in the spring and autumn seasons. Some teams were invited to participate, usually on the three-day holidays, in soccer tournaments, which were either organised by other established clubs or even by local Greek communities. Some tournaments involved other ethnic groups, most notably the Serbian and Portuguese and took place at either the start or end of a season or during festivals. The festival in Leonberg in 1967 began with a lecture at Saint Angelika Church on "The problems of language and schooling for the youth in Germany". The next day, the preliminary rounds of the soccer tournament were held. The final played on the last day of the tournament was won by Union Leonberg.\textsuperscript{128}

The Greek community of Stuttgart organised a soccer tournament for the occasion of their

\textsuperscript{125}Acropolis, 13 June 1965, p.13.

\textsuperscript{126}Interview with Angelo Bakolas, Thessalonike, September 1996.

\textsuperscript{127}Voice of the Diaspora, 20 December 1975, p.3, contains facts of the club.

\textsuperscript{128}Voice of the Diaspora, 27 May 1967, details soccer tournament.
tenth anniversary in June 1967, with four soccer teams of the nearby area Hermes Stuttgart, Omonoia Vainhingen, Immigrant Vaingen and Hellas Haslach participating.129

With the proliferation of Greek soccer teams and the German soccer authorities' reluctance to allow foreign soccer clubs into German competitions, a Greek-run association was formed to manage the needs of these teams. In 1964, the Soccer Union of Baden Wurttenberg (EPEBB) was established in Stuttgart. Its foundation members were presidents of the first affiliated soccer teams.130 The competition moved robustly and attracted more attention each competitive year. In 1965-66, the champion team was Hellas Kornwestheim, while perhaps the best winning streak was by Odyssey Esslingen, victorious in 1969-70, 1970-71 and 1971-72.

It was not until 1973 that the Greek soccer teams were able to affiliate with the German soccer association. As a consequence, the EPEBB disbanded and all clubs were entered into local competitions. This proved to be unsuccessful as after two months membership of the German associations, 23 Greek teams were fined a total 7,600 marks. The Germans did want to use the strength of the Greek teams but to preserve the German ideals of non-distinctiveness.

By March 1975 a meeting in Neckarsulm took place and the EPEBB was resurrected and once again took control of the interests of the Greek teams. By the 1975-76 season, all the Greeks teams had deserted the German competitions and were again under the control of the resurrected EPEBB. In fact in that first season Odyssey Esslingen won the EPEBB first division. Important matches such as grand finals were played with the support of Church leaders and other dignitaries such as the Stuttgart General Consul who presented the players with trophies.

The importance of soccer to Greeks in West Germany is indicated by the formation of the Union of Greek Referees Baden Wurttenberg (EEDPBB) in 1982. The idea of such an organisation was first proposed as early as 1973 when money was raised to form a school for referees, a venture which did not eventuate till later. German referees were not ineligible to referee matches of teams which were not part of their German Soccer Federation, such as the Greek teams.

The first referee school intake of 32 students took place in January 1980, in the Greek Hall of the city of Leonberg. The school was initiated by the EPEBB but sponsored and conducted by the Federation of Greek referees (ODPE). On 21 June 1980, the first of the

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129 Program Soccer Tournament Organised by Greek Orthodox Community Stuttgart 1967, Stuttgart 1967.

130 Establishment of Soccer Union of Baden Wurttenburg (EPEBB). Ioannis Deloglou Archives.
newly graduated Greek referees took control of matches and fulfilled the wish to have a championship with the same prototype with the Greek championship in Greece, something that no other Greek or ethnic group has achieved. In its first years, the referees covered all matches of the Greek teams of Baden Wurttenberg. Although the EPEDBB was aided by ODPE, it was not given financial assistance from either the Greek government or the Greek Soccer Federation, although the first honorary president was Theofanis Georgiou, president of the ODPE at the time. The first inducted referees were awarded certificates by Greek Stuttgart Consul General Vaithos Plastiras. The first graduation ceremony took place in January 1980, the second in January 1981 and the third in January 1982.131

The structure of the soccer competition varied, but usually there were three divisions, with sometimes one of the divisions split into two. In the 1988-89 competition, 364 games were played in the first division, 336 in the second division and 364 in the third division. Triumphant Tsoufcaouzen prevailed in the top division, Omonoia Faingen in the second, Olympia Stuttgart in the third. The competition also used an ambitious promotion and relegation system. In the 14 team first division in 1988, four teams were relegated.

For the 1988-89 competition, a knock out Cup competition was also introduced with the first final taking place between Panhellenic Vaiblingen and Omonoia Faingen, both from the first division. At the end of the match, president of the EPEBB, Stefanos Iordanidanopoulos, presented the trophy to Omonoia.132 The following season Triumphant Tsoufcaouzen, a team from Drama in Northern Greece, won both the championship and cup competition. By this stage the championship had grown and had gained so much publicity that many other Greek teams from outside the Baden Wurttenberg area wanted to join the competition.

Throughout its history, the select team of EPEBB not only fielded the best Greek players of Baden Wurttenberg, but symbolised the national team, Hellas. At the end of each season a special match took place between the championship winning team and this select team. In the 1981 match between the select team and the champions Union Leonberg, the select team won 3-2 before a large crowd. The tournaments against other teams, especially other ethnic teams in the 1980s, also increased popularity. At the end of the 1981-82 season, Hellas entered two tournaments. The first tournament took place in Kornwestheim, with Spanish, Turkish, Yugoslavian, Portuguese, USA and Italian teams competing. The supporters chanted 'Hellas, Hellas' in support of the team dressed in the

131 Information taken from John Deloglou's archives of the EEDPBB.
132 EPEBB Cup 1988-89.
national colours of blue and white. In a grudge match the Greek team defeated the Turkish team and in the final played the Italian team. The press declared this to be an Italian-German Axis connection, as the referee was German and favoured the Italians. The 4,000 supporters chanted "true lebentes of our race and young lions, our players".\textsuperscript{133} That night, after defeating the Italians, the team paraded the trophy in the Hellas Hall of Kornwestheim. Throughout the course of these tournaments, the Greek national anthem was played before each match. Some tournaments were played by only Greek teams, especially those on religious days or on German holidays.

This soccer system produced players of a high standard and the Greeks were very proud of the players who transferred to German teams. The most prominent were Galakos who played for Botrop and then Dusseldorf, Chatsides who played for Bayer Leverkusen, Orkas who played for Cologne and Stogiannides who played for 1860 Munich. Soccer was a male preserve with virtually no sporting activity for women, whose involvement was limited mostly to watching and social organisation. In 1987, Vivi Logothetopoulos was the only woman elected in the EPEBB executive.

Unlike in other places of immigration in the western world, the Greeks of West Germany did not feel compelled to produce the junior team network that was achieved in the other places such as Australia. Many of these Greeks were guest workers. Most were either single or if married, had left their children at school in Greece, because of the close proximity and cheap travel to Greece. Therefore sport was pursued differently in other places of migration. The membership of the clubs varied but by the 1980s, when many Greeks returned to Greece, teams continued to the present. The EPEBB and its competition exemplifies how sport is central to the morale of Greek immigrants. These associations provide men with opportunities to socialise, to maintain Greek customs and traditions and to promote the intrinsic value of Greek culture and identity when away from their homeland.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has not attempted a simple encyclopedic survey of Greek sport in the diaspora. Settlements in England, in South Africa, in Argentina and other places where Greek sports flourish have not been discussed, either because they had no influence on Australian developments or because they provided no further comparative insights. Factors affecting Greek sport outside of Greece have been discussed and include: immigration patterns, historical circumstances, demography, geographic proximity to Greece, residential concentration, host country sporting tradition, political context in

\textsuperscript{133}Team, 14 July 1982, pp.1-2.
Greece, industrialisation and urbanisation, social context, conflicts in the community and economic factors. For example, demographic factors were important, for although the number of immigrants to USA was much greater than to Australia, the Greeks of the USA were much more dispersed. In Australia, Melbourne in the 1980s could claim 50 per cent of the Greeks in Australia, while Chicago, the most heavily populated Greek city in the USA, could claim no more than 15 per cent.

This overview has revealed that in each diaspora community the education of young men in terms of ethnicity and masculinity was a distinct problem, yet the preferred solution was always sports involvement by young men of Greek descent.

Australia's Greek immigrants were drawn from many parts of the diaspora, a fact that is often concealed by statistics which record all immigrants from Turkey as Turks. The diaspora communities, and not only Greece itself, were present to the minds of the immigrants who set out to recreate Greek sporting traditions in Australia. It can be said that the wealthiest and biggest of them all, the United States of America, was especially significant for Australia, both as a model and as the source, over decades, of visiting Greek sportsmen.

This chapter has highlighted that it was in the diaspora that Greek sports were most vigorously developed and took on a significant role in the various settlements. Whether in the Greek settlements of the new world or in the lands occupied by Turks or in areas where the Greek population was a minority, sporting activity flourished. Although different in each settlement, sport was always an important tool in the construction of a sense of Greek masculinity.

It has been illustrated that the ideal product of Greek sport did not vary much down the centuries. The ancient figure of Hercules embodied Greek physical and moral ideals until at least the time his statues in the Hippodrome were destroyed. Later the figure of Digenes Akritas, the figures of the kleftes and of the palikaria in the revolutionary period reiterated the same ideals. Therefore it will not come as a surprise that the same traditional ideals were widespread geographically, wherever Greeks were found. Both in the old settlements in the Levant, where Greeks had lived for thousands of years since the days of the Ionian philosophers, and in the new settlements of Canada and the United States, South Africa and Australia, the ideal of the young Greek man symbolising the code of masculinity which regulated the education of Greek men, was basically the same.

What is interesting, is that there were subtle differences in the emphasis placed on one or other element within the ideal, or distinct ways in which the ideal was employed depending on the historical situation. In the old settlements, the military aspect was
emphasised, the strength, ethnic allegiance, and even the religious item. Here there was no likelihood of losing one’s sense of Greek identity, any more than there was in Egypt where the Greeks had always been part of the elite, above the masses of the fellahin. But the moral side was also emphasised, to keep young men from effeminacy in a world where there were always servants and it was all too easy to waste your life. The bracing effects of paramilitary sports would counteract the Levantine tendencies to sloth and luxury.

In most of the new settlements, loss of identity and constant pressures to conform to the ways of the host community were seen as very great dangers. Only in Germany were these forces not operating. However the constant danger was that the Greeks would despise themselves, (internalising the contempt that the Germans displayed for Greeks, believing that you are inferior like they say) and thus sink into vice and criminality. In North America, with its superior sporting infrastructures and the immense wealth comparatively even of the Greek population, it was possible to activate almost every part of the code of masculinity. Even the physical beauty ideal (in a society which was moving rapidly towards the supremacy of style over substance, towards the domination of images and performances). But overall the important thing was to marry a Greek girl and keep yourself faithful to your Greek identity (Hellenism).
CHAPTER THREE

The Development of Greek Sports in Australia to 1945.

While Australian scholars have clearly recognised Greek settlement in Australia as an integral part of the historically far-reaching process of immigration, their research into the Greek presence has been heavily weighted towards contemporary matters because of the unprecedented scale of the government organised post-World War II immigration, the socioeconomic and political impact of the high number of Greek arrivals and the abundant availability of primary source material. Research into the early historical patterns of the Greek society has been largely overshadowed by recent events and comparatively neglected. The popular perception is that Greek migration to Australia was a post-World War II phenomenon. Similarly sports historians have not bothered to look back and instead convey the perception that Greek participation in sport is limited to post-World War II soccer.

This chapter corrects some of these perceptions. It also demonstrates that Greek sporting activities date back to the first collective grouping of Greek immigrants in Australia in the late 1860s in the Victorian goldfields, as illustrated by the brief establishment of the Lebentia Rowing Club in 1869. After the gold rushes, the few Greeks in Australia travelled to all parts of the continent, where, in general, their sporting activities were absorbed into mainstream Australian sport. However many Greeks maintained an interest and participated in a variety of sports where a number of them distinguished themselves. It was not until the early twentieth century with the urbanisation of Greek settlers, the formation of the Greek Orthodox Communities in the capital cities and with the emergence of the second generation, that sport was properly organised. This chapter will primarily deal with sporting activity of the games that took place at annual picnics of the regional fraternities, Pan-community and Greek schools.

The story of the early Greek settlers in Australia is very similar to that of other Europeans. Apparently the first Greeks to settle in Australia, albeit involuntarily, were seven young sailors from the Island of Hydra. Convicted of piracy by a British naval

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court in Malta and sentenced to transportation to Australia, they arrived in Port Jackson on the convict ship Norfolk on 27 August, 1829.³

Until the 1850s, the tyranny of distance and the uncertainty of economic opportunities upon arrival discouraged Greek migration to Australia. However, opportunities changed when gold was discovered in Bathurst at 1850. As news of the gold finds spread to far countries, fortune seekers from all parts of the world tried their luck. Initially gold fever affected both Greek sailors and fishermen serving mostly with British vessels, many jumping ship and swiftly making their way to the Victorian goldfields.⁴ Greeks arrived with the intention of returning home as soon as they had amassed a fortune and this has been the idea for the past 150 years. Estimates based on available colonial census figures during the period 1850-79 give the number of Greek pioneer settlers as approximately 500.⁵

By the early 1850s there was a significant Greek presence in the Australian goldfields. As early as 1853, Greeks founded the Grecian Gully near Maryborough, where in 1861, Anthony Spurios was operating the Cleopatra Mine. In 1859, a party of Greeks struck gold at Back Creek, finding 64 ounces of gold in their first load of back-dirt. At this time, there were enough Greeks in the Back Creek area to induce Dr Spiridon Candiotis of Corfu to practise medicine. In July 1859, Spiro Corfu founded the Corfu Mine, described as one of the richest in the colony, in Tarnagulla where seven Greeks were soon working. A village soon developed around the mine, complete with a general store and a hotel in which Greeks had a financial share.

Later in 1859, 500 metres from the Corfu Mine, Greeks struck another reef which they named the Hellas Reef, which proved to be as rich as the Corfu. "Yesterday was a day of jubilation to the prospectors of the Hellas Reef, they having struck what is generally, though imperfectly, termed the second reef. To celebrate the occasion the Greek flag was flying on the claim."⁶

⁵Tas Psarakis, president of the Australian Hellenic Historical Society (AHHS) has placed this number over 1000, from evidence he has collected from the goldrush press. Official figures state there were 200 Greeks in 1850; 200-300 in the 1860s; 300-400 in the 1870s; 500-600 in the 1880s. However these official figures do not include Greeks who emigrated from Turkey, Cyprus, Rumania, Egypt, and other parts of the world and therefore underestimate the total number. Further research is necessary in this area for valid statistics to be available.
⁶Tas Psarakis Private Collection, articles found in various newspapers such as Ballarat Courier, Ballarat Star and Maryborough and Donally Advertiser.
By early 1860, over fifty Greeks were working on the Tarnagulla gold fields. Five major reefs had been discovered and worked by the Greeks: the Corfu, the Hellas, the New Hellas, the Athens and the Greeks' Hill mines, all within an area of two square kilometres.

Some forty miles south of Gulgong, in the hill country of the Turon River in New South Wales, lay the world renowned gold towns of Hill End and Tambaroora, where at least twenty Greek miners lived in the 1870s. Most of them lived in a small settlement of huts on the northern outskirts of Tambaroora, an area commonly known as 'Greek Town'. These men married local women and gave Hellenic names to their seventy or so children. However, when gold deposits ran out, it seems that these settlers dispersed across the vast continent.

In fact most of the early Greek male settlers married Anglo-Australian or Irish women and contrary to popular belief, did try to teach their offspring the Greek language. There are instances of their offspring having rudimentary knowledge of the Greek language. Many of these children were given Greek names and many later intermarried. By 1868, Greek Orthodox baptisms were occurring in the goldfields. The death certificate of a miner in the Victorian goldfields in 1856 records that Nicholas Brousianos was the officiating minister of religion at the miner's burial, but no other details are known. What is certain is that an Orthodox monk, Thomas Politis, visited Australia as early as 1862. After returning to Greece, he wrote to the Synod of the Church of Greece requesting that a priest be sent to Victoria to minister to the Greek miners.

Although little material is available on the leisure pursuits of these Greeks, it is not unreasonable to suggest that sports were included. Mosely and Cashman have traced the sporting activity of other ethnic groups thoroughly. They indicated that, while the Irish played Gaelic football and the Scots tossed cabers and threw weights, the Germans practised such traditional rural sports as shooting with the cross-bow and Prussian needle gun. They also introduced kegel, a type of bowling using nine pins. Keen on bowling too, the North Americans built numerous bowling alleys, the most famous of which was at Eureka. Skiing was introduced in the Snowy mountains in 1860, by Scandinavian miners, mostly Norwegians. Consequently, the Kiandra Snow Shoe Club was founded in 1871. Thus life on the goldfields presented a variety of cultural and sporting activities. No doubt, research will uncover more about the sporting activities of early

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Greek immigrants, who probably used sport in the same way as other newcomers: as a leisure and social activity as well as an opportunity to inculcate the values of the homeland in the younger generations.

Meanwhile, sporting matters in Greece were newsworthy. In late 1858, the *Maryborough and Donally Advertiser* printed an article titled, "Queen by social decree for the re-establishment of the Olympic Games in Athens". The same article appeared in the *Mount Alexander Mail*, both undoubtedly read by local Greek miners and reinforcing the long association between Greeks and sport. In the same year, Greek miners at Ballarat were ecstatic to access the Bible in the Greek text. Greek values were thus being validated in the foreign land.

The first organised Greek sporting club was the Lebentia Rowing Club, part of a popular movement in Victoria. The rowing activities on the Yarra River in Melbourne were soon followed by rowing in the Ballarat area, where the first regatta was held in 1862 on Lake Burrumbeet. The 1864 regatta and all subsequent regattas were held on Lake Wendouree. The rowing clubs of Ballarat were, and still are, strong centres of the sport. Three major clubs emerged: the Ballarat Rowing Club, formed in 1861, the Ballarat City Club started in 1870 and the Wendouree Club in 1884. Many other clubs were formed; some had a brief and inglorious existence. These disbanded clubs in Victoria also included the Lebentia Rowing Club.

This Greek rowing club's name was taken from the Greek word for youth, manliness, with all its positive attributes: *lebentia*. Apart from being the first Greek sporting club, it was also the first ethnic sporting club established in Australia. Although its existence was brief, Lebentia Rowing Club demonstrates the role of sport in the Greek diaspora.

Striking similarities exist between the formation of Lebentia and the first sports club formed in modern Greece, as both were rowing clubs. Ereton Rowing Club, considered the first sporting club established in Greece, was established in Pireaus in 1885, five years before the Panhellinios Club of Athens and eleven years before the Athens Olympic Games. Mayors of Pireaus, Damalas and Retsinas, were the club presidents from 1885 to

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11 *Maryborough and Donally Advertiser*, 12 December 1858, p.7; *Mount Alexander Mail*, 17 December 1858, p.2.
14 There is no equivalent word in English, and the term has many meanings, although it is associated with someone who is good-looking, manly, youthful etc. Elias Petropoulos, *Rembetika Songs*, Athens, 1972, claimed that the term during the Turkish occupation was used to describe sailors - especially gunners who were athletic and had well developed bodies.
1905. The first amateur rowing races were held between the club and the crews of the two ships, 'Queen Olgas' and 'Hellas', stationed at Faliro Bay. Rowing's connection with English and Greek royalty was clearly illustrated in 1888 when rowing races were held in Pireaus to mark the 25th anniversary enthronement of King George. The tradition of rowing is also found in the Greek diaspora, the greatest of all rowing clubs being the Greek Naval Club of Alexandria which was, by 1910, organising rowing, swimming and sailing championships.

The Lebentia Rowing Club was established by Natale D'Angri, a Corfiot, who had, in 1853, staked a rich gold claim at Ballarat. Throughout Greece's history, sport clubs have been sponsored by wealthy Greek benefactors, both in Greece itself and in the diaspora. Such patrons include Zappas, Averoff, Benaki and the Zosimades brothers. In 1911 Marinos Korgialenos, the richest Greek in Europe, left one third of his estate to SEGAS. His will stated, "this donation should be used for the education of youth in both body and mind, working for the good and progress of our dear motherland." This concern for youth reiterates the earlier concern of Damalas who claimed that Ereton Rowing Club was primarily established to look after the education of the rising second generation Greek youth of Pireaus region.

All the circumstances behind the formation of the Lebentia Rowing Club may never be known, but evidence suggests that D'Angri established the club to cater for the needs of the Greeks in the Ballarat area and to provide a local meeting place. During the gold rush period, Ballarat was known as the 'hub' of the world, where many ethnic groups co-existed relatively peacefully. By 1854 Ballarat's population was 27,000; by the 1870s it was 48,000. Greek presence in Ballarat dates back to the Eureka Stockade, when one of the protesters was Ithakan, Andreas Lekatsas.

The life of Natale D'Angri was one of contrasts. Born on Corfu in 1827, he sailed to Australia in 1852 on the Dinapore, one of 220 passengers bound for Melbourne. On arrival, he landed in Melbourne, where he immediately headed for the Ballarat goldfields where, with a group of Italians and Greeks, D'Angri staked a claim at Old Gum Tree Flat, which, according to him, was 'richly embroidered with gold'. After each stakeholder had earned about 2000 pounds, most of them decided to return home with

15Th. Koutsikopoulos (ed), A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Sport. Ereton Rowing Club 1885-1985, Athens, 1985, p.21; This text's introduction claims that on the island of Siros the first rowing club was established on the harbour city of Ermoupolis in 1840, although no source is given.
16Ibid., p.24.
17For the month of September 1910, the Greek sporting newspaper Nike had a series of articles detailing the activities of the club.
18Nike, 28 March 1911, pp.1-2.
their significant fortunes. D'Angri returned to Corfu and then travelled extensively around Europe, coming into contact with British supporters of rowing in his native Corfu. Having spent his fortune he returned to Ballarat in 1856, where he married Eliza Watts and became a naturalised citizen in 1861, thus becoming eligible to buy land. After mining and striking more gold he established a flower and shrub nursery. In the late 1860s, he was a founding member of the Horticultural Society, the Ballarat Colonists Club and the Masonic Lodge. In the 1869-70 period, when Lebentia was formed, he was vice-president of the Horticultural Society, a position of high social standing.

In 1869 D'Angri formed the Lebentia Rowing Club to service the needs of local Greeks, adopting the sport of rowing for four reasons. Firstly as a Corfiot, he was a British subject, as Corfu, under the British Protectorate, was the site of British sports such as rowing. Secondly, because D'Angri's residence on Lake Wendouree was near the boatshed used as the meeting place. Thirdly an established rowing culture in Ballarat attracted much attention. Finally and perhaps most importantly many Greeks of Ballarat were originally from the islands, where a tradition of boating was central to their respective societies. Unfortunately, despite such apparent advantages, lack of committed support resulted in the demise of the club, after the Lake Wendouree regatta of 1869. However, family interest in the sport continued.

D'Angri's son, Thomas Ernest, born on 17 February 1869 in Ballarat, was trained by his father in horticulture and became a nurseryman. His father's legacy also included a commitment to rowing and, for a number of years, Thomas was a competent rower with Lake Wendouree Club. The highlights of his career included his winning of the silver medal in the combined fours events in 1885 and his achievements as the cox in the winning eights team in 1891.

Greek residents of Ballarat in the late 1860s involved with the Lebentia Rowing Club included Andreas and Athanasios Lagogiannis who were Australia's first Greek hoteliers. Boxing and wrestling matches, which probably involved some Greeks, were held in their

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19 This biographical information is taken from Lorraine Harvey, *Natale the Gold'n Gardener 1827-1897*, Ballarat, 1990, pp.1-5.
21 The British colonial sporting legacy is still visible on Corfu today. Rugby Union exhibition matches take place in the winter. There is a well organised cricket competition consisting of six clubs. In fact by 1909 the following cricket clubs had been established in Corfu: Corfu Cricket Club, Aris Cricket Club, Phoenix Cricket Club, Byron Cricket Club, Gymnastic Cricket Club and New Phoenix Cricket Club.
22 A survey of the *Ballarat Star*, indicates that apart from Lebentia, other rowing clubs had a brief existence including the Wendouree Rowing Club and Ariel Rowing Club.
23 Harvey, *Natale the Gold'n Gardener*, p.43.
establishment. Another successful Greek, Ithakan Giorgios Paxinos, who changed his name to Paxin, was a hairdresser in Ballarat. His son Private Leonidas Paxin later died in World War I. Ioakeim Zannis, from Samos, who had arrived some time before 1858 also settled in Ballarat, where in 1866 he married Watts Rainsford. Their sons changed their family name to Jannese. Two Jannese grandsons held boxing titles before and during World War I, in which they both served.

The Greek community in Ballarat was an extensive and supportive group. Gerasimos Metaxas, from Kefalonia, was a miner at Ballarat in 1864. A Corfiot, Antonio Meriga, for some years owned the Athens Hotel at Daylesford, north of Ballarat from as early as 1858. Another resident, sail-maker Ioannis Lenos of Zakynthos, (married to Mary Ann Throsby), may have lived previously in Sydney, for a man of that name was a licensed boatman there in 1850s. Stefanos Trikardis, born in Corfu, had settled in Ballarat in 1860 and married an English woman. Trikardis and D'Angri were close friends. His son, Ioannis Stefanos Trikardis, became Mayor of the City of Ballarat in the 1930s.

Christoforos Moros, who arrived in Melbourne in 1860, settled firstly in Maryborough, and changed his name to Morris. Later he prospered in the Ballarat mines. Born on Poros in 1835, the son of a mariner, he had an understanding of ship building, and was possibly responsible for building the Lebentia rowing boat. In 1867 he married an Irish woman and migrated to New Zealand, where they established a boat-hiring business and where their six children were born. Returning to Australia and settling in Hawthorn, he established a business hiring out boats on the Yarra River.

Information on the Lebentia Rowing Club is limited, but it is interesting that the period 1865-70 saw the first community of Greeks staying permanently in Australia, and this group formed the Lebentia Rowing Club. They did not form a club for playing cards, they did not found a literary society on the lines of those in Asia Minor, instead they founded a sports club and they called their boat, their centrepiece of the club: Youth Manliness. The true story of the Lebentia Rowing Club is not known but it is recorded in three texts. Sport was a means of creating a sense of belonging; perhaps with many Greek men being married to non-Greek women, sport provided an opportunity to bond with other male Greeks. There was nothing extraordinary about this phenomenon; Greek

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24Tas Psarakis Private Collection, Ballarat Directories 1860-1870.
26ibid., p.95.
27ibid., p.100.
28Ethnikon Vema, 30 March 1938, p.5.
communities abroad put time and effort into sport as a community activity, as previously discussed.

In the 1870s, after the gold rushes ended, the Greek population of Ballarat decreased dramatically. Some Greek immigrants were unsuccessful in finding their fortunes and led lives of hardship, scattered over great distances in the hostile Australian environment. Few could speak English.

With the closure of the Lebentia Rowing Club and with the scattering of the goldfield Greeks, little is known of the sporting activities of the Greeks between 1870 and 1919. Until the urbanisation of Greeks and the formation of regional fraternities and Greek Orthodox Communities, no attempts to establish Greek sporting clubs were made and Greeks were absorbed into mainstream Australian sports. Fewer male migrants arrived to support separate clubs, although interest and participation in sport did not cease. Current evidence does suggest an overwhelming interest in sport, but researching this involvement is hampered by the fact that Greeks were attracted to mining areas beyond the capital cities. Until the formation of the Greek Orthodox Communities in Sydney and Victoria in the late 1890s, there was no real Greek community apart from the one in Ballarat.

George Kanarakis portrays nine first generation Greek immigrants and illustrates a dynamic Greek presence in Australia from the 1850s. Greeks, while certainly leaving their imprint on commerce, also made their presence felt in other fields, one of which was sport. Kanarakis' work highlights the strong association with three early Greek settlers and sport. George Tramountanas (1822-1911) the colony's first Greek settler, came from a family of shipbuilders in Lemnos. He was said to have been physically strong and an excellent swimmer. His love of athletics was passed on to his sons and his grandchildren, many of whom became excellent athletes.30

Kanarakis also deals with an early arrival, Miltiadis Dimitrios Bizanis (Michael De Dear) (1835-1920). A renowned festival winner in cross country running and jumping in the region of Hania, on the westernmost side of Crete, his prowess in both of these sports earned him the name to elafi (the deer) with the locals. In Australia, he assumed the name Michael De Dear (the deer). He arrived in Port Adelaide on 30 August 1861 and for twelve years made Port Augusta his home, working as a seaman. In that period, he competed in numerous running races and never lost interest in sport. In May 1873, he settled in Port Pirie where he again worked as a seaman and owned two boats, the Normanville and the Amelia. He married twice and had thirteen children all of whom

were given Greek names. All his sons were keen sportsmen, in particular Hector who won various boxing titles in South Australia.\textsuperscript{31} Karanakis also highlights the involvement of Harry Corones who was a great supporter of local sporting groups, being a foundation member and developer of the Charleville Golf Club and the town's first bowling club. He was also patron of the All White Football Club and he set up a local basketball team.\textsuperscript{32}

Other Greek migrants distinguished themselves in sport in this period. In 1884, Athanasios Caparatus from Spetsai landed in Launceston, and for thirty years worked as a wharf labourer with the Launceston Maritime Board. His excellence in swimming had significant impact on the community. The \textit{Launceston Examiner} stated "Saved Eleven Lives: John Caparatus - A Splendid Record". It added, "There is one man in this city whose record might demand for him as much veneration as a hero of the battlefields. The man alluded to, John Caparatus, is a Greek, and came to Launceston about ten years ago.\textsuperscript{33}"

At a ceremony in Launceston's Town Hall the Premier, Sir Edward Braddon, presented a medal and certificate to Caparatus, who explained through an interpreter that his knowledge of English was as yet insufficient for him to address such an audience, but he made it known that this was his life's proudest moment.\textsuperscript{34} Patrick Caparatus, the only son of Athanasios Caparatus, displayed exceptional oarsmanship as a member of a 'racing eights' rowing crew, the eights being the most prestigious event in any regatta. Caparatus' crew were winners in Launceston's Tamar Regatta of 1916. Another notable early Greek was Jigger Bulgary, who was a great gambler and racing enthusiast and who is said to have owned several racehorses.\textsuperscript{35}

Queensland's first Governor, Sir George Bowen was married to Diamantina Roma, a native of Corfu. Social acceptance was given to her at a time when colonial society was not known for its tolerance. The recognition of her charity work, as well as her social impact, was demonstrated by the many places named after her. When Diamantia Roma presented sporting trophies at a school's meeting in 1873, her husband Sir George Bowen remarked:

\begin{quote}
It is a pleasing and appropriate task for a daughter of the Isles of Greece to award the palm to victors in the Olympic Games of Australia, games such as those celebrated of old in the odes of Findar and the verses of Horace.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{31}Karanakis, \textit{In the Wake of Odysseus}, pp.25-35; Interview with Leon Bizannes, Sydney, March 1996.
\textsuperscript{32}ibid., pp.107-08.
\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Launceston Examiner}, 31 August 1884, p.3.
\textsuperscript{34}Gilchrist, \textit{Greeks and Australians}, Vol.I, p.122.
\textsuperscript{35}ibid., p.43.
\textsuperscript{36}ibid., pp.68-9.
While it is difficult to ascertain the effect of 1896 Olympic Games on the Greek population in Australia, it is interesting and perhaps not coincidental to note that the first Greek Orthodox Communities (GOC) in Australia were formed immediately after this Panhellenic event. In 1897, the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne was formed, followed a year later by the Greek Orthodox Community of Sydney. The extensive press coverage of the Olympic Games brought the small (less than one thousand) Greek community a great deal of prestige and honour.\(^37\) More publicity followed, especially when Australia's Edwin Flack won two gold medals in the 800 and 1500 metre races.\(^38\) A decade later, and five years after Australia became a Federation, the Athens 1906 Intermediate Olympic Games were extensively covered in the Australian press.\(^39\) If the interest created in Greek society, by the Olympic Games (Melbourne 1956 and Sydney 2000) is any indication, then the initiatives to establish the Greek community at that time were not coincidental.

Some early publications by Greeks give insight into sports and cultural activities. Between 1916 and 1927 three Greek books were published in Australia, primarily to guide Greeks and promote their welfare.\(^40\) Comino's book was the first book published by a Greek in Australia, and the author noted, "It is a well established fact that Australians love sport".\(^41\)

Yet, it was still difficult for Greek-Australians to maintain their own sporting teams attached to clubs. Oscar Georgoulas noted, "From time to time societies and groups are formed for recreation and entertainment but they seem to disappear because of the lack of leisure time available."\(^42\) In this text there is also a section on health advice with notes on heartbeat, temperature, respiration, sleep, diet, bathing and smoking. Hugh Gilchrist claimed that, "language barriers and long working hours restricted social contact between many early Greek immigrants and other Australians. A few, however, broke through such barriers with their sporting achievements."\(^43\) Unfortunately records of the first Greek newspaper Australia, established in 1913, have been lost; they would have greatly aided research into the first Greek sports. George Nicolaides' first venture was the Greek

\(^{37}\)Journalist Richard Coombes of The Referee first published articles on the modern Olympic movement and the Athens Olympic Games in 1895.

\(^{38}\)After Flack's early wins newspapers were regularly publishing cabled news of his triumphs. For Edwin Flack at the 1896 Athens Olympic Games see Harry Gordon, Australia at the Olympic Games, Queensland, 1994, Chapter 1 "The Lion of Athens", pp.1-13.

\(^{39}\)The Referee, 7 May 1906, p.1. Contains a photograph of the Olympic Stadium. The Referee includes numerous detailed articles.

\(^{40}\)These were Ioannis Comino, Life of Australia, Sydney, 1916; Oscar Georgoulas, Greek Guide to Australia, Sydney, 1920; A.G. Papadopoulos, The International Directory of 1927, Adelaide, 1927.

\(^{41}\)Comino, Life in Australia, p.229.

\(^{42}\)Georgoulas, Greek Guide To Australia, p.107.

OLYMPIC GAMES

(by Professor Pyle)

The celebrated Boston boy, Arnold Abbott, who last season, struck a terrorizing lesson upon the world in the Olympic games, has been again displayed there. The Boston boy, who was long known as a student of the Olympic games, and has been a regular attendant at the games for many years, was again seen in action. His performance was astonishing, and his victory was well deserved. The Olympic games were attended by many, and the Boston boy was among the most popular. The Boston boy was seen in action, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the track events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the field events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the water events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the equestrian events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the gymnastic events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the boxing events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the wrestling events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the running events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the jumping events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the throwing events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the shooting events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the diving events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the swimming events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the sailing events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the rowing events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the canoeing events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the cycling events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the tennis events, and his performance was noted by many. He was seen in the platform diving events, and his performance was noted by many. 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weekly newspaper, *Oceanis*, published in Adelaide in 1914. Restricted there by a limited circulation of no more than 150 copies, he transferred his business to Sydney, but even so, financial difficulties closed the presses in 1916. The very fragmented existing issues refer to Greek sport in Greece.\(^{44}\)

It has been possible, however, to trace the sporting successes of Greeks in mainstream Australian sport. For example, Theo Minoukos, known as Theo Roney, earned some distinction as an amateur wrestler and player of Rugby Union. In the NSW Sports Club's wrestling championships in 1908, he won second prize in its lightweight division. In 1909 he won another medal in an amateur wrestling competition, and in 1910, he played in the team which won the state's Rugby Union premiership. In 1915 he was a member of Dubbo's winning Rugby League team, an achievement recognised in Comino's text, where he is described as:

> Since 1910, Mr Theodoros Minoukos, a compatriot from Kythera, has been living in the small NSW town of Kyogle where all the residents show great affection and respect for him. As we know, Australians really love sport, so this sporting hero, especially in wrestling, is revered for the many trophies he has won for excelling in numerous sporting events.\(^{45}\)

Another sporting success was the son of early Greek miner Peter Ctercteko, George Ctercteko who became a prominent cyclist, bowls enthusiast, YMCA supporter and office bearer of the Western Australia Amateur Sports Club.\(^{46}\) Another miner's son Theophilus Moustakas became a keen cricketer and horseman and represented Geraldton in polo competitions in the 1920s. Of the Moustakas daughters, Emma became the first person of Greek background to graduate from an Australian university when she graduated as a Bachelor of Arts in 1897 from the University of Sydney.\(^{47}\)

Greeks also excelled in boxing. Kharalambos Stathaki won a middleweight title on the Western Australian goldfields in 1912, and two descendants of the Zannis family, John Jannese and Bert Spargo, won boxing titles in Victoria. Tony Monterrey, born in New Orleans, migrated to Australia in 1922 and became a successful professional boxer. He claimed that he had 360 bouts, with 35 draws, 80 losses and the rest victories.\(^{48}\) Spiridon Andrikopoulos from Xulokastro, arrived via America in 1910 when he was 19,

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\(^{44}\) *Oceanis*, September -November 1915, are all that remain of this newspaper.


\(^{47}\) ibid., p.85.

\(^{48}\) Interview with Tony Monterrey, Sydney, June 1995.
and later he distinguished himself as a footballer, eventually becoming president of the Cobargo Rugby Union team.49

Perhaps the most distinguished Greek athlete was Kytherian born, Ioannis Gerakitis, (Jack Lewis). Born in 1893, he witnessed the 1906 Athens Intermediate Games which had a profound impact on his life, the Marathon Race in particular inspiring him. Impressed by the performance of long distance runner Spiridon Louis, he took up the sport himself. By 1908 he had migrated to Australia where he joined the NSW Sports Club's gymnasium. Soon afterwards Lewis became a member of the Sydney Harriers, an amateur club of long-distance runners based in Newtown. In July 1909 he ran in his first major race, billed as the Second Annual Open Race, from Parramatta to Sydney, which was later recognised as the first marathon race in Australia. Lewis finished third despite having worked until midnight the previous night in his own shop. Gilchrist described him:

Short, muscular and slightly built, with a swarthy complexion, jet-black hair, sparkling black eyes and a ready smile, Jack Lewis was a dedicated athlete, modest, cheerful and well liked by all who knew him. Sports writers referred to him as "the popular Grecian runner". In later years his passion for physical fitness would win him further distinction, when he would break the Australian record for the 50 mile walk.50

In 1910, Lewis took part in Queensland's first marathon race, at the Australian Athletics Championships in Brisbane and in Victoria's first Marathon race. In 1911, he joined the East Melbourne Harriers and entered Victoria's third marathon, winning the event from a field of 34 starters, in 2 hours 59 minutes and 30 seconds, five minutes outside the Australian record and twelve minutes outside the world record at the time.

Selected to represent Australia in the 1912 Stockholm Games, Lewis rejected nomination because he would have had to renounce his citizenship of Greece, something he would not do.51 He competed successfully until war broke out in 1914 and he did not race again for six years. In 1915, however, he was a contestant in the lightweight division of the Victorian Amateur Boxing Tournament, for like his two brothers, he was also a boxer and a wrestler.52

51 Interview with Betty Comino, (Jack Lewis' niece), Sydney, October, 1996, who has in her possession the letter Lewis received from the Australia Olympic Selection Committee informing Jack Lewis of his selection for the 1912 Australian Olympic Team, dependent on his becoming a naturalised Australian.
In June 1916, concerned about the British authorities' anxiety regarding King Constantine's intentions in Greece, the Australian authorities took a precautionary step in case Greece should become a hostile state. A secret census of all Greeks in Australia was completed. Police in each state were advised to "take steps at once to quietly and most confidentially summarise all particulars relating to Greeks". The particulars listed included two billiard table makers and one man, Charles Andrews, who was 'a woolpresser and a pugilist'.

On Armistice Day, amid the rejoicing in Brisbane, Greeks took part in a long procession through the streets, in a "Greek horse drawn tableau of the ancient Olympic Games, which secured the Olympic Truce". It was not coincidental that sport was used to express their ethnicity. The Australian public were again made aware of the significant role of Greeks in sporting history.

The third Greek book published in Australia contains a variety of articles and topics appealing to both English and Greek readers. Most of the publication is taken up by advertisements for some 200 firms mainly based in Australia, Egypt and the Sudan, although there are some references to sport. A poem written by Demetrios Michalaros, "Ode To A Departed Olympian", appears, as does a whole page photograph of Constantine Dimitriadou's sculpture titled, "O Diskobolos". A two page advertisement, in both Greek and English, urges young people to join the YMCA because of its emphasis on sports and religion. There are also two articles on golf and billiards. Most notable are the photographs that appear of Greek picnics in Adelaide. A one page photograph shows the Nicolaides family - including their three daughters - holding tennis racquets in front of a tennis net. George Nicolaides, greatly inspired by another Nicolaides, who had been Greece's number one tennis player in the 1920s and 1930s, tried to take the family to tennis as much as possible. Providing an interesting picture of Greeks in the 1920s, the directory includes an informative article, "The Freedom of Women in Australia", describing women's participation in a variety of activities including many sports. Women's involvement in such activities, the male author wrote, "causes astonishment, shaking the very foundations of the soul."

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54 ibid., p.31.  
56 ibid., pp.556-57.  
57 ibid., pp.417-18.  
58 ibid., pp.298, 302, 352, 360.  
59 Interview Loula Galatis (Georges Nicolaides' daughter), Adelaide, June 1996.  
Creation of the Greek Society

Before World War II, Greek immigration to Australia was a small and slow movement emanating from certain places in Greece. At the turn of the century, immigrants from the islands of Kastellorizo, Ithaca and Kythera had began to arrive. Kytheran shopkeepers settled in Sydney, Ithakans in Melbourne and Kastellorizans in Perth. These three islands provided 42 per cent of all Greek male immigrants to Australia between 1890-1940. In fact, until 1924, the majority of immigrants came from 23 islands in the Ionian and Aegean Seas. These three groups had virtually completed their main migration by 1929, had firmly established settlement chains and had a relatively narrow range of occupations. In 1947, 71.6 per cent conducted small businesses, mainly small retail shops. Only 7.7 per cent were labourers and operatives.

Despite the small size of the Greek society of Australia, it was already assuming a formative structure. This centred on a Greek Orthodox Community embodying and practising much of the national culture through its churches, schools and other agencies. In addition, district, island or regional fraternities were established, together with numerous coffee-houses, a consulate and nationally circulated newspapers. Thus an effort to establish cohesion and unity in the paroikia was well underway from those early days.

Settled regional groups tended to play a leading role in forming their own fraternities as well as community-wide organisations such as Greek Orthodox Communities (GOCs) due to their predominant numbers and resources compared to other regional groups. In Perth and Adelaide, the dominant group was the Kastellorizans, in Sydney and Brisbane it was the Kytherans, while in Melbourne it was the Ithakans.

Greek migration to Australia before World War II occurred mainly through a process of chain migration, a movement of relatives and friends towards their successful sponsors in Australia. Price estimates that ninety per cent of Southern European migration to Australia up to 1945 occurred in this way. Chain migration usually begins when a male pioneer from a village or town settles overseas and then, by visit or letter, persuades friends or relatives to join him. Eventually by this process, the migration grows considerably and results in the appearance abroad of village, district or regional communities very

61 Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, pp. 20-1.
63 John Yiannakis, Megisti in the antipodes: Castellorizian migration and settlement to W.A., 1890-1990, clearly illustrates this, by demonstrating the influence of the Perth Kastellorizans in all aspects of Greek society including the formation of the local Greek Orthodox Community.
reminiscent of those in the homeland. Later immigrants usually concentrate in the same place in the new country and follow similar occupations.

Many of these organisations confine full membership to persons born in the district or region concerned, or to descendants of such persons. Thus they have been an agency in keeping and preserving local customs, values and in slowing down the intermarriage with other groups. So strong have some of these district and regional societies been that they have been criticised for encouraging settlers to confine their interest to district concerns, to abstain from participating in Panhellenic activities or from even mixing with other Greeks. When one examines the history of Greece itself, it is easy to understand why, in many instances, the local fraternities command greater loyalty than other Panhellenic activities. Alexander Maniakis further acknowledged this phenomenon in the pre World War II period:

The Greeks in Australia, although patriotic people and ready to act when the national occasions require it, are inclined to concentrate their sympathies within their own groups - the Ithakans with the Ithakans, the Kytherans with the Kytherans, and so on; and as a result one lot gets preference and the other lot becomes disgruntled.64

The same tendency was noted by Saloutos about the Greeks in the United States, commenting on:

the petty rivalries of the Spartans, Arcadians, Islanders, Athenians, and Greeks from Turkey who found it difficult to forget their local prerogatives and prejudices.65

Charles Price recognised, as early as 1963, the dangers in addressing all Greek migrants as a single, homogeneous entity:

We must grapple with particular villages and districts of origin and particular of settlement in Australia, and reinterpret the migration process in their light.66

Price attempted to do this, but primarily saw the differences in geographical terms. Through these institutions, Greek immigrants expressed themselves socially, politically and culturally in an organised manner.

The Greek Amateur and Philanthropic Society, Orpheus, (made up mostly of Samians) was the first Greek society to be formed in Melbourne in March 1916. The foundation members firstly wanted to provide the growing Greek paroikia of Melbourne with a

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66 Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, p.277.
social club in which they could meet and discuss their problems. Secondly, they wanted to have a Greek organisation in Melbourne pledged to provide material help to its compatriots, to hospitals and various charitable institutions. Thirdly, they sought to provide a sporting and cultural society for the Greek citizens of Melbourne, a society which could assist them to adjust more easily to conditions in Australia. An anniversary journal written by president Peter Politis in 1956, claimed that:

And it is to the everlasting credit of our foundation members that their foresight produced the desired results, for in carrying out all of the three purposes, the Orpheus has indeed been successful.67

In a general meeting on 11 May 1919 at 252-54 Swanston Street, the adopted constitution included: Article One, Number 8 - the establishment of a sporting section in the hall of the club.68 Its activities also included managing a lesche, charity work, organising social and cultural gatherings as well as assisting national causes and the work of the Greek Orthodox Community. The highlight of each year was the annual picnic, where sporting events would take place. Throughout the history of these picnics, the role of games was very significant. The Orpheus picnics primarily catered for the Samians, although non-Samians attended and participated. Orpheus picnics were an annual event from 1920 to 1941.69

The Orpheus Club hall provided a venue for wrestling exhibitions and bouts in the pre-World War II period. Usually wrestlers from the Ithakan club, Odysseus and from Orpheus competed. In this period the Orpheus Club did much to encourage the development of sporting activities of Australian born Greeks.

The Ithakan regional fraternity of Melbourne, Odysseus, founded in 1916, also provided sport. The complete record of the club minutes exists and provides details of the organised games at the annual picnics. Before World War II, Ithakans were numerically superior in Victoria. By 1945, some 2,000 persons of Ithakan origin had settled in Melbourne. In this context, the settlement of the Ithakans, so dominant in Victoria before World War II is a suitable example to be used in this study.70

67Peter Politis, _Orpheus Pan-Hellenic Association. Fortieth Anniversary Journal 1916-1956_, Melbourne, 1956, p.3. Peter Politis' father was on the first committee and at the time had in possession the archives of the Orpheus Association.
68Orpheus Greek Amateur and Philanthropic Society, _Constitution_, Article 1, No.8.
69_Hellenic Herald_, 3 April 1941, p.5.
70Stan Raftopoulos Private Collection contains the complete minutes of the "Odysseus" Ithakan Regional Fraternity of Melbourne.
One of the first Ithakans in Australia, Andreas Lekatsas, came to Australia in 1850. On his return to Greece several years later, he spoke so well of Australia that during the 1870s and 1880s a number of his nephews and their families arrived in Australia and established oyster saloons and cafes, their success soon persuading friends to join them. During 1888-91, 100 Ithakans migrated to Australia; during 1892-95, 72 arrived while during 1896-99, 530 came. At first the Ithakans dispersed to all states but before World War I, the majority could be found in Melbourne. The first Greek shop owners in the city included Morfessis, Lekatsas, Mavrokefalos, Raftopoulos, Metaxas and Gavrili. In particular, Melbourne's best restaurants were owned by Ithakans. Over the next fifty years, Ithakans became the dominant group in the Greek paroikia in Melbourne. By 1940, there were more than 3000 persons of Ithakan descent in Australia, of whom at least 1000 were second and third generation.

In particular, Antonios John (A. J.) Lucas, was influential in many of the sporting activities of the Odysseus club. He also did much for Greek youth in general, when he attempted to establish a Greek-English Day School as early as 1923 but was not permitted to do so by the Victorian state government. Having migrated to Australia in 1886, Lucas became one of the founders of the GOCM in 1897, president of the GOCM (1906-16) and was consul general of Greece in Australia from 1923 until his death in 1946.

The first Odysseus members meeting occurred on 8 October 1916 at Gill Hall in Swanston Street, with A. J. Lucas being elected president, a position he held until 1923. A constitution consisting of 47 sections was drafted and published in 1916. A committee was then formed in March 1917 for the purpose of leasing a hall. Club rooms were eventually located and leased on the first floor in the Mitchell building, at the corner of Elizabeth and Lonsdale Streets, with an official opening on 23 September 1917. The blessing of the building was conducted by Archmandrite Daniel Maravelis, where 141 pounds were also raised. During Lucas’ presidency, the sporting activities of the club were established and consolidated.

The society then turned its attention to locating Ithakan correspondents in most of the metropolitan areas. In Sydney there were Dimitrios Kouvaras, Vasilios Deftereos, and

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71Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, p.121.
73*Ethniki Salpingx*, 25 April 1923, p.3.
75"Odysseus" Ithakan Regional Fraternity of Melbourne, Minutes of Meetings, 8 October 1916.
76Ibid., 24 September 1917.
Panos Paxinos; in Newcastle, Spiros Paizis, Constantinos Raftopoulos, and Alexandros Paizis; in Brisbane, Ioannis Mavrokefalos, Panagiotis Mavromatis; in Townsville, Efstatios Macris; in Perth, Thrasivoulos Koutsouvellis, Dionysos Florias, and Efstatios Kallinikos; and in Kalgoorlie, Panos Raftopoulos. Because correspondents lived in all states, the brotherhood's name was changed to Odysseus Philanthropic Society, Australia, with its base being in Melbourne.77

To provide more leisure facilities for members, the society purchased two billiard tables and a committee was formed to organise billiard competitions. The committee elected included Marinos Lekatsas, Gerasimos Lekatsas, Georgios Strattos, Markos Mavromatis, Georgios Tsoukaladakis, Saravlios Vrettos and Panagiotis Lekatsas.78

Sporting interest and enthusiasm from members resulted in more sporting activities, than just billiard competitions. In the Odysseus book of minutes, the entry for 22 February 1918, states:

The first annual picnic will take place on the 24th March 1918 and will be held at South Morang. Entrance cost will be 1/6 and children under the age of 12 years half the price. Spiros Raftopoulos will be in charge of printing the tickets and organising the picnic. The committee for the organisation of the games of the picnic will be Mar. Lekatsas, Nick Lekatsas, Georgios Tsoukaladakis and Ioannis Savitsianos. They will also be in charge of organising the events and buying medals.79

Over two hundred people participated in the games at the picnic, with females also taking part. The winners were as follows:

Footrace 120 yards : Nicholas Letkatsas.
Competition : Dimitris Firmanis
Footrace 340 : Stanley Blythen
Egg and Spoon race : Master Grant
One mile (championships) : 1st Nik. D Lekatsas; 2nd Spiridon Lekatsas
Veteran Race : Yotti Lucas
Girls' race : Miss Maxinos
Back race : Miss Mary A. Lucas
High Jumping : Stanley Blythen.80

77 Ibid., 17 June 1918.
78 Ibid., 3 November 1917.
79 Ibid., 22 February 1918.
80 Ibid., 13 April 1918.
The first annual ball, on 23 April 1918, also doubled as the first presentation night of the club, where the winners were presented with their awards. A silver cigarette holder was presented to the first Odysseus games winner Nicholaos Lekatsas - winner of the 120 yards footrace. Over the years, the prizes presented at the presentation night became more expensive and impressive. Many prizes were also donated from outside the Greek community, from companies such as Nestles, which donated impressive silverware. In 1924 the president of the Nestles company attended the annual picnic. With many Ithakans being shopkeepers, and buying coffee and other goods from these companies, the two parties always enjoyed a good relationship. At the first presentation night, the billiard competition winner Gerasimos Lekatsas, also received a gold medal. The runner up, Nicholaos Stratos, received a silver medal while Nicholas Stamoulis, who came third, received a raincoat.81

For the second annual picnic, the organising committee included Georgios Lekatsas, Dionysos Vrettos, Gerasimos Gavrilis, Ioannis Lekatsas, and Nikiforos Lekatsas, while the sports committee included Dimitris Kolivas, Ioannis Savitsianos, Panagiotis Lekatsas George Ladakis and George Strattos. The sports committee was responsible for transport to and from the picnic and the organisation of the day's events, which included marshalling of athletes and judging.82

Because of the influenza epidemic, which had infected many of the members of the society, the picnic planned for 1 March 1919 was postponed until 30 March and the Odysseus hall was also closed for a period during this month.83 The picnic and games were too significant for the Ithakans to be cancelled altogether. A report on the picnic noted 118 tickets had been sold, funds raised were 69 pounds and 6 shillings and the expenditure was 36 pounds and 12 shillings. The picnic was a success, both organisationally and financially.84 On 21 May 1919 the presentation night took place.

The minutes of the organisation graphically illustrate the growth of the sporting activities at the picnics, with every year more and more events being introduced. At the third annual picnic, the entrance fee was raised from three to five shillings for most but those who went by horse and cart paid ten shillings. The organising committee remained the same. The Raftopoulos family, who were importers and wholesalers, pledged an annual donation for the first prize with the event of the 340 yards handicap being named after them. The president of the committee donated a bracelet worth two pounds for the winner

81ibid., 25 April 1918.
82ibid., 17 December 1918.
83ibid., 25 February 1919.
84ibid., 15 April 1919.
of the girls' event and a bracelet worth one pound as second prize. Club minutes indicate that the organisation of picnics was time consuming and detailed in every aspect of planning, including type of events to weather conditions for athletes.

By 1921 the society was flourishing and leasing the second floor of the building to provide a gymnasium. The second floor was turned into a gymnasium. The minutes claimed, "It was about time for youth to build themselves up and the gymnasium can be used as a place where youth can socialise in a positive environment". In the meantime, "Club Premises Extension Fund" was set up and the new hall was officially opened on Sunday 26 July 1921, the blessing given by the Rector of the COCM, Daniel Maravelis.

On 10 January 1922, a sporting sub-committee was formed specifically to co-ordinate the activities of the gymnasium and to improve facilities. The biggest problem with the gymnasium was that there were no showers. On 11 April 1922, approval was obtained from the owner of the building, Mitchell, for the installation of showers. Nicholas and Angelo Lekatsas claimed that this amenity would increase membership.

Odysseus member, Angelos Lekatsas, was keen to promote sport for Greek youth and he further developed the work of A. J. Lucas in the period 1924-26. He was president of GOCM from 1930 to 1940 and again from 1949 to 1952. For many years he was president of the Greek Schools Committee. For 60 years, he owned the Lucas Cafe at Flinders Street Station.

The first athletes paid a registration fee of ten shillings for three months. Once the showers were completed, Savitsanos, a member of the sports committee, was responsible for enrolling members in the gymnasium and for organising the first structured gymnastic lessons. Peter Fatouras, a well known wrestler and member of the sports committee proposed that non-members be admitted to the gymnastic group. However, cost to non-members was fifteen shillings instead of the ten shillings payable by Ithakans for three months membership. Gymnastic equipment such as weights, mats and punching bags was also purchased. Equipment was of such high quality that Mr

85ibid., 10 February 1920.
86ibid., 5 August 1921.
87ibid., 10 January 1922.
88ibid., 11 April 1922.
89Ithakan Philanthropic Society, "The Ulysses" 70th Anniversary Album, p.21; In later years he was a leading figure in the formation of Melbourne Hellas Soccer Team.
90"Odysseus" Ithakan Regional Fraternity of Melbourne, Minutes of Meetings, 20 April 1922.
91 ibid, 11 April 1922.
Wasum of the Physical Institute wanted use of the gymnasium, and his proposal was accepted.92

A wrestling tournament was introduced at the fifth annual picnic in 1922. The following week the picnic presentation night was held with the wrestlers also receiving trophies.93 In later years wrestlers presented awards to athletes at the presentation nights. In 1933, well known wrestlers, Dennis Koutsouvellis and Leo Demeral were the presenters. At the 1935 picnic, the students of the Melbourne Greek School gave a gymnastic exhibition.

In this period, sport was one of the few unifying forces between the two powerful regional fraternities Odysseus and Orpheus. As early as 25 August 1919, the Orpheus fraternity initiated a billiard competition between the two groups.94 Ithakans in Melbourne were heavily involved in sports, with some also gaining renown in rural Victoria, such as the Raftopoulos family which built and owned Mildura's only dog track in the 1930s.95

There were many similarities between the Ithakan picnics in Australia and in the homeland. However, some adaptations were made to suit local conditions. In Ithaka, Saint Marina's Day, 24 July is the main festival. However each town has its own celebration where sports events take place. The townsfolk of Kioni celebrate their day on St. John's Day (14 August) each year, while in Sydney the annual picnics usually were held in the January - February period. Events and the prestige afforded to the winners were similar, as were material prizes, eg trophies for Australian Greeks; animals and food for Greek winners. In both countries picnics were highly organised and were officially sanctioned by the church. In the pre-War World II period, athletes of non-Ithakan background were not allowed to participate.

In Newcastle, as in Melbourne, Ithakans were a substantial proportion of the Greek population, and they were to remain the dominant group until World War II. Most of these Ithakans originated from three villages: Stavros, Exoli and Vathi. In 1911, figures show 68 Greeks living in Newcastle. The Greek Brotherhood Omonoia was formed in 1933, with a constitution drafted in Greek, stating that the primary aim of the association was to serve the Greek people and their families. By the 1933 census, there were 12 Greek women in Newcastle.96 A Saturday School was established in 1937 and their first picnic was held in the October long weekend 1933 at Raymond Terrace with two hundred

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92ibid, 3 July 1923.
93ibid, 9 May 1922.
94 ibid, 25 August, 1919.
95 Archives Stan Raftopoulos.
96 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1933 Census.
and fifty people attending, with the president George Costakis awarding trophies to athletes at the conclusion of sporting proceedings. Unlike the exclusive picnics of the Melbourne Ithakans, the Newcastle people not only welcomed non-Ithakans from the city, but the games were coordinated so that Ithakans state-wide could attend the Newcastle event. A greatly increased sporting program, attracted 650 people at the 1936 picnic, a number which far exceeded the number of Greeks in Newcastle. These picnics continued during the War years.

This century Ithakans have migrated to all parts of the world, taking with them their interest in sport. The Ithakan Brotherhood of New York conducted picnics similar to those in Melbourne, as illustrated by a large advertisement for a picnic to be held at New Palm Gardens in February 1927. The Ithaquesian Philanthropic Society of South Africa, founded in 1935, always included games at their annual picnics. Xenides noted the games at annual picnics took place in most regional fraternities in the United States:

Another feature of these societies is their annual picnics... Here again life in the homeland is reproduced. National songs are sung, dances and games are played. Some resort to various athletic events, which are extremely popular with young men, and societies give prizes to successful contestants.

It is estimated that there are now hundreds of brotherhoods and local associations in Australia. Subsequently, many of the original brotherhoods have split into separate organisations. Even the few Greeks from northern Epirus established their own society in Perth in 1947. Prior to World War II only a few principal ones, existed. In Sydney, other regional groups to form fraternities included the Akratan (Peloponnese), who founded the Helmos Society in 1925, the Mytileneans in 1927, the Cypriot Brotherhood in 1933 and the Ithakan Brotherhood in 1935.

The Kastellorizans were the regional group that developed annual picnics on a national scale. At first, Perth attracted most of the Greeks from Kastellorizo, but in the early decades of this century they moved eastwards. The first regional Kastellorizan fraternity

97 Hellenic Herald, 26 October 1933, p.5.
100 Interview with Alexander Sikiotis, Ithaka, September 1997. Sikiotis former president of the Ithaquesian Philanthropic Society of South Africa, allowed access to the society's archives found in Ithaka.
'Unity' was formed in Perth in 1912. A strong group of Kastellorizans in Sydney formed the Kastellorizan Club and Association in 1925. Their first picnic took place at Clarke Island in Sydney Harbour in 1926. Nielsen Park was also a popular weekly meeting place for the Kastellorizan families of Sydney. In Melbourne, the Kastellorizan fraternity 'Megisti' had their first picnic in 1927. Of all the groups they were the most closed and chauvinistic, possibly because their homeland, the island of Kastellorizo, did not revert to Greek authority until 1948.

The Kytherans, unlike other regional groups, did not conduct annual picnics possibly because they were the most scattered group. Price claimed that, in the pre-World War II period, about 66 per cent of Kytheran migrants "dispersed quite quickly in twos and threes amongst the country towns of Southern Queensland, New South Wales and Northern Victoria".

Annual picnics were held not only by the island Greeks. The dominant mainland group, the Macedonians, also conducted annual games. In Western Australia the Macedonian fraternity, Alexander the Great, was established in 1930, by Zissis Nolides following the opening in 1929 of a new Macedonian-operated and patronised club, the International Club in James Street, Perth. By 1931 membership was encouraged and a constitution was drafted. Apart from other activities, picnics were held, with the first taking place in 1933.

In Melbourne, the Macedonian Brotherhood, Alexander the Great, was formed in 1932 with the first president being Lazaros Lazarides. The club had a distinct characteristic, not allowing women members and aiming mainly at serving the social needs of the male Macedonians in Melbourne. The club's first picnic took place at Werribee in December 1933. At the conclusion of the day's sporting activities, trophies were awarded to the successful athletes by Michael Lappas, who was president of the picnic organising committee. The second picnic took place in 1934, and the picnics continued to World War II with the Greek press giving lengthy analysis of the games and results.

Events at the various picnics differed little from each other, whether organised by the larger regional fraternities such as Odysseus, the smaller ones such as the Cypriots or the mainland ones such as the Macedonians. All had a standard track and field program and wrestling.

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103 For a comprehensive coverage of the first picnics: Sydney - Ethnikon Vema 12 July 1926, p.3; Melbourne, Ethnikon Vema, 6 February 1927, p.4.
104 Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, pp.292-93.
105 Tamis, The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia, pp.132-33.
106 Hellenic Herald, 7 December 1933, p.8.
Pan-community picnics

After the Depression, with the consolidation of Greeks and their regional fraternities, attempts were made by local GOC's in metropolitan areas to unite the Greek immigrants. They believed the best way to do that was through sport, especially annual picnics. Despite the problems of organisation and poverty among members, picnics were the main focus in most associations, especially the Pan-community ones. From the existing records and reports and, in particular, from the two nationally circulated Greek papers *Hellenic Herald* and *Ethnikon Vema*, much can be learnt about the elections of representative councils, and the church, school and social committees which were responsible for organising these picnics. In most metropolitan settlements, the transition from regional fraternity picnic to Pan-community picnic was quite smooth.

The first Melbourne Pan-community picnic took place on the Australia Day long weekend, 1935, at Mount Evelyn. Four main fraternities provided athletes for the games: Orpheus, Kastellorizian, Ithakan and the Macedonian. The Ithakans won most events and were presented with the Pan-community shield. Over 500 people paid to watch the games which were organised by Theo Marmaras, president of the GOCM.107 Within a month a presentation night took place. Highlights of this Pan-community picnic were shown at Garrick Theatre and at the conclusion of the viewing 16 medals were presented to successful athletes.108

For the second picnic, in 1936, Marmaras once again arranged the filming of events. A presentation night was organised at the hall of the Orpheus Club, with the program including the viewing of highlights of the second picnic, the presentation of awards, a performance of the Greek comedy "Servant is Wanted" and finally a girls' dancing demonstration.109

In Sydney, the first Pan-community picnic on Sunday 7 February 1932 was organised by the GOCS committee, although some regional fraternities and other disgruntled parties boycotted. Not until 1935 did all factions in Sydney attend, when the very successful picnic took place at Clarke Island on 3 March 1935.110 From 1935 onwards, the events and general organisation of these picnics became more complex, as the various Greek organisations contributed.

107 *ibid.*, 7 February 1935, p.6.
109 *Ethnikon Vema*, 27 May 1936, p.3.
SPORT AT ANNUAL PICNICS

Top: 1927 Melbourne Ithakan Regional Fraternity Picnic.
The first annual Grecian picnic held at Putney Pleasure Grounds in 1937 was one such example. Organised by the Grecian Picnic Committee, two ferries transported people to the site. Megaphones ensured that all could hear the events called and the music. Cinesound Productions were hired to film the day's activities. The entrance fee was 2/6 but free for students under 12. The day long sports program, from 11.45am to 5:00pm, covered 17 events, including the 50 yards (boys under 12 years); men's open 100 yards race; shot put; tug of war (veterans versus youths) and the last event of the day, four-round boxing. Prizes ranged from silver cups donated by the Hellenic Club to a box of 50 cigarettes. It would seem that the few female events were little more than token events interspersed among the male events. Dancing was the main contribution of the girls to the official program. They danced either after lunch or after the prize presentation, always before an appreciative crowd. Much training and preparation went into the dancing and during the picnics the girls danced in traditional Greek costumes.

During the pre-World War II period, Greeks, especially in urban areas were fragmented along regional and family and clan lines. The annual picnics were an attempt to unite these groups. In the most fragmented society, Sydney, these picnics brought most of the Greeks together. There was some rivalry, especially in Melbourne, where much pride was taken in which regional fraternity won the events. The rivalry between the Ithakans, Kastellorizans and Samians was at times, intense.

Queensland was different from the other states in terms of lack of rivalry. Most of the Greek population in the pre-World War II period scattered outside of Brisbane, especially in rural north Queensland in places such as Townsville, Innisfail, Tully, Babinda, Hometown and Ayr. Annual picnics had a Panhellenic spirit to them, because no group was dominant. The GOC North Queensland was established in Innisfail in 1932 and the Innisfail picnic usually took place at Merderey Point. The 1942 picnic was attended by Greeks from nearby surrounding towns such as Silkwood and Tully. In rural Bibinda in Queensland, with a significant Greek population a Greek society was formed in 1934. Their picnics were Panhellenic events, their zenith reached in 1939.

These traditions of Greek games, both regional and Pan-community, continued up to, during and after World War II. As late as 1941, the Kastellorizans and Ithakans of Melbourne held their annual picnics on 16 February at different locations, while Samians

111 Ethnikon Vema, 3 February 1937, p.4.
112 Hellenic Herald, 12 November 1931, p.5. Contains a picture of girls dancing and this was the image reinforced in the Greek paroikia.
113 Interview with Tom Lambis, Bizani, June 1996.
114 Hellenic Herald, 7 December 1939, pp.7-8.
held theirs on 9 February. This was not the case for community events for the German and Italian immigrants, who had many of their community structures destroyed in World War II, because their countries of origin were part of the Axis. After the War these groups had to start again, but the Greeks, whose country's reputation had been enhanced by its positive contribution to the Allied war effort, enjoyed continuity in their social structures throughout the 1940s, ready for the 1950s influx of Greek immigrants.

The games which took place at picnics also had the blessing of the Orthodox Church. The residing priest took an active role in the promotion of these games and was responsible both for blessing the games at the start and for presenting prizes to the winners of events at the conclusion. In particular the Metropolitan of Australia, Timotheos, patronised these games throughout Australia. Timotheos (as will be explained later) attempted to use the games to unite the Greeks through their enthusiasm for sport.

The tradition of games, derived from the church festivals in Greece, were transplanted to Australia and moulded according to the local situation. Compromises in organisation and structure needed to be made. The example of the Ithakan picnics is interesting in this regard for the tradition of these picnics dates back centuries in the homeland. Usually annual picnics were held on various long weekends, but the Australia Day long weekend was the most popular, although the Kastellorizans conducted all their games one or two weeks after the Australia Day long weekend. In Greece, however, the games took place on Saints' days. These annual picnics in fact were a transplantation of traditional Greek festival games. The emphasis on sport revolved around youth and was a celebration of youth rather than being simply a series of sporting events.

Sport was organised by the Greek society leaders, but the most notable aspect of the picnic was the role played by the Orthodox Church. Unlike in Greece, where the Church has no official involvement in paidaia in the Greek diaspora, the Church played a central role in youth matters. For example, the Church built schools and it was usually the priests who taught in these schools. Most of the literature dealing with the Greeks of Australia, implies that little but disputation occurred in the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia up until World War II. Despite its internal difficulties, the Orthodox Church remained united in its support of youth in terms of religious, educational, sporting and cultural activities.

In March 1924, the Patriarchate of Constantinople used its canonical right to assume jurisdiction over the Greek Orthodox Communities and parishes in Australia, with the intention of establishing the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia. Bishop

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115Ethnikon Vema, 19 February 1941, p.4.
Christopher Knitis was appointed by Patriarch Gregorios as the first Metropolitan of the Archdiocese of Australia. Knitis came with instructions from the Patriarch to wrest control of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia away from the GOCs and set up a church hierarchy in Australia under the control of the bishop and responsible only to the Patriarch.

The action of the Patriarchate in 1924 met with local opposition and was hotly debated within the Greek community. The action meant transferring spiritual allegiance from the Greek Church in Athens, in which they had been placed before 1908. Personal and regional animosities sharpened the dispute which had, however, abated by the repatriation of Knitis in 1928, and the arrival of Metropolitan Timotheos in 1932, a bishop who respected the work of GOCs. Even so, Christoforos Knitis did manage to organise the GOC and the churches of various localities of Australia. For example in Sydney, he built Saint Sophia Cathedral.\(^{116}\)

Closer co-operation and relations developed between the GOC and the Archdiocese by the 1930s. On 1 March 1928, Theophylactos Papathanasopoulos, appointed as the Patriarch's Episcopal Representative in Australia, arrived in Australia, dedicating himself to creating calm and harmony. He sought to avert potential crises in Melbourne and in Sydney. He was very diplomatic in his handling of situations and cautious. During his first speech to the congregation of Saint Sophia in March 1928, he stated:

> I will stay away from any factional dispute of this Greek community. I will be everyone's priest.
> If you are going to have Church and priests so that you may continue the unpleasant war amongst yourselves, then it is preferable to shut down the churches and to drive out the priests.\(^{117}\)

In November 1931, Timotheos Evangelidis, was elected as the second Metropolitan of Australia. A graduate from the Theological School of Chalki, he had served in Bucharest since 1914 as the Nuncio of the Ecumenical Patriarch. The reign of Metropolitan Timotheos (1932-47) was uncomplicated and created calm and harmony in all states, except NSW. Metropolitan Timotheos, who arrived in 1932, was determined to work with and reconcile Greek factions in Australia. Communities accepted the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and in return the head of the church accepted the fundamental rights of the Communities.\(^{118}\)

\(^{116}\)The most complete and thorough analysis is found in Tamis, *The History of Greeks in Australia*, Vol.I.


Timotheos was a frequent visitor to the GOCs, even in country towns where most were in their formative stages. Timotheos' inauguration took place on 1 January 1933, in the presence of the consul general and all leaders of the Greek paroikia. He stated that youth and education would be a priority.¹¹⁹ Timotheos, who previously had served as a rector of the Greek Orthodox Church in Bucharest, Romania, was particularly keen that sport be used as a unifying force for the Greeks in Australia.

Timotheos also attempted to have around him other priests who would promote sport. In 1933 the Archbishop ordained Mitrofanis Nicolaides, a 24 year old graduate of the Chalki Theological College, as Dean of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom in Sydney. Nicolaides, born in Constantinople and graduate of the Theological School of Chalki in 1931, was appointed to Bucharest in 1931 where he met Timotheos. He eventually arrived in Sydney in April 1933.

Archmandrite Nicolaides from Saint Sophia Church conducted mass at various picnics. At the 1938 Kastellorizan picnic, he took off his clerical attire and participated in the broad jump with competitors.¹²⁰ Archmandrite Nicolaides is the only cleric still alive in Australia from the pre-World War II period and his work demonstrates official church involvement in matters concerning Greek youth and sport. He said of sport:

Back at the Chalki Theological School, you must remember that sport was not only taught but was encouraged. We (the students) had our own athletic events, played sport against other Greek teams of Constantinople, with the Turks always suspicious of our University (Chalki Theological School) and its activities. The ancient ideals of 'healthy mind, healthy body' were always preached in the University. Our Patriarch never neglected the training of the body. Timotheos had used the model of Bucharest as what he wanted to create here in Australia. Perhaps because of lack of numbers and money, the project was never fully realised, but youth was a priority. We needed to make Orthodox ideals more attractive to Greek youth and this is where sport was influential. Youth was a priority. As early as 1944, Timotheos wanted to build a college like the one that existed in Romania. The problem was that the Greek paroikia was small, 1000 people, and not long established and not yet powerful.¹²¹

On 21 May 1933, Metropolitan Timotheos announced the end of the split and called on community representatives and the media to work together so that harmony and unity in the community could prevail. The Panhellenic picnics of 1935 were established for this reason.

¹²¹ Interview with Mitrofanis Nicolaides.
The various regional factions settled their differences and rallied behind those picnics. It is testimony to the place accorded to sport by the Greeks and the Greek community leaders and the Church. Thus, in this pre-War period, Timonnikou and Triomphyktos were largely responsible for introducing a more formally organized sporting culture in Australia. The Church, aware of the problems of youth, initiated an extensive sports program for youth in the 1930s.

ARCHMANDRITE MITROFANIS NICOLAIDES

TRAINING IN 1937

122 Canberra Life in Australia, pp.93-4.
124 Sydney Morning Herald, 15 May 1925, p.3.
The various regional factions settled their differences and rallied behind these picnics. It is testimony to the place accorded to sport by the Greeks and the Greek community leaders and the Church. Thus, in this pre-War period, Timotheos and Theophylactos were largely responsible for introducing a more formally organised sporting culture in Australia. The Church, aware of the problems of youth, initiated an extensive sports program for youth in the 1930s.

In Melbourne, Father Theofylactos, parish priest for sixteen years, worked strenuously, diplomatically and successfully in reconciling factions and promoting sport amongst Greek youth. Eventually he succeeded Timotheos as Archbishop. In Perth, Father Christopher Manessis and in Adelaide, Father Germanos Iliou, promoted sport in the 1930s. The three Archmandrites of Australia during the time of Timotheos, were Theofylactos, Mitrofanis Nicolaides and Chrysostom Vogiatzoglou, all of whom promoted sport.

Schools

As early as the 1860s a Greek school was planned for Melbourne, where the gold-rushes had attracted not a few Greeks. A Greek observer in 1916 lamented on the small number of Greek families which he said numbered 170, of which a third were mixed marriages; he further lamented the absence of Greek schools, a result of which "children were not brought up the Greek way". The editor of the Ethniki Salpingx in a full front page article 'Our Youth' (O Neolaia Mas), voiced his concern that Greek youth were in danger of losing their Greekness and behaving like those immoral Australians. All this changed when the relatively small Greek society of Australia began to establish properly-run afternoon schools (opogevmatina scholeia). This enthusiasm, to maintain Greek culture especially in the 1930s seems to have been the result of the significant number of second generation Greeks whose welfare concerned their parents.

A feature of the Greek schools of Australia in the pre-1945 period was the sports held at the school picnics. Many of these school picnics were annual, although some organised Greek schools, especially in Sydney, held fortnightly games with presentation nights and trophies and regular visits to gymnasiums.

In Sydney, the first Greek school was established in 1923, on the corner of Riley and Oxford Street, under the teaching of Anna Perivolaris. By 1927 a second school was established in the hall of Holy Trinity Church under the teaching of Evanthia Vergou.

123Ethniki Salpingx, 22 August 1923, p.1.
124Hellenic Herald, 10 May 1927, p.3.
In Sydney the first Greek school picnic was held in 1930, organised by the Greek Educational Committee NSW, itself established in 1928 by Antonios Gkilas. A later school picnic held at Clarke Island on Sunday 10 April 1932 was a huge success. The *Hellenic Herald* publishing the results of the events and participants’ names, emphasised the importance of these games in the educational pursuits of young Greeks.\(^{125}\) Apart from the traditional track and field events, this picnic also had boxing and wrestling contests. George Poulos and Markos Samataszis were equal winners in the wrestling final; while Spiros Tarifas, George Pavlou, Kominos Efstathiou and Nick Zion were competitors in the boxing final. The Kastellorizan boys also defeated the Akratans in a tug of war competition.\(^{126}\)

By 1933, an official committee, the Greek Educational Society NSW, was elected to organise the picnics and the 1933 Greek School of Sydney picnic was held on Clarke Island with games and athletic contests.\(^{127}\) In that same year, this group was also responsible for organising the first beach picnic, at the end of the school year. Swimming events first took place at Nielsen Park where later athletic contests were held. For the first time, male competitors were grouped into three categories that roughly corresponded to their age groups. The Greek School picnic in 1936 at Putney added a new dimension with girls receiving prizes for dancing while the boys participated in athletic contests and games. Also at this picnic, renowned Greek wrestler Johnny Paradise defeated an Australian wrestler in an exhibition match. At the conclusion of the match, Peter Sotiropoulos, president of the Greek School Committee made a speech on how the body could not be neglected in the pursuit of excellence:

> Greek boys should always realise that the harmonious development of the body is as important as their spiritual and moral development. Mr Paradise is a proud and strong Greek, because he is a strong athlete, who never neglects harmonious development of the body.\(^{128}\)

The 1938 Sydney School picnic was again held at Clarke Island with Johnny Paradise and Alex Griva giving a wrestling demonstration as well as giving students some wrestling training in techniques.\(^{129}\) At various times, two rival schools functioned in Sydney, but they came together for school picnics.

Until 1933 the Greek society of Adelaide had no formal structure with no church and no school. The GOCSA established the Greek School in Adelaide, in 1933 operating in a

\(^{125}\)ibid., 14 April 1932, p.6.
\(^{126}\)Ethnikon Vema, 13 April 1932, p.7.
\(^{127}\)ibid., 16 March 1933, p.5.
\(^{128}\)Ethnikon Vema, 12 February 1936, p.4.
\(^{129}\)Ethnikon Vema, 30 November 1938, p.7.
small rented building, with Miss Efrosini Kolombou as teacher and 56 students between the ages 5-14. The school held its first athletic games in 1934 with talented Pavlos Austis winning the 100 metre race, coming second in the 200 metre race, first in the high jump and second in the three legged race. In fact Austis won all the short distance events. Later picnics, such as that in 1937 at the National Park, included prizes donated by various community leaders who had supported and attended these games. These included GOCSA president Michael Kambos, Archmandrite Eliou and members of the GOCSA management committee. School picnics continued up until and during World War II, with the picnics increasing in size, such as the one in 1945 which also had games.

The Newcastle Greek School opened on 30 January 1945, operated from the Gymnasium in Union Street, Cooks Hill and held its inaugural school picnic in its first year. The Greek School in Melbourne was established in 1931 after Samian Andrew Nicolaides formed the first Greek School Association in 1929. Nicolaides, a veteran of the Balkan Wars 1912-13, promoted sport and the first picnic took place in 1933. The Greek School in Melbourne did not progress well and it was not until 1936 that serious efforts were made to house the school at a permanent site.

The Greek School in Brisbane, was established in 1930, and the first teacher was Father Elias Kotiadis. The school held its first games the following year. By 1935 the school had obtained the use of a gymnasium which the GOCB claimed was crucial for effective teaching. Germanou Eliou established the Greek School of Perth, Pittakos in 1917, and conducted its first games 1920. By 1931, 120 students attended the school.

Outside the capital cities, the only community exhibiting a sporting structure comparable to that of metropolitan communities was Innisfail. There the Hellenic Society of North Queensland was transformed into the Greek Orthodox Community by 1932. The Community formed a school in 1933, with the first games taking place in 1934.

Interestingly, Greek schools up until 1945 had no established system for rewarding academic achievement although sporting achievement was publicly acknowledged and

131*Ethnikon Vema*, 16 March 1934, p.5.
133*Ethnikon Vema*, 7 February 1945, p. 2.
134Interview with Peter Politis, his father in 1936 was secretary of the newly formed School Committee.
135*Hellenic Herald*, 10 April 1930, p.6; 19 November 1931, pp.4-5.
138Archives Father Bonias, Townsville.
encouraged. Throughout the period a wide cross section of prominent Greek community members publicly stated that sport was important in developing Hellenic and masculine values in male youth.

By 1940, Greek schools were functioning in major metropolitan areas: Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth, Adelaide and Innisfail, and were conducting athletic games, as part of their annual educational program. The Sydney Greek School was the most organised as it had the most students, the most money and perhaps the most stable educational advisory board. These picnics in Australia were very similar to those held in Greece, as similar athletic games were also part of the school curriculum.

Games were particularly important in the Greek school curriculum to compensate for the limitations in the school circumstances. When interviewed, many Greek males said that they resisted attending Greek school at the end of long and sometimes hard times at the local schools. This resistance was related to the variable standard of teaching and the use of outdated texts. For example, the South Australian Greek School was using Greek grammar books for second and third class published in Athens in 1916 and Greek history books published in 1913. Language problems were associated with these books too, as they were written in puristic Greek, not in the demotic Greek spoken at home. The texts of ancient and Church history challenged even the teachers. In some schools all grades were taught in the same room at the same time. All these factors resulted in much resistance to attendance at Greek school.

Consequently sport was attractive not only to students but also to community leaders as a cultural activity. It could make up for for of the deficiencies found in the Greek school system. Even after World War II, with the arrival of specialist teachers from Greece, problems continued in Greek schools. As a teacher interviewed stated:

There have always been two great problems: firstly suitable books and special audio visual aids for Greek students are not produced and secondly the teachers that are sent to Australia are not trained and do not understand difficulties that these children face and have no special training on teaching home language instruction.

Most Greek children were not encouraged to participate in sport in Australian schools. Most of those interviewed spoke of traumatic Australian school experiences. Michael

\[139\textit{Ethnikon Vema}, 16 October 1940, p.4.\]
\[140\text{P. Valakis, School Picnics, Athens, 1925.}\]
\[141\text{These ideas and thoughts were consistent from the interviews conducted of Greek schools students of the 1930s.}\]
\[142\text{Interview with Nina Black, Melbourne, December 1995.}\]
Finos said the principal of his primary school in Adelaide called an urgent school assembly when he was savagely assaulted in a playground football match during recess.\textsuperscript{143}

Participation in Greek sport was vigorously encouraged by the older generation because young second generation Greek youth were becoming acculturated, acquiring English-Australian language, aspirations and ideas. Greek youths were rebelling against the patriarchal domination of old-world fathers, school, and church. Some were even ashamed of their parents' background and habits. The older generation sought a solution to these problems in insisting on the sporting participation of males to preserve Greek values. An \textit{Ethnikon Vema} editorial of 1929 titled "Sport and Gymnastics A National Institution for Greeks" claimed that, "From Ancient times the Greeks have always used sport for the progress of their youth. A parallel development of the soul and the body was the ideal of Ancient Greek culture".

A history of Greek schools in Australia is yet to be written, although Leonidas Bombas, an authority on Greek schools abroad, validates some of the above findings. His study of Greek students in Canada revealed that the learning of the Greek language was not the reason that students attended school. He stated: "students revealed that they attended Greek school to find Greeks friends and pass a few hours playing games".\textsuperscript{144} It would seem that sport played an important role in the socialisation of Greek youth and made attendance at Greek school more attractive.

In conclusion, the role of the games specifically put the second generation Greek youth in touch with the traditions and sporting culture of the homeland. Sport was suppose to safeguard the existing Greek order against the perils of Australian culture. A more structured approach was evident in Sydney, where a Boy Scout Group was established to address the needs of Greek youth.

**Greek Boy Scouts**

Prior to World War II, the majority of Greeks in Australia were concentrated in Sydney where the seat of the Archbishop and the Consulate General were located. Thus, sporting organisations developed more effectively and vigorously there. This also continues the argument about the focus on youth in the capital cities through specific organisations. Between 1928 and 1935, three men, Leonidas Chysanthopoulos, Mario Koukoulis and Nikos Symeonides were especially responsible for the emphasis on sport for capital city

\textsuperscript{143}Interview with Michael Finos, Adelaide, March 1996.
\textsuperscript{144}Leonidas C. Bombas, \textit{Greek Language Education Abroad: Views and Perspectives}, Athens, 1994, p.5.
youth which culminated in the establishment of the Greek boy scouts organisation in 1929.

Lord Baden-Powell established the Boy Scout Movement in England in 1907, publishing his first book for scouts in 1908.145 Scouting quickly became a world-wide movement with many countries adopting his techniques for youth training, Greece being one of the first. Visiting London in 1908, teacher of gymnastics, Athanasios Lefkaditis was introduced to the movement when he met a young boy in a scouting outfit. Lefkaditis was impressed when the boy told him that "a boy scout is a youngster who is always ready to help others and to do a good deed every day". In November 1910, Lefkaditis formed the first Greek Boy Scout group from students of his Athenian high school. A few months later, a group consisting of Melas, Paspatis, Chrisonelonis and Panas formed the Greek Boy Scout movement.146 Royal patronage made the scouting movement in Greece popular; more emphasis and money was obviously made available to the movement when royalty ruled in Greece and aimed at recruiting boys between the ages 12-20. Greek scouting groups were also formed in many Greek diaspora communities by the 1930s. Perhaps the best organised were those in Alexandria.147

Leonidas Chrysanthropoulos, Consul-General in Sydney from 1926 to 1935, was responsible for the organisation of the Greek Boy Scouts and also for sports for male school students. In fact, he enrolled his two sons Themistokles and Nikolaos in the Greek Boy Scouts. Chrysanthropoulos, born in 1881 in Agion, graduated from the University of Athens as a Doctor of Laws. Later, he was posted to Alexandria, Constantinople, Bursa and Tekirdag in Turkey. He then opened a Consulate in New Orleans, was transferred to Atlanta and then came to Australia in May 1926. He was very experienced in the organisation of sport in the Greek diaspora. In Sydney he gave lectures on the history of Greece, spoke about the American Greeks' contribution to the United States and constantly emphasised that Australia's Greeks needed an educational centre to promote themselves. He had also involved himself in raising the public profile of Greeks, and was also responsible for the establishment of the second Greek church in Sydney, Saint Sophia Cathedral, which also housed the Greek school. He left Australia in 1935 after contributing much to the Greek community.148

Mario Koukoulis, a former secretary at the Consulate General, a leader of the Greek Boy Scouts and a founding member of the Hellenic Club was also involved with Greek youth and sport. He held the distinction of being the first Greek pilot of Australia. He joined the Sydney Aero Club, and gained his pilot's licence. He then managed to procure the sponsorship of the *Hellenic Herald* to conduct a fund-raising campaign to purchase his own Avro Avian type aeroplane, which he named, Pegasus. After quitting work to tour, lecture and raise funds from Greeks in Australia and New Zealand, he accumulated more than 800 pounds, much more than the 375 pounds he had paid for the plane. Early in the donation drive, the *Hellenic Herald* listed the names of the people who had donated money from highest to lowest amounts.

In the amateur pilots' race in Albury in June 1931, Koukoulis took third place, thus "uplifting the Greek name in Australia" and also "creating indescribable pride to the Greeks in Australia". Bringing Pegasus to Sydney to impress his compatriots, he took many Greeks for joy flights. Pegasus was subsequently damaged in a flight near Melbourne and Koukoulis organised more fund-raising drives from August to November, because he needed 1007 pounds to buy a new plane and equipment. Rather than persevere, Koukoulis abandoned his plane and his admirers and left for Greece with a handsome profit. In a letter to the Greek community, he indicated that he had to go to other Greek communities around the world to raise money for his endeavours and that he would return to Sydney to fly again this time from Australia to London.

Nikos Symeonides was particularly influential in the establishment of the scouting movement, and between 1926 and 1954 he organised Greek youth activities in Sydney. He had been born in Asia Minor, could speak six languages, and had been a government interpreter with the British forces in occupied Turkey during World War I. After the Asia Minor Catastrophe he migrated to Australia. He was particularly inspired to establish the Greek Scouts movement after the slaughter by Turkish soldiers of 32 Greek Boy Scouts in Aydin in Asia Minor during the Greek-Turkish war 1920-22. Initially the Greek Boy Scouts group, drawn mainly from Sydney's eastern suburbs, numbered thirty.
The first foreign troop of Boy Scouts in Australia was invested on Saturday 29 March 1930 at the Sydney Showground. It was known generally as the Eighth Sydney Troop, but to the Greeks it was known as the first Greek Troop. Hundreds of Sydney's Greek community attended to see the swearing-in ceremony. A band from the Musicians' Club played selections including the Greek National Anthem. The investiture was made by the Chief Scout Commissioner of NSW, Trenchard Miller. The oath was taken in two languages, the Chief Commissioner conducting the English and the Greek Consul translating into Greek. The significance of the occasion was made evident by the attendance of the Consuls for Italy, Japan and China.  

When Nikos Symeonides officially inaugurated the first Greek Boy Scout group (Eighth Sydney Troop) at the Show Ground, he proclaimed that:

The king is the father and the Boy Scouts stand for what is great about Greeks - God, Country and Family. Today is not the founding of the Greek Boy Scouts but the rebirth of the Boy Scouts because we Greeks are proud of the ancient Spartan spirit of scouting.

Afterwards track contests between Australian and Greek Scouts were enthusiastically supported. Competing in the 'international' sports meeting, representatives of the Greek troop came third in the 500 metre race, 200 yards hurdles and the 50 yards sack race. Throughout its existence, the Greek scouts movement was primarily a sporting youth club. Thus it was both an alternative to and complimentary with organised sport.

Although the scouting movement in Greece was politicised, the majority of community and religious leaders made every effort to promote the scouts both morally and financially. For example, the Consul-General in Sydney, Chrysanthopoulos enrolled his two boys in the first troop. Community support was demonstrated when both Greek newspapers did not oppose or criticise the Boy Scout Movement. Both Hellenic Herald and Ethnikon Vema praised the establishment of the Scouts.

There is some evidence that the formation of Greek Boy Scouts was opposed by some mainstream Australians, as demonstrated in this Letter to the Editor of the Sydney Morning Herald:

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155 The Sydney Morning Herald, 31 March 1930, p.11.
156 Ethnikon Vema, 25 March 1930, p.3; Hellenic Herald, 3 April 1930, p.5.
157 The Sydney Morning Herald, 31 March 1930, p.11.
158 Initially in an article "Boy Scouts Political Organ", Hellenic Herald, 10 April 1930, p.1., some sections of the Greek society feared the youth group would be politically motivated. This was the last such objection.
Some years ago we abolished certain regiments of a distinctive character, the St. George's Rifles, Irish Rifles, Sydney Scottish etc. Yet we are allowing foreigners, who apparently have no intention of becoming Australians, privileges we denied our own people. Australians should stop it now while there is some chance of doing so, and not allow these "abscesses in the politic" to be formed. 159

This letter produced the following response from the Secretary of the Greek Boy Scouts, Mario Koukoulis, who was also Consulate-General for Greece:

If your correspondent is a patriot let him not forget that other states have also their patriots. If we become deniers of our own country how is it possible for us to become afterwards good Australian citizens? While all-conquering time has not succeeded in three thousand successive years in destroying our race in spite of all the subjugation which it underwent, how is it possible in the very small space of time 10 or 20 years of our residence in the foreign country to make us forget our native country? Let him learn that the first thing Australia has to seek from its foreign residents is that they should be good and useful citizens, and feeling this need we have founded the body of Greek Boy Scouts, so as to render tomorrow our children to the community honest and useful men. 160

The apotheosis of the Greek Boy Scouts was reached in Australian Boy Scout Week in Sydney in 1931, when Baden-Powell, founder of the Movement, was a special guest. The Greek Boy Scouts were among the many Boy Scouts groups who participated in two processions, one on Saturday at Randwick Racecourse and the other on Sunday at Sydney Showground. At Randwick Racecourse, more than 6000 scouts and cubs marched, saluting Lord Baden-Powell. The following day at the Sydney Cricket Ground, a thanksgiving service was held by the Anglican Archbishop of Sydney, Dr Wright to commemorate the visit of the World Chief Scout and Chief Guide. 161

On both occasions, the group wore their new scouting attire, purchased by donations from the GOCS especially for the visit of Baden-Powell. The next day, the Greek Boy Scouts set up camp at the Pennant Hills Boy Scout Ground, with all the other Boy Scout Groups for the private inspection of the Pennant Hills training camp by Lord Baden-Powell. When Baden-Powell and Sir William Cullen (president of the Scout Association of New South Wales) were introduced to the Greek Boy Scouts, Max McCallister introduced Symeonides to Baden-Powell to whom he stated, "Leader, this is the only foreign unit in Australia". Powell then told Symeonides that he had noticed the Greek flag

159 The Sydney Morning Herald, 8 April 1930, p.9.
160 ibid., 11 April 1930, p.5.
161 For a detailed description of the events see The Sydney Morning Herald, 21 March 1931, p.14; 23 March 1931.
flying in the marches and that in the 1929 World Jamboree in London, he knew the Greek Boy Scouts were present.\textsuperscript{162} The parade of the Boy Scouts also coincided with Greek Independence Day, making many Greek community leaders proud of their efforts in pursuing the needs of metropolitan youth. Generally the scouting movement celebrated the frontier, but the Greek boy scouts were actually a movement for boys in the metropole.

Symeonides stated that the economic crisis caused by the Depression should not affect the education of the Greek youth. In fact it was in this time of need that youth needed to be cared for. The Greek Scout Association would provide free assistance in the education of youth for their moral, intellectual and physical well-being. Vasilios Georgiadis, a gymnastic instructor and owner of the Greek Gymnasium next to the Hellas Restaurant in Park Street, offered to train boy scouts at his gymnasium on Saturday afternoons.\textsuperscript{163} Initially scouts spent the afternoon training, but in later weeks scouting activities such as lectures, games and walks took up the whole of Saturday. Some scouts were particularly enthusiastic, such as Michael and Apostolis Tsolakis, aged seven and eight respectively, who would commute from Newcastle to Sydney to participate.\textsuperscript{164}

By September 1931, the success of the movement tempted the Greek Boy Scout Association to initiate a fund-raising drive to buy their own club rooms which could also be used as a gymnasium.\textsuperscript{165} To encourage donations, the importance of the Scout Movement was proclaimed to all sections of the Sydney Greeks. Symeonides and various leaders of the community claimed that if scouts followed scouting laws, which consisted of twelve articles, they would then be classified as real Greeks, and thus valued by the homeland.

This period coincided with the arrival of more Greeks (during the period 1921-28 settler arrivals exceeded departures by 5444), and a new Panhellenic feeling in the Greek society evolved with the arrival in 1932 of Archbishop Timotheos who not only endeavoured to reconcile community factions, but who also advocated sport amongst the youth. The Greek School was also established by the Greek Consul General Chysanthisopulos, behind the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Paddington. The foundation stone was laid in March 1933, although its operation did not commence until 25 March 1934.\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{162}Ethnikon Vema, 25 March, 1931, p.3.
\textsuperscript{163}ibid., 10 June, 1931, p.4.
\textsuperscript{164}ibid., 18 May 1931, p.3.
\textsuperscript{165}ibid., 2 September 1931, p.5.
\textsuperscript{166}Tamis, The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia, p.41.
With the success of the Boy Scouts and the Greek School, attention now turned to older youths and unmarried young men, who were seen to be spending far too much time in the coffee houses and even joining mainstream Australian sporting clubs. In 1934 the Panhellenic Australian Federation of Youth (POTNAS) was founded, its aims being sporting, educational and promoting dignified Greek-Australian relationships. The formation of POTNAS in Sydney was partly a response to happenings in Melbourne where in the previous months a Melbourne Greek Athletic Club had been formed. However, because of limited funds, POTNAS could not afford to lease out or buy club rooms and a gymnasium. POTNAS needed help immediately.

The group therefore forged an agreement with the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) to use their clubrooms and gymnasium which was the best equipped in Sydney. The new group was to be known as the Greek Team YMCA (and therefore not lose its autonomy and Greek identity) and paid only the same subscription as other athletes and teams. From a Greek perspective it was hoped that this sporting group would slowly develop athletic and organisational skills equal to the best Australian teams. It was envisaged that once it had consolidated itself POTNAS would leave the sphere of the YMCA. While the move was criticised from certain prominent members of the Greek society, all Greek youth were urged to join and many did.

The group began with much enthusiasm, with the sports of athletics and wrestling being especially popular. It was hoped that other cities would follow the examples of Sydney and Melbourne and set up their own teams so that sporting exchanges and athletic games between the various clubs could regularly take place. In Sydney this enthusiasm was short lived after Englishman John Majors embarked on a policy of integrating the Greek group into the mainstream YMCA. Faced with this pressure, POTNAS left the YMCA. Some weeks later, without a clubroom and gymnasium, lack of funds and support the club folded.

By 1939, with the start of World War II, the Greek society of Australia had found an identity as Greeks, with Panhellenic sentiments now prevailing. These achievements were enhanced by the famous "No!" rejection given by Greece to Mussolini's demands, by the sufferings of Greece during the war, and by the fact that Greek institutions in Australia survived (unlike the corresponding Italian and German ones) as centres for social life during this decade.

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167 Ethnikon Vema, 27 December, 1933, p.5.
168 Interview with Jim Mitsopoulos, Byron Bay, June 1996.
The common spirit of the Australian Greeks was perfectly expressed when Jim Londos, the famous Greek-American wrestler toured Australia in 1946. Everywhere the Greeks were united in hailing Londos: it was clear that by 1946 a unity had been forged. It is also not unimportant that Londos was a wrestler; for, as the next chapter demonstrates, wrestling was the privileged sport for Greeks in Australia at that time.
CHAPTER FOUR

The Development of Greek Sports in Australia to 1945: Wrestling and Soccer.

One of the oldest sports in the Greek sporting tradition is wrestling; among the newest is soccer. Wrestling enjoyed the greatest prestige among Greeks of Australia before 1945, while soccer had insufficient support for its establishment. After 1945, however, the situation was reversed: the irresistible rise of soccer saw the decline of wrestling. However, in the decades under examination here, young Greek men of Australia enthusiastically supported wrestling as their major sporting interest.

In 1947, government censuses illustrate that the male : female ratio among Greek-born immigrants was still as high as 3:1. In fact the immigration of Greeks to Australia remained male orientated until the middle of 1962 when finally, following bilateral discussions, the Greek Government allowed unmarried Greek women to emigrate. Until 1947, 78 per cent of total Greek population in Melbourne was male.1

The Greek immigrant group was originally predominantly male, because men came first, and only when established did they bring out their wives and families. These disproportionate numbers created social problems among Greek Australians. In the early 1930s, Ethnikon Vema ran a weekly article, "Why our men do not get married".2 Meanwhile Greek men worked hard to save money and had little time or money for leisure activities. But some respite from hard work was necessary and an inexpensive positive healthy outlet was sought. Inexpensive leisure activities such as sports, were ideal in this regard. Stories in the Greek press about high rates of lifelong bachelorhood provoked discussions of the danger of Greek "race suicide".

Jim Mitsopoulos, who was involved in sport throughout the 1930s claimed:

Sports were very important to the Greeks. You must remember, the Greeks were very poor then and sport provided entertainment for the people. It also built character and provided an outlet for our young men. It was where we met and socialised in a positive Greek environment.3

Sport also helped young men to cope with lack of female partners, for they could expend their energies on sport rather than their money on perceived vices such as prostitutes.

2See Ethnikon Vema, 1930-31. The weekly column also published letters from Greek men, who gave their opinions in bachelorhood.
3Interview with Jim Mitsopoulos, Byron Bay, June 1996.
Wherever Greeks migrated to in the first half of the twentieth century, the issue of sexual immorality had been a concern. Fairchild, dealing with this issue in the American context, noted:

This is in part due, no doubt, to the fact that the Greek colonies are largely composed of young men, freed from the restraints of family ties and the surroundings of home, where the close watch kept upon the women prevents active immorality to a large extent. Through the scarcity of women of their own race these young men,... are prevented from contracting marriages in a normal way.... Unfortunately, the women with whom the average Greek in this country has the opportunity to become familiarly acquainted, are not usually such as to raise his standard of morality of his opinion of womankind.4

The Greek press in Australia also had attributed the problem to many issues such as lack of partners, the effect of Australian life upon the Greeks. The first wave immigrants were not only men but young men, aged 16-25, an age when sexuality and interest in sport are at their peak. The need for outlets for physical energy was exacerbated in immigrant situations. Sport satisfied very strong needs in the young, especially in immigrant males. However, they could not fit into the existing sporting groups because they found that the sports were not the same as at home. They experienced not only exclusion from sport, but also from most aspects of Australian life. The cultural gap, lack of English language and other skills, low socioeconomic position and even physical characteristics, forced them to construct an alternative sporting environment. They had to find their own sporting groups through community effort, organisation and funding. Yet they had little money. Developing sporting clubs had to be a community effort, when the community was big enough and wealthy enough to support ethnic sports. Other institutions, such as the Orthodox Church and social clubs provided the necessary infrastructure, the buildings and financial aid.

Greek immigrants were excluded from most aspects of Australian social life including sport. Racism was a real problem for Greeks in the period prior to World War II. Anti-immigrant prejudice increased as the economic crisis and unemployment developed in the 1920s, especially when a few Greeks and other non-British workers were used as scab labour during the 1928 waterfront crisis. Sue MacKinnon gives a revealing account of events in Melbourne at the time.5 The Acropolis Club on Lonsdale Street was bombed in

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Melbourne in 1928 with Greeks admitted to hospital. Racism affected all classes and social groups, as it was the dominant ideology in the basically Anglo-Celt society.

In June 1925, the Government of Queensland released the Report of the Royal Commission into the Social and Economic Effects of the Increase in Numbers of Aliens in North Queensland. This document, which was known as the Ferry Report, contained strong racist comments against Greeks. The Greek settlers were described as "being generally of an undesirable type" who "do not make good settlers, they are not agriculturalists and add nothing to the wealth or security of the country". Lyng also claimed:

The Greeks are, perhaps, the least popular foreigners in Australia, for which three reasons have been suggested - (1) the somewhat inglorious history of Greece since its liberation from Turkish rule, (2) the many low-class lodging houses, boarding houses, and occasionally restaurants, conducted by Greeks, and (3) the fact that with few exceptions the Greeks remain in the cities, and when they have become well-to-do generally return to Greece.

The 1867 Aliens Act which did not permit foreigners to hold real estate was not repealed until 1965, although in 1951 it was amended to proclaim Greece a 'friendly country', thus entitling its citizens to purchase property. The fear and contempt held by Anglo-Celtic residents for most Greeks intensified as their numbers increased. The list of derogatory names to be endured was endless, eg 'wog', 'dago' and 'fish and chips mob'. The oral testimonies of the interviewed vividly illustrate the verbal attacks upon their person, their family and their ethnicity.

Anti-foreign sentiment was prevalent throughout the school system. Classrooms and school playgrounds were not always crucibles of tolerance, but rather places for the perpetuation of bigotry and dissension. Such hostilities drove Greeks together socially and residentially. The inability of the homeland to provide political stability and economic opportunities was insufficient reason to merge oneself immediately with the culture of the host country.

Greeks, on a national scale, could do little to defend themselves against racism. The anti-foreign riots in Kalgoorlie that damaged and destroyed Greek shops in 1934 are testimony

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6See The Age: 3, 4 and 5 December 1928.
9J. Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia, Melbourne, 1927, p.142.
to this, and the situation was much the same even in Broken Hill. Being excluded from industries and trade unions, Greeks were restricted to their own world where they were discouraged from involvement in politics of the host society and where their loyalties were clearly Greek. This situation had implications for sport. Wrestling and other contact and body building sports were encouraged and gave Greek men an outlet for their sense of frustration and isolation. Such sports helped develop and maintain their sense of ethnicity and at the same time also served to reinforce their Greek identity. Sports thus helped to create a sense of Greek masculinity in an alien environment.

Some of the other Greek public spaces had a negative effect on the Greek males. Although opportunities for Greek family life were increasing (particularly as some Greek men were now journeying to Greece to marry and then returning with their brides), the male numerical dominance of Australia's Greek population firmly reinforced the traditional importance of the coffee-house (kafenio) as a place essential for male social interaction. With a lack of Greek females, Australia's numerous single Greek men sought most of their social needs at these coffee-houses.

Although many Greek men in Australia also lived with their families and many others boarded with families, a large number lived in rooming houses, where they organised all-male families with other Greek men. In this all-male social world, clubs formed around the kafenia, usually with loosely defined membership. As men who (whether married or not) spent most of their leisure time in a largely male social world, these first and second generation Greek immigrants were prototypical members of what is termed "the bachelor subculture".

Oscar Georgoulas reported the existence of twenty coffee-houses in Australia by 1920. In Adelaide, the Hindley Street coffee-shops were where the few men spent most of their leisure time, socialising and gambling. In Brisbane, much of the activity centred around Queensland's first Greek organisation, the Hellenic Association of Queensland. It was a social club, concerned with local welfare and entertainment, but it served also as a focus for support for national causes. The Association leased premises with a billiard room, small tables for the playing of games and a small stage. The billiard table was always busy, used mostly by young single men.

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12Georgoulas, Greek Guide to Australia, p.73.
13Comino, Life In Australia, p.113.
The tradition of coffee-houses in Sydney is a long one. Two prominent Ithakans, Gerasimos Zervos, who arrived in 1902, and George Paizis, who arrived in 1910, later founded Sydney's first Greek social club, the Greek Club, which had an exclusively Greek membership. Occupying a three storey building at 37 Park Street, its facilities included a meeting hall, a coffee shop, tobacconist's and hairdresser's shops, a billiard room and a conference room.14

The Athenian Club was established by Basilios Georgopoulos at 208-10 Castlereagh Street as a Greek restaurant coffee-shop. Snooker competitions in particular were popular, but the club gained notoriety for its involvement in gambling and drinking.15 As early as 1928, the club had obtained the services of two world champion snooker players, competing against Greek clients and holding exhibitions. In one such tournament Walter Lindrum was defeated by New Zealand champion Clark McConachy.16 Walter Lindrum, who was to dominate the sport of billiards in the 1930s, and who, during the Depression, became celebrated along with other Australian heroes, Bradman and Phar Lap, was paid to demonstrate his skills at the Athenian Club.17 In 1933, there were 11 snooker tournaments alone in this coffee-shop.18 The Greek coffee-shop Pantheon at 213 Elizabeth Street, owned by the brothers Mazaraki claimed to have the best billiard tables in Sydney. Similarly the Hellenic Club also held billiard championships with prize money on offer.19

In Melbourne the cafe-restaurant Hellas, at 163 Lonsdale Street, offered French billiards.20 By 1933, Hellas organised a billiards competition with 64 participants, with a silver medal for the winner.21 In Melbourne, these billiard competitions were organised by each regional fraternity with competitions sometimes held between particular groups such as the Ithakans and Samians. In Perth, a sanctuary for Kastellorizan men was the Hellenic Union where they gambled and played pool. Hellenic Club Cafe was popular with Kastellorizans and non-Kastellorizans while the International Cafe attracted Macedonians.

Church and community leaders were concerned about the number of Greeks frequenting the coffee-houses. As early as 1920, Father Daniel Maravelis, the Melbourne parish

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17Ibid., 15 October 1931, p.6. In 1932, Lindrum set a world record break of 4137 that stands even today.
18Number deduced from advertisements in Ethnikon Vema, 1932.
19Ethnikon Vema, 26 February 1934, p.5.
20Oceanis, 3 September 1915, p.2.
21Ethnikon Vema, 17 May 1933, p.4.
priest, lamented that Melbourne Greeks spent more time in coffee houses than in church.22 This all culminated in social problems in the Greek paroikia. Social problems among immigrant Greeks in the pre-World War II period always attracted much attention. Even prior to World War I, John Comino noted "the dreadful scourge of gambling at cards and betting on horses - a scourge that is literally flaying the skin off Australia's Greeks".23 By the time of the Depression, Ethnikon Vema claimed gambling had reached epidemic proportions and had undermined the efforts of the Greek community.24 Alekos Doukas points out that after eleven o'clock at night, restaurants would often turn into gaming houses.25 The migrant concentration on work was another reason why sport was advocated by all aspects of the community, including the Church. People needed a balance in their lives and sport was seen as a healthy and sociable leisure activity.

Wrestling was considered by many community leaders as representing the essential elements of Greek society in the 1920s and 1930s. Originating in Greece, the sport's philosophy combined physical fitness, fighting techniques, strength, discipline and intelligence. These aspects could be taught to Greek youth socialising in a Greek environment. Wrestling became not only the domain of males but specifically of Greek males. Greek youth trained in the sport, while most elders enthusiastically followed the sport as spectators. The establishment of Greek operated gymnasiums was not a priority because, unlike in other sports, the various wrestling associations (amateur and professional) in most instances encouraged minority groups to join. This was not the case in other sports, such as Australian Rules, Rugby Union, Rugby League or cricket, where anecdotal evidence suggests that Greeks were not encouraged to join teams or enter Greek teams in competition.

Even if you liked Rugby League and wanted to join a team, you knew you could not. I once played in a game of Australian Rules at lunchtime and some minutes into the game, I was surrounded by boys punching into me shouting 'Scotchy, Pommy, Dago'.26

Wrestling on the other hand gave more acceptance than mainstream Australian sports:

You see wrestling had always had a real ethnic feel about. It was the one sport which was supported by various immigrant groups whether you were Greek, Lebanese, Scottish or Syrian. During fight nights it was like a miniature of cultures found in the stadiums.27

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23 John D. Comino papers (Private Collection).
24 Ethnikon Vema, 26 August 1931, p.5.
26 Interview with Jack Calpis, Sydney, December, 1995.
27 Interview with Jack Stamell, Sydney, June, 1996.
In the 1930s, Greeks such as Stan Raftopoulos and Nick Spartels were elected to the boards of amateur wrestling associations where Greeks participated without the discrimination practised in other sports. Therefore wrestling, throughout the pre-World War II period, was used to interweave the political and cultural motifs which underpinned the community leadership's assessment of Greek ethnicity. If there was a national Greek sport in this period, it was wrestling. It was a sport where boys were socialised into men. In these vigorous sporting activities, participants were taught that courage was to be admired, while pain was to be endured and tolerated. This ideology was evident when Greek-American wrestler John Kilonis appeared before Chief Magistrate Menzies and was asked, "Do you usually do this activity (biting an opponent)?" He replied, "Only when I am losing." In other words, aggression was seen as acceptable and manly in such circumstances.28

For many Greek Australians, wrestling provided a cultural focus. The sport, loved in Greece itself, reminded people of the homeland. The steady stream of visits by Greek and Greek-American wrestlers, in particular that of Johnny Kilonis in 1927, followed by Jim Londos becoming world heavyweight wrestling champion, reinforced this image of wrestling. The host society in the pre-World War II period marginalised Greeks and wrestling was a means of compensating for this sense of exclusion. In the wrestling ring, Greek-Australians were so prominent, that by the 1930s, that group boasted more champions than any other ethnic cohort. These sporting idols became important role models for Greek youth who, importantly, now had the leisure and time to indulge in sports. The young also remained in school longer and began work at a later age than their parents.

Their involvement is even more surprising when one considers that, although the first waves of Greek immigrants possessed little time to play sport or to join clubs, sporting clubs were nevertheless established. By the early thirties, even though industrial workers were receiving one and half days per week rest, most Greeks had little or no leisure time as they were involved in non-unionised labour or in small businesses where working hours were long. Prior to the introduction of more stringent government regulations controlling small stores, Greek-operated businesses opened for long hours for six or seven days a week.

Wrestling has a long history in the Greek world. In mythology, Apollo and Hermes allegedly invented the sport; the first recorded wrestling match was Theseus' triumph over the Minotaur, while the first teacher of the sport was Hermes Palaestra. Perhaps the

28See The Age, for the months of August and September 1928.
greatest of all wrestlers was Milon of Kroton who had his first Olympic victory in 540 BC and won the event in the following six Olympic Games. Wrestling also made up one of the five events of the pentathlon and was the event that decided the overall winner. Wrestling was governed by laws and the art of wrestling existed, as immortalised in Homer's Iliad by a match involving Odysseus. The Greek language is full of metaphors and expressions borrowed from the technical phraseology of wrestling.

Apart from wrestling being an ancient sport, the Greek historian Pavlines believes it was the most important sport in ancient Greece, citing as evidence that the ancient Greek gymnasia were called palaestras, from the Greek word for wrestling pali. As illustrated in Chapter One, the tradition of wrestling was not lost to the Greek civilisation over the centuries. Because of this historical background, Greeks have always favoured contact sports such as wrestling, especially the Greco-Roman style, which is much more complex in terms of rules and free-fall style. At the 1896 Olympic Games, Greece participated in all three weight divisions, with renowned wrestlers such as Christopoulos, Paliologos, Tsita, Tofalos and Kolivas. In the knockout heavyweight competition, the Greeks eliminated each other and Tsitas lost in the gold medal match to the German, Shoeman.

As an organised sport in Australia, professional wrestling had its origins in the 1880s, when wrestling contests were held in various halls and theatres. Almost certainly entrepreneurs profited from it on the goldfields in the 1850s. Until then, wrestling was a popular but amateur pastime, when convicts wrestled soldiers, using regional British styles. Amateur wrestling was administered as a sport from 1911, the year of the first national championships, by the Australian Amateur Boxing and Wrestling Championships Union. Australian and state championships in boxing and wrestling were conducted together, usually biennially. Before 1956 most of the championships were conducted in boxing rings.

Professional wrestling has always had phases of popularity. The popularity of the sport depended upon the arrival on the Australian scene of imported wrestlers, usually from the USA. Probably the first Greek wrestler in Australia was the naturalised American

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29 See G. Servinis, Method of Wrestling, Athens, 1931, Chapter 1 for the history of wrestling in the ancient Greek world.
30 Evangelos Pavlines, History of Gymnastics, Athens, 1927, p. 159.
31 In Greco-Roman wrestling you can only use the upper body while in Freestyle wrestling you can grab legs and all parts of the body.
32 A scholarly text dealing the with the history of Australian wrestling (amateur and/or professional) is yet to be written. The is only one history of professional wrestling in Australia: Libnan Ayoub, 100 Years of Australian Professional Wrestling, Sydney, 1998 which is a year by year account of a few of the top wrestling bouts of each year; There is also an entry, "Wrestling" in Wray Vamplew et al. (eds.), The Oxford Companion to Australian Sport, Melbourne, 1992, pp. 385-86.
Theodore George Costaky, who with the stage name of "Greek George" performed as weight-lifter and wrestler in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane in 1894-96. "As a wrestler Greek George is a formidable looking customer", the Referee reported, "he stands close on 5ft 10in, and weighs 15st stripped, and as a performer in the Graeco-Roman style wants a lot of beating". In his first bout in 1894, he was matched against Australian champion Hajek, for 100 pounds, with Professor Miller refereeing the match.

In 1904-05 after the arrival of American Jack Carkeek and World Champion George Hackenschmidt, the sport had another phase of popularity. Local Greek Anastasios Combes of Murwillumbah was a professional wrestler although he had also entered in various NSW and Australian Amateur Wrestling Championships. His brother Theodoros Combes who migrated to California in 1905 won the title "Most Perfect" in America organised by the New York publication Physical Culture.

Another boom in professional wrestling occurred in the mid 1920s. Due to the rise of the sport in the USA, Dick Lean imported Walter Miller, middleweight champion of the world and Ted Thye in 1924. The first radio broadcast of a wrestling match was by 3LO, Melbourne on 21 March, 1925, recording Walter Miller defeating Al Karasick for the right to meet Ted Thye for the Light-Heavyweight Championship of the World.

Wrestling reached its peak popularity in 1927, when Stadiums Limited imported a group of overseas competitors. The main drawcards included Al Karasick, Ted Thye, Ad Santel, John Peseck, Mike Yokel and Gus Sonneburg, who were considered as some of the world's premier wrestlers at the time. During this tour, spectator support for wrestling was keen, with crowds frequently over 10,000 at the stadiums in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. By 1928 Stadiums Limited promoted a series to find the Light-Heavyweight Champion of the World.

Among the first to tour in 1927 were Greek-American wrestlers John Kilonis and Loues Pergantas. John Kilonis, born in Lebdia, Greece, became a professional wrestler in the USA in 1911. Loues Pergantas, also born in Greece, began to wrestle professionally in

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33The Referee, 2 December 1896, p.6.
34ibid., 19 December 1894, p.5; 2 January 1895, p.6.
35World Champion George Hackenschmidt in particular lifted the profile of the sport, see The Referee, 8 March 1905, p.7.
36The Referee, 26 July 1905, p.7. Photo of Anastasios Combes.
37ibid., 27 October 1905, p.7. Contains photo of Theodoros Combes.
38Ayoub, 100 Years of Australian Professional Wrestling, pp.5-6.
39For a detailed survey of this championship see Stadiums Limited, World Championship Wrestlers, Sydney, 1928.
1914. Pergantas also became heavyweight champion of Greece, in a title bout against George Vacall in Indiana, USA in 1920, in front of an all-Greek crowd.40

By 1928, Australian professional wrestling had gained considerable notoriety because of violence. Police and some morally conservative and religious groups tried to have the wrestling tours cancelled. Violence frequently ended matches either because of someone being knocked out or because of frequent police intervention.41 Kilonis, in particular, was portrayed as the wild lawless Greek and appeared before magistrates on various occasions.42 The Sydney Morning Herald reported one of his matches:

In anticipation of an exciting match, 11,000 people were present at Rushcutters Bay Stadium last night, when John Kilonis of Greece beat the Russian wrestler Al Karasick...... Karasick threw his adversary heavily with a headlock, and was cautioned for biting after he had been punched by Kilonis. The Greek kicked his opponent in the face, and gained a toe hold, but failed to secure a fall. There was a great amount of kicking, punching and head bumping.43

One of the few local wrestlers to compete in bouts organised by Stadiums Limited during this golden age was Peter Fatouras. Promoters did not usually encourage the participation of local wrestlers, so the involvement of Greek Peter Fatouras was a breakthrough for Australian based wrestlers at the time.44

This turned the stadium into a public space for Greek men, where their ethnic pride could be stimulated as their idols competed against representatives of other ethnic groups. Women never attended wrestling matches. Even if they had wanted to, they would have been dissuaded because their presence would have inhibited the men. Wrestling matches were the occasion for bonding as Greeks, as men, as carefree young or not-so-young men. The management never matched a Greek wrestler with another Greek. Wrestlers carried on their shoulders the burden of Greekness, as Atlas held up the world, so to speak. They were represented as the quintessential Greek male; a poem in the Hellenic Herald addressed to John Kilonis written by respected journalist Homer Regas proclaimed:

40Atlantis, 5 November 1920, pp.6-7. The bout was called the clash of the titans.
42Violent matches were reported in The Sydney Morning Herald: ‘Wild Scenes at Sydney Stadium, Wrestlers Come to Blows, Kilonis disqualified for foul tactics’ 2 October 1927, p.12; 3 October 1927, p.16; 28 August 1927, p.15; 29 August 1927, p.19; 30 August 1927, p.11.
43The Sydney Morning Herald, 2 October 1928, p.12.
44Interview Isabel Fatouras (Peter Fatouras’ daughter) July, Melbourne, 1997; for Peter Fatouras bouts see Argus, 21 December 1927, p.17; 27 December 1927, p.7.
GREEK WRESTLING IN DIASPORA

Top. Loues Pergantes (back right) Peter Fatouras (front left) 1928

Below. Con Kekatos and Nicholaos Black (South African Greek) 1925
Greetings - joy to you, renowned Kilonis, whose Glory, holds in her embrace as her proud adopted son.

Welcome, nourished the branches fame of a gallant race her pure born and bred!

You are the new, unsung song of our ancient history our country's sweet intoxicating!

Of the legendary demigods the last handsome one, of the ancient bravery a never setting lamp!

Hello! May victory, stand by you, always weaving everlasting laurel wreaths And may yourself incline proudly under her wings courageous idol of famous Greece!45

During this period the Greeks had their hero exemplifying masculinity. Kilonis exemplified Greek masculinity, and as the poem describes him as "Greece's son", "of a gallant race", "her pure born and bred", "handsome" and "courageous". Here it is seen that Kilonis is represented as embodying most of the attributes of the ideal Greek earlier characterised, even to be called physically handsome.

By February 1929, Johnny Kilonis had completed an eighteen month wrestling tour of Australia. The Hellenic Herald paid tribute to the man whom the Australian press dubbed, 'The Olympian Kilonis', by saying that "our homeland has an infinite number of

45 Hellenic Herald, 9 November 1927, p.3. This is the first evidence of a sports poem in the Greek press.
More than any other sportsman, he gave the Greeks a sense of pride, dignity in their cocooned communities. Kilonis fought in all major centres of Australia and even in New Zealand without losing a bout. People wrote poems about him, he appeared at balls, church and annual picnics, and earned a great deal of money. His wrestling success was also reported as far away as the USA. Although a popular wrestler, Loues Pergantes, dubbed 'the brilliant Greek' by the Australian press, first competed in Perth late in 1928, he never matched Kilonis in popularity.

After the success of Pergantes and Kilonis, Stadiums Limited were responsible for bringing out numerous Greek and Greek-American wrestlers to Australia until World War II. In June 1930 George Kotsonaras, a Greek-American wrestler, arrived and also performed well, attracting many Greek supporters. Kotsonaras, in a subsequent career change, became an actor, appearing as a motion picture villain, but later died in a car crash in 1933 on route from Nashville to New Orleans. In the same year, Dr Karl Sarpolis thrilled Greek crowds in Australia, contesting a bout with World Champion Edward "Strangler" Lewis. Kilonis, Pergantes and Kotsonaras were the most celebrated wrestlers to visit Australia and they greatly influenced the Greek-Australian youth. The success of Kilonis, Pergantes and Kotsonaras encouraged more Greek wrestlers to visit Australia, including Christos Retsas from New Zealand. Some of these wrestlers were of a high standard, while, others with questionable credentials, seem to have been interested only in making money then leaving Australian shores as quickly as they had arrived.

Wrestling took place in the following arenas: in Sydney, at Newtown, Rushcutters Bay Stadium, Leichhardt Stadium, Marrickville, Five Dock, Petersham Town Hall; in Melbourne, at Fitzroy, Brunswick, West Melbourne Stadium, Royal Melbourne Institute;

46ibid., 31 January 1929, p.5.
47See Hellenic Herald, for details of bouts: New Zealand - 17 January 1929, p.5; 31 January 1929, p.5; Brisbane - 18 October 1928, p.6; 16 August 1928, p.6; Sydney - 13 September 1928, p.6; 23 August 1928, p.6; Melbourne - 27 September 1928, p.2; 2 August 1928, p.6. Articles dealing with Kilonis (16, 23, 30 - all on page 3) August 1927; 20 September 1927, p.3, are the most detailed descriptions. From the end of September 1927 to February 1929 Kilonis was featured frequently in the Greek press. Officially Kilonis did not lose any matches in his Australian tour, although he was disqualified on many occasions, and therefore disqualifications technically were not counted as losses.
48Throughout 1927 the New York Greek newspaper, Atlantis had weekly columns on where the various Greek-American wrestlers were found, including Kilonis' tour of Australia.
49Hellenic Herald, 31 January 1929, p.5; 21 March 1929, p.5.
50For Kotsonaras' biographical details and first bouts see Hellenic Herald, 3 July 1930, p.6; Sydney - Hellenic Herald, 10 July 1930, p.6; Brisbane - Hellenic Herald, 17 July 1930, p.5.
51Hellenic Herald, 30 June 1932, p.5.
52Some of the more notable wrestlers were: Con Balasis, Jim Bonos, George Condyles, George Constantine, Leo Demetral, Harry Demetral, Harry Fotis, Costas Kasimis, Theodoros Kastrissiou, Spiros Kilonikos, John Kilonis, George Kotsonaras, Dennis Koutsouvelis, Mina Lianos, Harry Mamos, Spiridon Mavromatis, Savvas Papageorgiou (also strongman), Johnny Paradise, Panagiotis Razos, Dr Karl Sarpolis. Some of these wrestlers settled in Australia.
The Australian press called him the wild lawless Greek,
while the Greek press called him Hercules.
in Brisbane, at Bohemian Stadium; and in Newcastle, at the Newcastle Stadium. These stadiums, were located in inner city areas, with easy access for Greek spectators; and when Greek wrestlers featured they became Greek public spaces.

The immense interest in wrestling was reinforced by Greek Jim Londos holding the title of undisputed Heavyweight Champion of the World. In 1930, Jim Londos (Christos Theofilos), born in Argos in 1897 and known as the 'Golden Greek', defeated Dick Shikat in Philadelphia USA, to become World Heavyweight Wrestling Champion. Some consider Londos to be the finest wrestler of the modern era. Londos constantly enjoyed a large and faithful following, while Greeks believed he was the greatest wrestler since Milon of Kroton. An avid reader of Jack London's novels, Theofilos changed his name to Jim Londos. At the age of twenty-one, he arrived in New York in 1918 when Greek William Demetral was world champion. In the press, their rivalry was regarded as the battle for the Greek championship. William Demetral had been one of the world's premier wrestlers between 1910 and 1925. Londos was much loved and his way of life appealed to Greeks as he was "far away from nightlife, drinking, late nights, cards and scandals." The saying was that "If you want to become strong like Jimmy, never smoke, never drink alcohol and don't live a bad life".53

In 1932 the New York Athletic Commission ordered Londos to defend his title against Edward Lewis. Londos refused and the Commission stripped him of his title. In 1934 Londos defeated Browning and once again became world champion until he was defeated later that year by Irishman, Danno O'Mahoney.54 By 1935, the New York Sun newspaper claimed Londos had earned over (US) $500,000 in 1934 alone in prize money. His overall career prize money as world champion was allegedly 4-5 million dollars, more than Jack Dempsey and Babe Ruth.55 During the American wrestling off season (April-September), he embarked on world-wide wrestling tours. The most extensive of these was the tour of 1936 when he visited Athens, Paris, London, Alexandria, South Africa, Canada, Argentina and Mexico. In these places it was predominantly the Greeks who enthusiastically followed his exploits.

The Greek press all printed numerous articles on Londos and his exploits in the world of wrestling, especially after he became world champion as his reputation enhanced that of all Greeks. Throughout the following years, he was constantly featured in the Greek

53 For a history of Londos see Nat Fleischer, *From Milo to Londos: the Story of Wrestling Through the Ages*, New York, 1936.
55 *Ethnikon Vema*, 23 January 1935, p.3. The New York Sun article was reproduced in its entirety in the issue but no dates were given. Londos in 1931, successfully defended his title in Yankee Stadium, New York in front of the largest crowd in American wrestling history.
press, which even included articles on his diet and training program. Greek community leaders at the time made numerous attempts to attract him to Australia. Possibly because the Greek-Australia community was not large enough or rich enough, he did not visit Australia until 1946. The following poem about Londos appeared in the Greek press and was titled "Dedicated to Our Champion Londos":

Hail you, ironman
in a foreign country you triumph
hundreds of races
have become your victims.

Descendant of Hercules
terror of the wrestlers
Londos, pride of the race
the world honours you.

You who have honoured
the crown and the country
the world admired you
Oh giant of iron.

Your skill and your bravery
made you victorious
and you wear the golden belt
studded with diamonds.

You defeat your opponents
and each one of them plans
to take from you the title
which you strongly hold.

But every effort in vain
and in their every attempt
wrestling against our Londos
they break their own bones. 57

56 For Londos' biographical details, see Hellenic Herald, 16 November 1933, p.5-6; for training schedule, see Hellenic Herald, 30 April 1931, p.2; for techniques see Hellenic Herald, 23 November 1933, pp.5-6.
57 Ethnikon Vema, 23 January 1935, p.3.
Professional wrestling represented a cultural paradox. Although enormously popular, it also had a marginal status. Wrestling matches were sometimes venues for businessmen of ill-repute conducting deals and the status of many wrestlers was low. There was also a strong multicultural dimension to professional wrestling. The exotic characters who entered the 'square circle' were often from places that most Australians had only read about. It was positively advantageous to display the exotic ethnics, thus attracting ethnic audiences.\(^{58}\)

In Australia, wrestling has always been a minority and immigrant sport in which 'newcomers' have been able to demonstrate their strength and assert their sporting worth. Wrestling has also provided entertainment. It has been regarded as a rugged masculine sport that appeals to many in the male sub-culture of the ethnics, especially in the first part of this century. Requiring no equipment and facilities, it was initially one of the most popular sports with Greeks and other ethnic groups. Even during its early history, the popular matches were between immigrants, whether they were German, British or others. In this sport Greek immigrants achieved more prominence than any other immigrant group. Their achievements in Sydney, where most Greeks were concentrated, sustained the sport, especially in the late 1920s and 1930s. Coming from a country where the sport was privileged, Greeks proved avid wrestling fans in Australia.

Their enthusiasm was reinforced by keen-eyed promoters who imported Greek professional wrestlers to attract more Greek fans to the stadiums. It was not coincidental that the most active of the suburban arenas in Sydney was the Newtown Stadium which presented wrestling contests throughout the year. In 1933, local Con Grivas and George Vassilis wrestled almost weekly. Bouts for Greeks took on a special meaning, providing them with the opportunity to cheer Greek victories over local and other immigrant talent, when the public's general reaction to immigrants was hostile and prejudiced. Australian wrestling was dominated by numerous Greeks. For example when Harry Mamos defeated the Turkish wrestler Ali Beys, he donated the winnings for the bout to a charitable cause, thus illustrating that to beat a Turk, he would wrestle for free.\(^{59}\) Mamos was nicknamed the "Demon Greek - the roughest, toughest wrestler in the game to-day". Some of these Greek wrestlers such as Dionysius Koutsouvelis not only ranked well in Australia but after overseas tours, became a European champion.\(^{60}\) In 1933 Koutsouvelis returned to Europe after defeating German Stain Bourn in a sanctioned European

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\(^{58}\) For aspects of professional wrestling in Australia 1920 to 1940s see: The Arcadian Fine Cut of Wrestling, Melbourne, 1940; Norm McCance, Wrestling Holds Illustrated and Scenes in the Ring; E.G. Voight, Modern Wrestling Holds; Joe River, Ringside Review; Dick Cameron, The Science of Wrestling: 130 Illustrations; Stadiums Limited, World Champion Wrestlers, Sydney, 1927.

\(^{59}\) Ethnikon Vema, 17 June 1932, p.6; 24 June 1932, p.5.

\(^{60}\) ibid., 27 September 1933, p.2.
wrestling bout where he became European Champion. Others won Australian titles and settled in Australia. A typical example was Leo Demetral (Stathis Nicolaou) who arrived from America in 1933, became a naturalised citizen and eventually became heavyweight wrestling champion of Australia.

In the following years, Australian Greeks, because of the established wrestling clubs and the emphasis placed on athletic youth as a reflection of Greek masculinity, produced their own sports stars. Most prominent were George Samios and Spiros Defteros. Samios eventually represented Australia in the Olympic Games, while Defteros, with the help of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne, changed his allegiance and represented Greece in the Olympic Games of 1948 and 1956. Possibly more Greeks would have represented Australia in amateur wrestling but the lure of financial gains saw many change from amateur to professional status early in their respective careers. The Greek press strongly supported the sport, publishing features on bouts Australia-wide. The Australian press also featured Greek wrestlers and on some occasions promoted the fights involving Greeks in Greek print.

Wrestling was the most popular sport by far among Australian Greeks in the pre-World War II era and this popularity resulted in the establishment of two Greek gymnasiums. A number of athletes and other sports-minded Greeks, inspired by Jimmy Londos and the Greek wrestlers touring Australia, founded the Greek gymnasium, Atlas, in Sydney in March 1931. The gymnasium assumed a purely Greek character with local Vasilios Georgiadis managing the gymnasium which was situated next to the Kastellorizan Club in 37 Park Street. Although Kastellorizan settlement in Australia did not firmly focus on Sydney until the beginning of the 1920s, by 1924 their numbers were enough to successfully form the Kastellorizan Brotherhood at the Confos brothers' shop in Park Street. Regular bouts were held at the Atlas Club, giving athletes an opportunity to train and to even win not only trophies including ones donated by Ethnikon Vema and by the Greek Orthodox Community of Sydney, but also a little cash and experience in preparation for serious contests against more formidable opponents in larger arenas.61 Mitsopoulos commented on the naming of the club:

The name 'Atlas' was adopted because he was gigantic and ruled over Atlantis. He was a weight lifter and wrestler who was also suffering, but still dared.62

61 Ethnikon Vema, 15 April 1931.
62 Interview with Jim Mitsopoulos.
Paid advertisements in the Greek newspapers invited youth to the Atlas Greek Gymnasium. The success of the venture prompted the Greek press to state on numerous occasions that the majority of Sydney's Greek youth were training at Atlas. The timing of the gymnasium's establishment was not accidental.

This period was the height of the Depression years which saw many Greeks out of work, even those who had expected to work in relatives' shops. They were unemployed, so even their reason for being in a foreign land was falsified. Their jobs, the heart of their identity as immigrants and wage-earners and as men who could provide for themselves and their dependents, had been taken from them. They found themselves with endless time on their hands and nowhere to go except into the Greek public spaces where unfortunately it was all too easy to take to drinking and gambling. The annual picnics could not help in this regard. A number of Greek individuals, motivated by concern, opened gymnasiums to cater to the young unemployed men. Thus Greek community leaders put support and financial help into gymnasiums which provided places for socialisation and activities for Greek men of all ages. The editorial of the Ethnikon Vema, after the opening of Atlas, noted:

We gave the name Gymnasium to the public schools where our young men were educated. Wrestling was taught alongside the arts and letters. Result- Pericles, Alcibiades and Plato. It would be a good thing for the intellect, and for the physique of future generations, if gymnasiums, in the true sense of the word, could be revived today here in Australia, with wrestling first among the instructions.

During the Great Depression, Greeks consciously encouraged the development of sport and physical education and the role they should play in the Greek paroikia. There were many reasons for this conscious effort to establish a more organised sporting culture in the Greek community. These difficult times were marked by Greeks leaving Australia, because of lack of employment. For example in 1929-30, 497 Greeks arrived, while 873 departed. Obviously provisions and desirable leisure pursuits needed to be established for the unemployed, to deal with the more leisure time available and the problems they confronted.

Editorials and articles in the Greek press, consular correspondence and community edicts from the period 1928-32 add much to this argument, illustrating the problems Greeks

65 Editorial, Ethnikon Vema, 4 September 1931, p.2.
66 Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, p.93.
faced during the Depression. The most obvious examples are found in the Greek press. *Hellenic Herald* editorials in 1928 focussed on sport, as exemplified by the Editorial titled "Athletic Enthusiasm Proclaimed More Sports Needed".67 There were also lengthy and detailed front articles, like the one titled "Athleticism" and "Athletic Life Thoughts".68 Later in *Hellenic Herald* there were "Physical Exercises", "The importance of physical education" and "Sydney Sports Very Important".69

Keeping Greek males occupied through sport was highlighted by all sections of the Greek paroikia and the pronouncements were made by the press, community leaders, spokesmen and church leaders. In this period, the Greek consuls to Australia seem to have taken an active role in the promotion of sports in the Greek paroikia. In Brisbane, Angelo Goumas, born in Athens in 1900, served in the Greek army in World War I and afterwards in the Asia Minor campaign, during which he organised the Greek army's athletic championship. In 1924 he immigrated to Australia, where he practised as an accountant and indulged in his favourite sport, rowing. He was a founding member of the Toowong Rowing Club, and rowed three times in the winning eights in the Brisbane River championships.70

The Greek press also encouraged and promoted sport. Olympic Games results were always printed in the press, as were the results of the Balkan Games and Greek athletic events. One of the first issues of *Hellenic Herald* included a front page article which stressed how important the Olympic Games were to the Greek people.71 The reporting of historical traditions was also constant, for instance an article entitled "Athletic Games During the Homeric Age". In the Balkan Games, where Greece won the majority of the medals the article "The Balkan Games" gives interesting insights.72 The Greek press in other Greek diaspora communities was very similar in this regard. The reporting of Greek sport was of prime importance and while it filled the pages of the Greek Australian press, the reporting of sport about the host country's sporting activities was neglected. Overseas Greek sport was more fully publicised and promoted than local sport.

By 1931, the Atlas wrestling program took place every second Wednesday night at the gymnasium. On 2 September 1931, a large Greek crowd witnessed the sport at its best, because Greek wrestlers were far superior to their Australian counterparts in their

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68Ibid., 16 August 1928, pp.1-2.
69*Hellenic Herald*, 14 November 1929, p.5; 6 August 1931 p.5; 13 August 1931, p.5.
72*Hellenic Herald*, 28 December 1939, p.1. The Balkan Games were established by Greek statesman Venizelos in 1929, to be used for closer cooperation between the Balkan states.
representative weight divisions. Con Grivas, Light-Heavyweight Wrestling Champion of Australia, was the first national Australian trained champion produced by the Greek paroikia. The distinguished Vasilios Georgiadis, holder of many weightlifting titles, later became responsible for training and guiding the careers of other local athletes. The program of 2 September included: boxer Macris defeated Parikos; wrestler Jim Mitsopoulos defeated Ern Ross and Grivas defeated Georgiadis for the unofficial Australian wrestling title. In later months Georgiadis also defeated Edward Charles, the former middleweight champion of Australia. Consequently, Grivas and Georgiadis were ranked first and second in that division.

The gymnasium also hosted wrestling bouts and competitions against non-Greeks such as when Bill Georgiadou wrestled Joe Keatos and Makris boxed Tom Wayne. The highlight of the club's activities in its first year was the Greek Wrestling Championships of Australia, when Greek wrestlers were invited to participate for prize money. On Monday 3 August 1931, Greek wrestlers Stefanos Aggouras (Tripoli) competed against Stefanos Efstatthiou (Asia Minor) for a Greek title match refereed by Thanasios Boulakakis. The main event was preceded by a weightlifting exhibition by Vasilios Georgiadis, who also held the title of Greek Weightlifting Champion of Australia, and by boxing demonstrations between Greeks. In between bouts, Cosmas Finos gave a shadow boxing and skipping rope exhibition.

At the end of 1931, another Greek wrestling championship of Australia was organised at the Atlas gymnasium, this time by the newspaper Ethnikon Vema. All interested participants were given three weeks to enter, The Ethnikon Vema Cup, with Ethnikon Vema paying the fares for interstate Greek entrants. The declared champion of this tournament was the winner of three straight victories.

The popularity of wrestling among Greeks was well established. Twenty-one year old Ithakan Con Grivas, after defeating Maltese Joe Keedos at Daceyville Stadium at Kensington, set up an Australian title fight with Edward Childs, who was light-
heavyweight champion of Australia, on 10 August 1931, also at Daceyville Stadium. The Greek community had at last produced their own Australian-born title contender. This achievement greatly encouraged Greeks. Grivas was proclaimed a hero in the Greek press.77

Edward Childs successfully defended his light heavyweight wrestling title against Con Grivas, at Daceyville Stadium. Even though he did not become light heavyweight Champion of Australia, Greek spectators held Grivas aloft at the conclusion of the bout and celebrations lasted well into the night.78 Two weeks later a rematch was organised between the two wrestlers, this time Grivas triumphed.79 This prompted the Sunday Guardian of Sunday 23 August 1931 to publish an account entitled "Greek Statues Come to Life in Australia" discussing the activities of the Atlas gymnasium.80 The following week, the Atlas Gymnasium organised a match between Grivas and Georgiadou, while Ithakans from Melbourne organised a match in Melbourne between Grivas and Billy Meeske, who at the time was Middleweight Wrestling Champion of Australia.81

An editorial in Ethnikon Vema noted:

To Greeks wrestling, and to a much lesser extent, boxing is regarded as a truly masculine sport that every Greek youth has to encounter as a competitor in youth. Wrestling is seen to be more important in this regard because it is also more scientific. All men should love athletic exercises although it is in wrestling you build a powerful and robust, healthy body.82

Greeks did not train and wrestle at only the Atlas Club. Throughout the twenties and thirties, Greek youth attended various gymnasiums in the city to train in their leisure time. Companies such as the Withrow Physical Culture Institute, at 171 William Street, Sydney also advertised through articles written by the principal/proprietor F. K. McMaster that Greeks trained together, day and night, and that the Institute was always willing to enrol Greek youths. He is reported, saying that ancient Greece, the most sporting of nations, elevated wrestling above other sports and wrestling was more skilful and manlier than any other sport.83

Wrestling strongman Don Athaldo (1894-1964) published two books on physical prowess, Health, Strength and Muscular Power and a sequel Meet Don Athaldo. He

77 ibid., 20 August 1931, p.4.
78 Hellenic Herald, 13 August 1931, p.6.
79 ibid., 27 August 1931, p.6.
80 Sunday Guardian, 23 August 1931, p.6.
81 Ethnikon Vema, 2 September, 1931, p.7.
82 Ethnikon Vema, 4 March 1931, p.5.
83 ibid., p.4.
HE name is significant, inasmuch as Atlas was the hero in Greek mythology who put all strong men before and after his day to shame by taking the world upon his shoulders.

Every three weeks the Greek Atlas A.C., with headquarters at 29 Park Street, City, holds a display which includes gymastics, weight-lifting, wrestling, and boxing.

Its spacious gymnasium is well equipped, with boxing ring, a wrestling mat, wide range of disc weights, dumb-bells, punching bags, and balls. Expert instruction is given, specializing in body-building, wrestling, and weight-lifting.

Prominent members of the club, many of whom have been seen in action at various stadiums, are George Vasiliis (middleweight wrestling champion of Greece and holder of many weight-lifting records), Charlie Perris, Nick Machris, Mick Collins, Con Grivas, Stephen Stathis, and Stephen Angoras.

DOUGHTY WRESTLERS

Stathis and Angoras recently wrestled for the widerweight championship of the Greek community in Sydney, and the bout ended in a draw. It will be re-wrestled later.

Not only in feats of pure strength are Grecian athletes gaining prominence.

Stanley Dennis, keenly interested in Greek national athletic development, ranks high as an oarsman. He was a member of the International Rowing Club at Alexandria, where a new stadium is being built for the Olympic Games in 1936.

Perhaps Greek athletes may again assemble in force at this Olympiad to try to recapture world honors.

GREEK ATLAS GYMNASIUM

The activities of the gymnasium as reported in the Sunday Guardian
made his reputation by spectacular demonstrations of strength. Atholdo’s income derived from his gymnasium at 245 Pitt Street, Sydney, from public exhibitions, and above all from correspondence courses that promoted physical fitness. He advertised regularly in the *Ethnikon Vema* and claimed he had many Greek students, training in his gymnasium. He claimed the Greeks had firm bones and were naturally stronger than other races. Athaldo was well respected in the Greek community whose leaders supported his training programs. Many of his strongman exhibitions attracted largely Greek audiences.

A closer look at the West Australian Greeks who remained isolated from their compatriots of the Eastern States reveals a different course of evolution of their community. The numerical dominance of the Kastellorizans in Perth led to the establishment of the first Greek regional fraternity in Australia in 1912. In 1918 an organised youth group, the Greek Unity of Western Australia, existed for a brief period but not much is known of the sporting achievements of this youth club. In Perth, the wrestling interests of Greek youth were catered for by the Australian Hellenic Young Men’s Association (AHYMA) from the late 1920s to early 1930s. When this organisation folded, the Australian Hellenic Progress Association, was established in 1935 and continued until the end of World War II. Both male orientated clubs provided sporting and leisure activities for Greek men.

Dimitris Ioannides, born in Athens, educated in Smyrna and veteran of the Greek-Turkish War 1920-22, wanted to unite the Greek youth of Perth and was instrumental in forming AHYMA in Perth in July 1928. Although Ioannides was from Smyrna, most members of AHYMA were Kastellorizan, as were the majority of the Greeks in Perth in the 1930s. In 1937 the Greek-born population of Perth was 693, with Kastellorizans making up 90 per cent of that number. At first the group was culturally orientated with a mandolin group being formed, but in years to come this interest was superseded by sports. Initially the sports of wrestling, boxing and soccer were introduced, but little interest was shown except in wrestling. The group had their first picnic on 15 August 1929 with sports taking place. By mid 1930, the club had 94 members, with boxing and wrestling the preferred sports. The majority of the athletes were in their late teens or in their early 20s. The club had their first dance in 1931 at the Community Hall where awards were given out for

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85 *Ethnikon Vema*, 15 July 1933, p.5.
89 *Hellenic Herald*, 26 September 1929, p.5.
91 Taped interview Spiro Mattup (courtesy of John Yiannakis).
sport and for the best dancers who received a silver cup. President of the Greek Society, Peter Michaelides, spoke about the role of the club, "the attraction of Greek youth to this club is good because it keeps them away from the coffee-houses and other areas in which most of the young Australians took refuge." The GOC Perth supported the AHYMA, providing the club with financial assistance in the difficult years of the Depression.

The demand for gymnasiums in Perth grew. Greek wrestler, Spiridon Kilonikos, after a wrestling tour of Australia, became engaged to a Greek girl in Perth, settled there and opened a gymnasium in 1933 on Milligan Street, in central Perth. Within four weeks he had enrolled 20 Greek athletes. Greek professional wrestler Spiros Mattup (Spiridon Mavromatis), also settled in Perth, where he also trained at the gymnasium.

In Melbourne, no specific Greek gymnasium was established although a large Greek following trained at the Victorian Railway Institute and at the Sam Grey Gymnasium. In the 1930s Edgar Tanner, president of the Victorian Wrestling Association and a philhellene, encouraged Greeks to train and compete in the association. Another wrestling venue was Geoff Moriarty's Physical Culture Studios. Geoff Moriarty also tapped into the Greek non-metropolitan market, by producing a Lessons by Post course.

Professional wrestlers Spiros Digaletos, Peter Fatouros and later Zaharias Moraitis and the Kekatos cousins, both named Con, trained Greeks, while George Martakis in the late 1920s wrestled successfully as an amateur. Martakis competed as a welterweight to be runner up in the Victorian Amateur Boxing and Wrestling Association championships in 1932. Con Kekatos was a professional wrestler who was a market horse and cart delivery man, while the other Con Kekatos was a chef and violin player. Peter Fatouros, born in Lefkada in 1892, came to Australia in 1912, after his brother had settled in Australia earlier. He started as an amateur wrestler, but turned professional later when he needed employment to support his family.

Apart from the many Australian Greeks who trained and followed wrestling, others became prominent promoters and trainers. Nicholas Andronicus established and became the first president of the Rockhampton Stadiums Ltd in 1932, where he promoted wrestling and boxing matches between Australia's best athletes. In 1932 he promoted a World Championship match between Australian wrestlers Sam Burminster and Billy

92 Ethnikon Vema, 6 May 1931, p.3; 15 February 1931, p.5.
93 Ibid., 29 March 1933, p.4.
94 Interview Spiro Mattup.
95 Geoff Moriarty, Lesson By Post, Melbourne, 1928.
96 Results of the Victorian Amateur Boxing and Wrestling Association 1932, Melbourne, 1932.
97 Interview Isabel Fatouros.
Another body contact sport, boxing, also proved to be attractive to Greeks in Australia, even though in Greece professional boxing has been a fairly recent phenomenon. Kostas Perlatos formed the first boxing club in Athens in 1925. Pireaus formed a club in 1926 and by 1928, the Greek Boxing Association was formed. However, it was outside of Greece where the best Greek boxers were found. Antonis Christoforides, from USA, became the first Greek World Boxing Champion in 1939.

George Contas, ('Knock-Out' Brown) had two bouts, in the light heavyweight division, against Les Darcy. Darcy won both on points in twenty round matches. Both fights took place in Sydney, the first on 15 January and the second on 8 April 1916. Ten thousand people saw the first fight, waiting for Contas to give Darcy his knock-out punch. The bout went for the full twenty rounds, during which neither of them was knocked off their feet even once.\(^{103}\)

In Australia the Greeks recommended the sport of boxing and encouraged youth to box because it was a manly activity, one of those activities which have a distinct moral and physical value. Although they opposed professional boxing because they believed in the amateur ideal and recognised the brutality and degradation of prize-fighting. Therefore it was taken up in the Greek gymnasiuums of Australia and where Greek youth also trained.

A few Greeks did extremely well in boxing tournaments. The best of these included, Tony Monterrey (Anthony Karidis) who arrived in Australia from New Orleans in 1922 and became a professional boxer, competing in 360 bouts, 35 draws and 80 losses.\(^{104}\) This success encouraged Greek wrestler Jack Brown in Brisbane in the 1930s to win various titles.\(^{105}\) Other Greek boxers included Michael Souvlis who won a boxing title organised by the *Daily News*, while Filipos Argiropoulos won a boxing tournament organised at the International Hall, Port Pirie.\(^{106}\)

Boxing and wrestling were also popular because of patterns of settlement while the growth of team games was inhibited by the loss of players because of the transient lives of newly arrived immigrants, who constantly moved in search of employment. These sports, being individual rather than team sports, were suited to the immigrants' lifestyle, however, the only team sport to make an appearance in the pre-World War II period was soccer.

\(^{104}\)Interview with Tony Monterrey, Sydney, September 1995.
\(^{105}\)Hellenic Herald, 28 August 1930, p.5.
\(^{106}\)Ethnikon Vema, 4 September 1932, p.5.
Greek Soccer Clubs

In 1924, the restrictions on immigrant intakes in the USA together with the catastrophe in Asia Minor resulted in political, economical and demographic problems in Greece. Consequently many Greeks, primarily from the large trading centres of Smyrna and Constantinople, began arriving in Australia. Greek arrivals increased rapidly from 468 in 1922, to 931 in 1923, and to 1,925 in 1924. Up until the arrival of these immigrants, the Greeks of Australia had never attempted to form a soccer team or, for that matter, had little concept of the game. The first attempts to establish soccer in Australia were opposed by community leaders who had not understood the concepts of team sports or for that matter, the sport of soccer. This is perhaps best illustrated by an article and large photo (depicting a local soccer derby in Athens between rival soccer teams Olympiakos and Panathinaikos) titled "Young Athenians in their Popular Sport", which appeared in Ethnikon Vema in 1939. The emphasis of the words "their popular sport", which is most relevant, for the majority of Greek immigrants of Australia even as late as 1939, were unfamiliar with the sport.

The immigrants from Asia Minor attempted to form soccer teams in three capital cities, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide in the mid 1930s as a means of socialising the Greek youth into their ethnic group. Apart from the venture of the Apollon Club in Melbourne in 1934-35, the other two clubs Hellenic in Adelaide and Olympiakos in Sydney met with little success or enthusiasm from the Greeks. Another attempt occurred in 1939 in Sydney and Adelaide but the outbreak of World War II put an end to both these ventures.

At the Ithakan regional fraternity presentation night on 9 May 1934, after his presentation of the sporting awards, the president of the GOC Melbourne Nikiforos Lekatsas, informed the audience that the time had come to establish a sporting youth club which would unite all Greek youth in Melbourne. Such a club would be organised in a systematic and orderly fashion. He stated, "Many clubs exist in our community which deal with sport in their own confines, but none that specifically have the aim and ambition of this newly formed club". He finally advised that "all the night's Ithakan male winners (but not the females) had already been enrolled in the club." 

The stated aim of the club, to be known as the Apollon Athletic Club, was to promote sport amongst the youth of Melbourne. It was hoped that, with the help of the various organisations, a gymnasium with Swedish equipment, wrestling, boxing and classical athletics equipment, and eventually even a library of books on athletics, would be

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107 ibid., 28 August 1939, p.6.
108 ibid., 9 May 1934 p.5.
established. A guiding management committee was formed comprising Basil Kolligas, Floros Dimitriades, Theo Marmaras, Jack Fatouras, Paul Zeppatou and George Martaki. Sixty people attended the club's first meeting where a sum of 22 pounds was raised.\(^{109}\) The sport of soccer was adopted primarily because George Martaki, although an amateur wrestler, had known the sport from Constantinople, while as a youth, Floros Dimitiades had played soccer in Cyprus as had Basil Colligas in Smyrna. On Sunday 17 May 1934, 24 youths attended the Orpheus Club for try-outs for the Greek soccer team. At Albert Park, the team was culled to a smaller squad. A fortnight later, a constitution was tabled and adopted, the club being named Apollon Athletic Club. Colligas was not only instrumental in naming the club after the soccer club, Apollon of Smyrna, but also responsible for teaching the rules of the sport not only to players but also to Community leaders. Premises for a gymnasium were actively sought.\(^{110}\)

The club had an exciting beginning with training sessions occurring every Sunday morning at Albert Park. In the first sessions, Apollon Club members competed against each other before about 60 spectators including Cypriots and single females.\(^{111}\) When a squad was selected, community leaders promoted the profile of the club to attract more spectators, support and finances.

By the end of July, the club played against Savoia, the Italian team, at Middle Park at what would probably be considered the first inter-ethnic soccer match in Australia.\(^{112}\) The previous week president Basilis Colligas and vice president Zacharias Moraitis organised a dance where the players were presented with their guerseys, which were the Greek national blue and white colours for the big match against Savoia at Middle Park on 22 July 1934.\(^{113}\)

Apollon next played the First Division side, South Melbourne, in a friendly match at Middle Park with 2000 spectators attending. A fourteen-year old Cypriot, Con Dimitriades, played so well he was invited to play for South Melbourne, although he was already playing soccer for the local school team. The Greek team lost 6-3 but even so, this was a good result for a team that had been together for only five weeks. Most players, until a few weeks before the start of the club, had never played soccer before. "In this team youth participate who had no idea about soccer before the establishment of the club".

\(^{109}\)ibid., 16 May 1934, p.5.
\(^{110}\)Where directly not referenced this section on Apollon is based on interviews with former members Basil Colligas and Andy Comino, Melbourne, December 1995.
\(^{111}\)Hellenic Herald, 21 June 1934, pp.7-8. "Each week they played against each other with eventually 150 people watching the match", Hellenic Herald, 12 July 1934, p.7.
\(^{112}\)Hellenic Herald, 26 July 1934, p.7.
\(^{113}\)Ethnikon Vema, 18 July 1934, p.3.
On that historic day, players included: George Vlahos, George Theodoros, Kosta Ioannou, Atzemis, George Martakis, brothers Floro, Con and Xanthos Dimitriades, Basil Koligas and Chris Kiasos. A fortnight later, Apollon played a select side from the South Melbourne and St. Kilda teams and the score was a draw 4-4. Club enthusiasts claimed that the club attracted supporters who would otherwise be in the coffee-houses. Although the club played other games, before the end of that season, it was not entered in a competition.

By the end of August, 1934 soccer was being played regularly in Adelaide and Melbourne and this must have stimulated the publishers of Ethnikon Vema to include a brief world history of the sport. In the following weeks, the rules of the sport were published, highlighting the previous lack of insight into the game and the emerging keen interest in the game.

The Apollon Club had their first annual picnic on 2 December 1934 at Aspendale, where swimming events were included along with athletic competitions. Entry fee was 3 shillings. In the off season, Apollon also trained in Middle Park, with training specifically involving athletics. The annual general meeting on 10 February 1935 was attended by 35 members. Some of newly elected committee, such as newly elected president Peter Fatouras and vice president Nick Spartels, wanted the club’s activities to focus more broadly than soccer.

The following season, the club prepared to enter into competition in Melbourne by advertising their committee status, their use of English soccer rules and their need for players. The team had their first pre-season match win against St. Kilda on 13 April 1935 at Commercial Ground and won by 2-0 with George Vlahos playing a starring role. They had their first competition win against 'Spotswool', the score being 4-1. The team included Vlachos, Pertile, Martakis, Pagonis, Tsalkis, Floro and Con Dimitriades, Savvas and Colligas. On the 13 April they defeated the team St. David and had another great win against Elsternawick with a score of 2-0. By that stage they were getting favourable publicity. The Argus newspaper wrote about the club in early May 1935, in an article by Hillhouse, a former Olympian.

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114 ibid., 1 August 1934, p.5.
115 Ethnikon Vema, 15 August 1934, p.5; Hellenic Herald, 16 August, 1934, p.6.
117 ibid., 21 November 1934, p.5.
118 ibid., 13 February 1935, p.4.
120 Ethnikon Vema, 17 April, 1935, p.3.
122 Ethnikon Vema, 29 May 1935, p.4.
By June, Apollon played in the Docherty Cup competition against Shepparton and although they lost the match, enthusiasm stayed high.\textsuperscript{123} Dionisios Varvaressos was man of the match in the game against Nobels, which Apollon lost 2-1. The club had little community financial support, so through the press, the club directors urged people's support. The \textit{Ethnikon Vema} urged: "The only Greek team in competition needs financial and moral support, not only because they are the only Greek team but also because they are going well."\textsuperscript{124}

Apart from sport, the Apollon Club also organised cultural and social events such as trips to the snow fields in Victoria and monthly social dances. At one social dance held to congratulate Savvas from the Shepparton Club on winning their best and fairest award, Theophylactos presented him with a trophy.\textsuperscript{125}

Apollon played their last game against Melbourne Maux and won 4-1. The following week their general meeting reported that in competition, they had come third in the third division with eight wins, four losses and two draws.\textsuperscript{126} In the following year the club lacked funds as their was a loss of interest from community leaders who believed that athletics and wrestling were more suitable for Greek youth than soccer. With lack of funds and low player numbers, the Apollon Club simply folded.

Andy Comino claimed:

\begin{quote}
The Greek elders knew very little about the sport and could not relate to it all. Panagiotopoulos was being influenced at the time by the Metaxas dictatorship in Greece and the Greek youth clubs which reinforced athletics and gymnastics. Soccer was just too controversial at the time.\textsuperscript{127}
\end{quote}

While Basil Colligas noted:

\begin{quote}
Initially the Greek Community formed Apollon and promoted its sport of soccer, but we began to attract too much attention, Ithakans felt threatened by the Asia Minor immigrants and their Turkish game of soccer and by the end of the first year they just did not provide financial and moral support.\textsuperscript{128}
\end{quote}

The first soccer team of Adelaide suffered a similar fate to Apollon. The history of Greeks in South Australia began with George Tramountanas who settled there in 1842. The GOC

\textsuperscript{125}\textit{Ethnikon Vema}, 31 July 1935, p.5.
\textsuperscript{126}\textit{Hellenic Herald}, 22 August 1935, p.7.
\textsuperscript{127}Interview Andy Comino.
\textsuperscript{128}Interview Basil Colligas.
South Australia was formed in 1924 in Port Pirie, where approximately 500 Greeks were living, mainly in the western part of the town near the smelters. The Greek community at that time consisted of mainly islanders from Kastellorizo, Levisi and Chios. South Australia's first Greek Orthodox Church, St. George, was established in 1924, at Port Pirie. In 1925 the first community organisation, the Kastellorizan Brotherhood of Port Pirie, was founded. By 1927 there were 600 Greeks at Port Pirie but the economic depression in the late 1930s meant that the majority soon left Port Pirie for Adelaide in search of work. By 1931 the first Greek school in Adelaide was operating and by 1937, Adelaide Greeks had built and inaugurated their first church, Archangels Michael and Gabrielle.\(^{129}\)

Hellenic Soccer Team was supported by many, including the resident priest of Adelaide, Archimandrite Germanou Eliou, who had established the Greek School Pittakos in Perth and Michael Kambouris who became president of the GOCSA in 1935. Kambouris claimed that, "The idea of the soccer team is a good one. Up until this point we have not sufficiently dealt with the second generation, for whatever reason, who are very energetic and tireless". The first training session took place on Sunday 10 July 1934 at West Park with 30 Greek youths attending. The Greek press also claimed that, "The formation of this team is good as it will bring the Greek youth together and keep them away from bad habits and influences". Eighteen year old Michael Finos, who represented his school in soccer, football and rowing, was made the first captain of the team. Greeks from Levisi in Turkey who had settled in South Australia also had some knowledge about the game. Hellenic of Adelaide played its first match in September 1934 and won 3-0.\(^{130}\)

This period also coincides with more formal organisation of the youth of Adelaide. This Union of Youth (Sindesmos Neon) also tried to get a newsletter, Youth (Neita) published and tried to attract more Greek boys to join by raising the profile of the club. Dimitrides and Michael Chatzimichael were responsible for this.\(^{131}\) Community leaders stressed that more needed to be done for youth who had little guidance from the community, and that a school needed to be built.\(^{132}\) The team won most of their matches, although fielding a team every week was constantly a problem. The team simply disbanded after the first year largely because most of the players and members were not fully committed to the sport and its promotion. Mick Finos claimed: "The few Greeks in Adelaide at the time did not


\(^{130}\)Ethnikon Vema, 12 September 1934, p.5. Where directly not referenced this section on Hellenic is based on interview with Michael Finos, Adelaide, March 1996.

\(^{131}\)Pharos, Saturday 30 May 1936, p.3.

\(^{132}\)ibid., 26 February 1936, p.4.
like the sport all that much. That coupled with the fact that soccer was a very minor sport and the extreme racism around, put a stop to the team.”

Soccer first appeared in Sydney, when Olympiakos Club was established in 1936. Two other clubs, Hellenic of Adelaide and Apollon of Melbourne, had already folded. This club eventually shared the same fate as those two.

A meeting at the Hellenic Club held on 5 June 1936 took place to decide the direction of the club. At this meeting the first elected management committee included president, George Kateris; vice president, Emmanuel Papapotin; secretary, Nikolaou Zanapali; Michael Alagiotis, treasurer and committee members Sotiris Penglis, Steve Penglis and Anastasios Rodis. The following week training took place and a practice match took place between the members of the club, one led by Stathis Demerizos and the other team by Steve Penglis. Their first match was played against Bondi United at Moore Park. Captain of the team was Menelaos Nikolaidis and the Greek referee was Platon Vlantiadis. In this historic match the Greek team lost 2-0. Two weeks later they played Bondi United again at the same venue, with the first known players being Menelaos Nicolaides, George Kateris, Anastasios Rodios, George Carol, Dimitrios Dimopoulos, Georgios Agamemnon and Efisthios Demerizos.

Player numbers and support for the club began to increase until the 2 August 1936, when Steve Penglis, a promising midfielder broke his leg. This accident was disastrous for the club which was already experiencing difficulties. Later that month, a fund raising drive took place for Penglis. In early September, the players met in the Zappeion Greek restaurant at 255 Elizabeth Street to discuss the urgent problems that faced the club, in particular the lack of GOCS involvement in the club. The sport was in fact unknown to most of the Greeks of Sydney and the club enjoyed little support. Due to lack of numbers, the club did not enter into competition and folded in January 1937.

In the late 1930s just prior to the start of World War II there were two other attempts to establish soccer teams; Hellenic in Adelaide and Atlas in Sydney. The Atlas soccer club was established in 1939. The first steering committee of the Atlas Club was made up of Psaltis, Vernesis and Goudis. They purchased the first playing strip of the team and

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133Interview with Michael Finos.
134Ethnikon Vema, 1 July 1936, p.5.
135Hellenic Herald, 16 July 1936, p.5.
136Ethnikon Vema, 22 July 1936, p.5.
137ibid., 5 August 1936, p.4.
138ibid., 9 September 1936, p.5.
trained and played every Sunday at Moore Park.\textsuperscript{139} The Atlas Club was formed in 1939 and was inaugurated on the 10 September 1939 at the Omonoia restaurant.\textsuperscript{140} The first committee consisted Jim Mitsopoulos, Perri Blantiades, Georgios Boras, Adam Yaltis, Peter Berberis, Michael Beys, Georgios Paricos and Elefterios Goudis.\textsuperscript{141}

A soccer team, formed to play in the Eastern Suburbs Competition, competed in their first competition match against Scotties at Queens Park, with Atlas winning 5-3. The following week Atlas played Waverley, again at Queens Park.\textsuperscript{142} Their first ball took place at the Maccabean Hall on 3 July 1940.\textsuperscript{143} During the war, Atlas' sporting activity virtually ceased although they produced theatre pieces and plays at the club premises at 252 Pitt Street to raise money for the war effort. A member of the club, Paizis who was also a boat maker, trained the theatre group. All of the members were Greek, some of whom had been conscripted during 1941 into the Australian Army. The Platon Association, which was formed in 1933 folded and in 1939 its members began to join Atlas which after the war, became the Atlas Workers Club.

The club organised picnics in 1942 and 1943 at the National Park with rowing events and then athletic games. Dances were held every Sunday at their Pitt Street premises. By 1944 these dances were so popular that they were transferred to the larger Paddington Town Hall. By the same year, the club was conducting lessons in both Greek and English at 252 Pitt Street.\textsuperscript{144} By 1945 they showed a Russian film for the first time at a film night.\textsuperscript{145} Politically the club was experiencing a swing to the left.

The second Greek soccer team of Adelaide, Hellenic, existed for only a brief time because of the outbreak of World War II. Kastellorizans Mick Finos and Sam Savvas, while attending the Greek Orthodox Church in Adelaide at Christmas 1938, agreed that something had to be done about the lack of leisure activities for Greek youths and suggested the formation of a soccer team. A committee of Nick Platis (president), Michael Loukas (vice-president), Michael Bolkus (treasurer), Agapitos Economos (treasurer) and members Sam Topalsavvas, Michael Finos and Theofanos Taliantzis was established to set up the team.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{139}ibid., 23 August 1939, p.5.
\textsuperscript{140}Hellenic Herald, 7 September 1939, p.6; Interview Jim Mitsopoulos, Byron Bay, June, 1996.
\textsuperscript{141}Hellenic Herald, 21 September 1939, p.6.
\textsuperscript{142}ibid., 16 May 1940, p.6.
\textsuperscript{143}ibid., 27 June, 1940, p.6.
\textsuperscript{144}ibid., 18 May 1944, p.4.
\textsuperscript{145}ibid., 1 March 1945, p.5.
\textsuperscript{146}Ethnikon Vema, 1 February 1939, p.5. Where directly not referenced this section on Hellenic is based on interviews with Michael Finos, Sam Savvas, Michael Tsounis, Loula Galatis.
Committee member Mick Finos had been born in the Suez Canal area of Egypt in 1915 and in 1916 his parents had moved to Port Sudan where he had attended an Arab school. In the afternoons he watched English sailors play soccer against each other and sometimes against the indigenous people. The game impressed him. He liked the English style and eventually insisted that Hellenic emulate that style. In 1926, the Finos family left for Australia where his father founded the Kastellorizan Brotherhood in Port Pirie. By 1928, Michael was attending school in Adelaide and confronting Australian prejudice against immigrants.

Mick Finos and Sam Savvas approached Chios-born brothers Nick and Tom Platis about joining the Hellenic team. Both these brothers had been introduced to the sport in their childhood in Chios. Michael Loukas, from the island of Livisi, had played Australian Rules and became the team's goalkeeper. The Maltese born Grimma brothers were also enticed to play as were Cypriot born John Michael, Sam Antoniou and Basil Georgiou. Others members of the club, Mary Psaltis, Michael Bolkus, Antonios Skopelitis, Loula Nicolaitis and Chris Galatis raised funds for the club.

Finos approached the South Australian Soccer Association to register the team, and within weeks, the team was placed in the third division. At the time Adelaide was not known as a soccer centre, so access into that division was welcomed by the soccer officials. There were, in fact, only three divisions. The team members' ages ranged from 16 to 25 with all being born outside Australia.

The GOC Adelaide and leaders of the Greek paroikia had shown no real interest in the club so the players themselves raised money for the team. In particular, the Platis brothers successfully approached their father who had a baking business to supply the funds needed for uniforms and referee payments. The team played soccer on Sundays after church.

After their win, the Hellenic Herald published an article, "A fantastic success for Greek athletics", praising their success. Throughout the season, the Hellenic Herald published various articles about the team usually mentioning venue and results, the most detailed report being when Hellenic defeated New Roversby on 22 April 1939 and lost to Port Adelaide the following week. By the end of 1939, war had broken out. Young men were enlisting in the Australian armed forces so the Hellenic team could no longer be sustained.

147Ethnikon Vema, 3 May 1939, p.5.
In rural Australia, workers and fruit pickers settled in the Mildura area in Victoria, as a consequence of the pioneering work of Asia Minor Greeks. According to Ernestine Hill in *Water into Gold*, these Greeks also developed the 'cold dip' secretin process in dry sultana production, thus giving Australia the coveted top five crown quality needed to compete with the European market.\(^{148}\) During the 1930s when the Greek community of Mildura had consolidated itself, attention turned to forming a soccer team. A soccer team did not form primarily due to the lack of other soccer teams with which to compete.\(^{149}\)

Many of the Greeks in Australia, especially in the pre-1934 period when the Apollon Club was formed in Melbourne, had little experience with team sports. Evidence for this was found in interviews and in various press reports. Apart from the formation of soccer teams, team sports seem to have had little impact on the Greek community at all. Admissions of the players and organisers of these clubs support the view that most had never seen the sport and press reports verify this. Without the influx of Asia Minor refugees these teams would have not formed, just as the Greek Soccer League would not have been established so early in Greece if it was not for the Asia Minor refugees.

Community leaders also thought that team sports would undermine their own existing sporting endeavours (in particular the picnics) and thus they did not support the soccer teams. Vasilis Colligas, of Apollon Club, claimed that at the end of 1935, with Apollon in Melbourne struggling for finance and recognition, he approached the wealthy president of the community, Lekatsas, for financial support for the club but was refused.\(^{150}\)

**Female Involvement**

For the most part the activities of Greek women in the sporting world were primarily supportive of males. Females were not part of the active sporting culture of the Greek society in Australia in the pre-World War II period. Some historians of Greek immigration (Yiannakis and Tamis) claim that the large number of women's societies are in fact evidence that women did take part in community affairs. However, their role was minor and complementary, as they served as fundraisers for the Greek community. For example, Katholiki Anastasas, Despin Tsakalou and Despina Kratsis formed the Greek Women's Society of South Australia in 1937. Most members were married women. Initially formed to raise money for the establishment of a church, the society's first fundraising activity took place on 9 April 1937 and raised 36 pounds. Other women's


\(^{149}\)Interview with Michael Tsounis, Adelaide, March 1996.

\(^{150}\)Interview with Basil Colligas.
auxiliaries and societies raised money for communities by organising balls, dances and other such activities.¹⁵¹

It must be noted that women were heavily involved in the preparation and organisation of the day's activities at the annual picnics; whether regional fraternity, Pan-community or school. During the picnics, boys would take part in an athletics program, while the girls would usually dance. The women's subsidiary status was re-enacted during the presentation nights. Seating arrangements tended to be by rank, with males at the head of the table, elderly through to adolescent, and then females lined up after them. Boys would receive trophies for athletics and girls for dancing. The photograph of "Greek Girls Dancing at Picnic" illustrates this point.¹⁵²

In this pre-World War II period, only a few Greek females distinguished themselves in sport. Of these, the Likiard sisters and Maria Kousou, were in fact only half Greek, having a Greek father. The three Likiard sisters, Chrysanthe June, Aphrodite Calypso and Stavroula Catherine, were champion swimmers and divers. Their father, Dimitrios Likiardopoulos, had been born on the island of Cephalonia and had served in the Australian armed forces during World War I. Stavroula's aquatic achievements were the most outstanding of the three sisters. As 'Cath' Likiard, she held the Victoria and Australian Springboard and Tower Diving Championships for a number of years in the 1940s. At the age of seventeen she was proclaimed as "one of Australia's outstanding women divers of the last twenty years" and won the Victorian Springboard diving title at her first attempt. At the time, she was "the only female diver in Australia able to handle the one and a half somersault dive from the three metre board."¹⁵³

Maria Kousou (daughter of Ioannis Kousou), was a champion swimmer who, it was hoped, would represent Greece in the Berlin Olympics. Born in Sydney, Kousou made a name for herself in Brisbane, after spending two years in Cairns. Representing the Moree Amateur Swimming Club, she won events in the 100, 200 and 300 metres at the 1933 Brisbane State Championship and was reported as going to the National Championships in Melbourne.¹⁵⁴ In 1934 Kousou suffered a shoulder injury which put an end to her promising career.

¹⁵¹See Georgia Xenophou, Greek Women in South Australian Society 1923-1993, Adelaide, 1994, p.3. Xenophon's descriptive work on women's societies in Adelaide supports these conclusions.
¹⁵²Hellenic Herald, 12 November 1931, p.5.
¹⁵⁴Hellenic Herald, 21 September 1933, p.6. Photo. There is no mention of her after 1933.
Greek females only started making an appearance in the mainstream public sphere during the World War II. Their involvement in Greek Red Cross Younger Sets is testimony to this. Most of these and other organisations were primarily geared towards raising money for the war effort. Even in Queensland, the Innisfail Youth Club was formed to raise money for the war effort. The Red Cross Younger Sets had Charity Queen competitions to raise money for the war effort and this event encouraged women to participate in community events.

Despite demographic limitations and the effects of the nature of Greek immigration to Australia, sporting activities of the Greeks in the pre-1945 era are most impressive. The number of families were small while concentration of Greeks in urban centres really only began in the late 1920s. These factors hampered and limited some sports participation. In Melbourne although the GOCM had supposedly established a night school in 1898, it was not able to secure the permanent operation of a school until the 1950s, whereas sporting activity in Melbourne in the period between 1930 and 1940 was substantial.

Australia in the pre-World War II period was very different from the relatively tolerant, multicultural society it is today. There were few Greek-style coffee houses, few Greek nightclubs and few places where Greeks could meet other Greeks. Wrestling matches and soccer matches were events where they could go to relax without embarrassment or harassment. Greek newcomers who used to flock to the wrestling and soccer matches became more and more secure in Australia. Vasillios Colligas summed it up:

I would like to tell you what Greek sport (in particular wrestling) is all about. Greeks shouting and screaming and it was obvious to me that Greeks went to the game for reasons other than to see the game. They went to the game to release their emotions within the security of a crowd who spoke in their own language and understood.

Sport, like education, has always been of paramount importance to Greeks. Even under Turkish occupation, sport flourished. Therefore it was natural for sport to develop in Australia, even with all the problems its development faced here. If the Turks, over the centuries of domination could not persuade the Greeks to lay aside their sports, there was little chance of Australia's various institutions achieving much success in suppressing Greek sporting interests. Through the well organised ethnic groups, the Greek Orthodox Church, the communities, the regional brotherhoods, societies and clubs, a vast network of sports sprang up, a network which was still intact after World War II.

155Ethnikon Vema, 1 January 1941, p.5.
156Interview with Basil Colligas.
In the pre-World War II period, it is not an exaggeration to talk about a closed Greek society. Many reasons forced the Greek paroikia to live separately, in their own world far away from Greece. Greeks from the lands lost to the Turks in 1922, from Constantinople to Smyrna, introduced the sport of soccer to the Greeks. Maybe they knew they would never return to their beloved Smyrna, but they brought with them their beloved Apollon team. Other Greeks such as the Kastellorizans, and the Rhodians had their lands still occupied by the Italians. This closed Greek society was not only reinforced in the workplace, but in sport as well. Living in ghettos such as the lower West End of Adelaide gave them a sense of community. Gaming in Greek coffee-shops in the ghettos started to be a great problem. Few Greeks worked with non-Greeks and only about 30 per cent were naturalised. They were discouraged by community leaders and by the press from exercising their civil rights, but they were encouraged to play and support Greek sport.

Greeks retained an emotional attachment to their native land and sport, brought along as accompanying cultural baggage, and providing a link with home in an alien environment. In seeking to participate in sport, the Greeks were perhaps no different from earlier immigrants such as the Germans who came to Australia in the late 1840s, and who brought with them skittles, crossbows, target rifle shooting and gymnastics. However, the Greeks seemed to put more emphasis on their sports and on the development of a Greek sporting culture in Australia. Although Greek sport flourished in Australia in the pre-World War II period, it remained true that playing and watching sport were also central features in the lives of many Australians. In fact, this was not a positive influence because Australian sporting organisations refused to have Greek teams in competition with them.

Greek sport in this period helped to involve Greek people and give them a sense of unity, creating an ethnic community out of a heterogeneous population. Despite their many inadequacies and shortcomings, and even with a numerically small Greek population, Greeks demonstrated the vitality of Greek sport abroad.

The pre-World War II Greek paroikia was united, proud and intact. Solidarity existed amongst the various Greeks. Naturally much of this solidarity was related to the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greek schools, the love of Panhellenic culture and history and, importantly, leisure activities. However, when Greece supported the Allies in World War II, the historic 'OXI', and when Australian Greeks raised money for the Allies' effort, the reputation of Greeks in Australia was enhanced. Greeks in Australia were encouraged by the positive acceptance of their contribution to continue their work. Although there had been problems in the community, Greeks appeared united, as seen in the Greek press;
None of us can hope to be viewed as a cut above the rest...just as wealthy or poor, educated or illiterate. We are all one, one ethnic minority. Whether naturalised or not, we are still foreigners, never on the same footing with the Australians.\textsuperscript{157}

At the end of the War, the Greeks were at least accepted (for their war efforts). The next years would see a continuing trickle of immigrants, then after 1952, a flood.

For every one of the successful wrestlers and soccer-team members named in this chapter, ten or twenty other young Greek men were trying to achieve success in their sport. Gymnasiums were well patronised and almost all young Greeks, so it appears, had some involvement with either individual sports like wrestling and boxing, or team games like soccer. The rising generation was expected to engage in sport, more than that, they enjoyed doing so in the bleak times of Depression and war. And it was they, the second generation, who would be a concern to the Greek society when the war ended.

\textsuperscript{157}Editorial \textit{Hellenic Herald}, 12 February 1931, p.1. Michael Tsounis has estimated 1,000,000 pounds was raised by the Greek community for the war effort.
CHAPTER FIVE
Greek sports in Australia 1945-60: Greek Youth Clubs.

Sporting traditions, including regional fraternity picnics, established before World War II continued during and after it. In Melbourne the annual Odysseus Ithakan picnic in 1945, was so popular that by January 1947, it was held at Katherine Hill Beach with Ithakans from Sydney also attending.\(^1\) It soon evolved to become the pan-Australian picnic for all Ithakans in Australia.\(^2\) In 1949 and later years the biggest Melbourne organisations like Orpheus, GOCM, Kastellorizan, and Democritus had picnics within weeks of each other.\(^3\) These picnics continued into the following decades.

The post-World War II period saw the emergence and growth of a significant Greek youth culture that had not been evident before. On the one hand, the few Greeks who had settled in Australia in the 1920s and the 1930s had produced children who were growing up in the late 1940s, while on the other there was a big wave of Greek family immigration in the 1950s and the 1960s which brought youngsters out from Greece. In short, there was a much larger youth population but it was made up of two groups of young Greeks: the second-generation and the young first-generation migrants. These groups, while both expected to perform according to the Greek code of masculinity, brought to their performance rather different repertoires and backgrounds. If it can be generally stated, the second generation of Australian born Greeks was interested in individual sports and mainstream sports such as Australian Rules, Rugby League, Rugby Union and cricket, while the first generation migrants of the 1950s and 1960s were interested primarily in soccer.

Individual Sports

Greek interest in individual sports did not cease, although support for wrestling, weight lifting and boxing diminished once greater social, material and psychological security was achieved. This, together with changing attitudes to sport on the part of the post-World War II newcomers, who had soccer as their preferred sport, meant that team sports became much more attractive.

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\(^1\) *Ethnikon Vema*, 12 February 1947, p.6.

\(^2\) Odysseus Ithakan Regional Fraternity, Minutes of Meetings, 13 March 1948.

\(^3\) See *Ethnikon Vema*, 21 December 1949 issue for various dates.
Wrestling lost popularity, because it was not a mainstream sport in Australia, Australian-born Greeks did not come across it at either school level or in the wider Australian community. While it was proportionately less popular than it had been before World War II, wrestling continued to attract athletes in the decades which followed. Wrestling clubs emphasising the link between youth and the Greek concept of masculinity, continued to be established and the generations of Greek youth brought up with wrestling also began to appear in these gymnasiums.

Alick Jackomos exemplifies the image of the successful youthful wrestler, who as a boy in the pre-World War II period sold peanuts at the Fitzroy and West Melbourne Stadiums. He later trained at the Melbourne Exhibition Youth Club in wrestling and boxing. After serving in the military forces as a 16 year old, he became a professional wrestler. In 1947 he teamed up with John Sampson on an extensive tour. Later he toured with the Jimmy Sharman wrestling troupe.4

In this period, other second generation wrestlers competed as amateurs. By 1949, three young Perth wrestlers were products of the Greek wrestling system: John Constantine, Con Kailis and George Samios. Kytheran born, George Samios, migrated to Australia in 1930 to become the most successful of these. He developed an interest in wrestling after being a member of AHYMA, and eventually won the WA Wrestling Association Championship in 1935. In the early years of his career in the 1930s, success was difficult: "If you were Greek you had to be twice as good as the next if you wanted to get anywhere".5 From 1936 until 1957, he was undefeated in state amateur wrestling. He wrestled in the 1948 Olympic Games and acted as a manager at the 1968 Olympic Games. In the post-war period, Greeks in Perth took a leading role in the amateur wrestling holding various positions on the WA Wrestling Association Committee. George Samios became president, a position his son Chris, also later held in the 1990s.6

Melbourne’s Spiros Defteros was another amateur champion of note. Having arrived in Melbourne as an 18 year old, he represented Greece in Greco-Roman wrestling in the Olympic Games of 1948 and 1956. He had been introduced to wrestling at the Ithakan regional fraternity gymnasium. Because he showed much promise, wrestling instructor Zacharias Moraitis, took him to the Greek dominated Sam Grey Gymnasium, where he was trained by Con Kekatos, a professional. Spiros Digalatos, another professional wrestler, trainer, and fellow Ithakan, also took an interest in Defteros.

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4 Interview with Alick Jackomos, Melbourne, July 1996.
6 Interview with Chris Samios, Perth, February 1996.
World War II put a temporary halt to Defteros's career when he was drafted into the labour corps. In 1945 he returned to the VRI gymnasium where, under the guidance of Jim Angelo, (himself a wrestling champion in the 1915-25 period), he quickly progressed. In 1946 he was a Victorian representative in the National Amateur Boxing and Wrestling championships, losing the Heavyweight Wrestling Championship title to J. Armstrong. Defteros was then selected to represent Australia at the 1948 London Olympics, provided that he assume Australian citizenship. He said that, "in my heart I was Greek, a lover of Hellenism especially its history and sports... I could not give that up. It would have been a complete betrayal of all the ideas I believed in".8 Community leaders in Melbourne contacted SEGAS in Greece and attempted to have him included in the Greek Olympic Games Team. SEGAS accepted but told the GOCM that they could not afford his expenses. So the GOCM raised the necessary 600 pounds. The Greek society took great pride in Defteros' achievements, as he was not only representing Greek athletics but also Greek athletics in Australia.9 Later, Defteros also represented Greece in the 1956 Olympics although he had passed his sporting prime, for he lost to fourth placegetter, Irishman Greg Martin. Throughout this period Defteros won many Victorian and Australian middleweight wrestling championships.10

Defteros alone trained with some 22 Greeks who participated in amateur wrestling tournaments in the late 1940s and early 1950s. His group, many of them title holders, trained at the VRI gymnasium. By 1950, this Greek wrestling group held six state titles, including those held by Stephen Michaels, and John and Paul Raftopoulos. Cypriot John Stephanon, won the British championship in 1953 but did not represent Great Britain at the Commonwealth Games because of residential restrictions.

Because of increasing demand, with the VRI and Sam Grey gymnasiums fully enrolled with Greek wrestlers, GOCM president Nikiforos Lekatsas proposed the establishment of a modern equipped Greek gymnasium. To gain both moral and financial support, an exhibition was held at the Orpheus Hall between a Greek amateur wrestling group and an Australian group. These eight bouts from bantamweight to heavyweight were officially supported by the Victorian Wrestling and Boxing Association and Greek society leaders. The Greek Olympic Wrestling team appeared for the first time, with Defteros refereeing the bouts. During the second bout, Greek wrestler 23 year old John Rantogiannis accidentally died. Support for the Greek gymnasium never recovered from this incident.

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7 Program Australian Amateur Boxing and Wrestling Championships Final, Melbourne, 1946.
8 Interview with Spiros Defteros, Melbourne, March 1997.
10 Archives Spiros Defteros, contains numerous newspaper articles, trophies and certificates pertaining to his athletic achievements.
By 1952, in Australia, amateur wrestling had lost much support because of its official separation from boxing. With the advent of the Melbourne Olympics, the Australian Amateur Wrestling Union (AWU) was formed. Until then, one body had governed the sport in Australia. However, as the post-World War II Greek youth clubs became popular, wrestling was not well supported by these clubs, and as many young men sought the financial rewards of professional competition.

Professional wrestling gained new status in 1964, when promoters James Barnett and Johnny Doyle, organised Australian affiliation with the International Wrestling Alliance in San Francisco. Wrestling thus developed as part of World Championship Wrestling (WCW) and various local and international fighters competed regularly in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and elsewhere. The matches televised by Channel Nine Network between 1964 and 1978 attracted a larger audience and introduced new heroes to the sport and to the Greeks. Promoters such as Stadiums Limited and Melbourne Greek, Apostolos Ioannou also brought out Greek wrestlers such as Emmanual Lambrinides in the 1950s.

Egyptian born Greek, George Perivolaris (George Gardiner), arrived in Australia in 1922, and became perhaps the most important professional wrestling promoter. He organised his first wrestling tournament in 1938 at City Hall, in Hobart. Initially he promoted wrestling with his two local Greek draw cards John Paradise and Leo Demeral. Eventually Gardiner was the most important promoter of the sport (surpassing the Barnett and Doyle promotion team), bringing out Greek wrestlers, including 'The Golden Greek' Spiros Arion in 1965. Spiros Arion was a very well known Greek professional wrestler and the pride of the Greek society. In February 1965, George Gardiner organised a bout between Arion and world champion "King Kong" in Sydney. When the referee gave the match to "King Kong", the 9,000 mostly Greek crowd protested, some even entering the ring, to make the referee reverse his decision and award the match to Arion. Gardiner was also responsible for bringing out wrestlers Karpoxilos, Kambaflas, Ioakovides, Gouliovas, Panagos, Papalazaros, Zorbas, Kollivris and the Tolias brothers. The dominance of Greeks in the sport both as participants and spectators was such that wrestling matches took place between "Greece Versus Australia", or "Greece Versus the

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12.Libnan Ayoub, *100 Years of Australian Professional Wrestling*, Sydney, pp.81-2.
14.Ayoub, *100 Years of Australian Professional Wrestling*, p.27.
Rest of the World”. Typical of this was the series, “Greece versus Australia” which took place on 12 September 1959, where Con Papalazarou, Con Tolios, Tony Kontellis defeated Malo, Ray Green and Snowy Dowton. In that same year there was a “Greece Versus the World” series at Leichhardt Stadium. These series took place all over Australia. On 16 June 1962 there was a “Greece Versus the Rest” series at the International Wrestling Pioneer Hall Wollongong.

Gradually wrestling became Americanised with the introduction of time limits and with the appearance of more wrestlers on each promotion. For many Greeks, wrestling thus became too theatrical and was not competitive enough, mainly due to the American influence on the sport. Greeks were interested in combat sports to display masculine prowess, not in men in fantastic garb pretending to be strong. Consequently, professional wrestling, although popular as a spectator sport, did not attract the crowds that first-division soccer could in later decades.

Another sport originating in the gymnasiums and having a long history in Greece was weight lifting. In modern Greek sporting history, Versis and Nicopoulos were stars of the 1896 Olympic Games. Tofalos won a gold medal at the 1906 Olympic Games with a lift of 142 kilograms, a record which stood till 1914 when the laws of the sport changed. Because of British tradition and attitudes to the sport, weight lifting in Australia had virtually no public recognition or sporting profile before World War II. The situation changed rapidly with the arrival of post-World War II immigrants, especially Greeks. In 1949 Peter Aslanis won the junior weight lifting championship of Australia. Tony Christodoulou, born in Myteline in 1940 and a migrant to Australia in 1958, began weight lifting in Wollongong. In 1962, he won the NSW Junior Light Heavyweight Class and came second the following year in the Australian championships in Newcastle, behind Australia’s first Greek-background weight lifting Olympic representative, Arthur Shannos. Achievement at Olympic and Commonwealth Games reveals the extent to which Greeks were involved in the sport at elite level. Arthur Shannos (Savitsanos) was selected in the 1960 Rome Olympic Games team. At Commonwealth Games level gold medallists from Greek backgrounds included Arthur Shannos (Perth 1962), George Vavakis (Kingston 1966), George Vasiliades (Christchurch 1974), Bill Stellios

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17 Interview with Con Tolios, Sydney, October 1995.
18 New World, 30 July 1959, p.5.
19 For Greek weightlifting achievements see: Ath. Tarasouleas, Greek Participation in the modern Olympic Games, Athens, 1988.
20 Interview with Tony Christodoulou, Wollongong, December 1996.
Few Australian Greeks were boxers, but boxing was continuously popular although it never rivalled wrestling. One prize fighter who achieved an Australian title was George Harris from Brisbane in the late 1950s. Stefanos Kovaios was an amateur champion in the early 1960s. Dr Lou Lewis is the current president of the NSW Amateur Boxing Association.

Nicholas Spartels owned his own gymnasium and was a prominent boxing identity in Melbourne. Born in Kastellorizo, Spartels migrated to Australia in 1915, settling in Melbourne in 1920. In the 1920s, he was a professional boxer until he married in 1929, when he worked as a policeman for a few years. For a time he was president of the Kastellorizan Society and also a promoter of Greek sport throughout his association in the Greek paroikia. In 1946 he purchased the Turkish Baths Fullalove in Elizabeth Street (renamed Spartel’s Baths) and opened a physical education - gymnastic school (Spartel’s Gymnasium) and a boxing school where he was head coach. In 1949 four of his proteges competed in the Victorian Amateur Boxing Championships, with his most famous boxer being Spencer Driver. Spartels died of a heart attack on 3 March 1950 in the Melbourne stadium, days after returning from the Empire Games in New Zealand where he had been head coach and manager of the boxing squad. At the time of Spartel’s death, Spencer Driver was winning one of the most important fights of his career.

Over the decades, Greeks supported bodybuilding and the martial arts. Sotirios Chalkeas managed a tai kwon do academy in Brisbane in the 1970s, while Paskalis Karadimos owned karate schools in Melbourne for the past 25 years. As late as the 1990s, Greek interest in kick-boxing demonstrated their passion for individual sports. In the 1980s, kick boxing was publicised by various action stars in movies and on television. Australia exponents of the sport were: Nick 'Thunder Kick' Talakouras, Stan 'The Man'
Longinidis, Nick 'The Terror' Tetoris and Evan 'The Spartan' Pascalisidis. Stan 'The Man' Longinidis, who was world kick boxing champion in the 1990s, stated that:

If you look at our history, we are heavily involved in wars and numerous conflicts. Combat is not alien to the Greeks, it is the ultimate victory. They might beat us in soccer or other team sports, but when it comes to tough sports we are the best. There is a lot a pride associated with that.  

So numerous are the Greek-Australians dominating kick boxing in this country that one would find it difficult not to link the sport to its ancient counterpart of pancration. Longinidis claimed that "the weights gave them power and respect". This reflects the fact that all too often Greeks had to fight their way out of trouble, and to gain respect or even acceptance needed to be combative. Many young Greeks found it was desirable to imitate action heroes like Claude van Damme and Chuck Norris, and to fight like men.

1956 Melbourne Olympic Games

The Olympic Games in Melbourne in November 1956 was one of the first occasions in Australian history when Greeks were viewed favourably and when their reputation was enhanced. Their role was varied and significant. For example Egyptian born Greeks, many of whom were multilingual, acted as translators to Games organising committees. Charalambous Paroulakis who was president of the GOCM (1947-48) was the team doctor of the Greek Olympic team in Melbourne. In these games Peter Demos represented Australia in basketball, while Spiros Defteros represented Greece in wrestling. The GOCM donated to the University of Melbourne a bronze statue replica of Artemesium Dios. Soccer was played at the Olympic Games 1956, and so both the individual sports of the older Greek settlers and the sport so dear to the newer settlers were all represented.

Greek Paroikia

These developments in sports were related to changes in Greek-Australian society. By 1956, the Greek population of Australia had reached an estimated 80,000 including 40,000 newly arrived immigrants and their children. The population had settled down, and were earning their living, and were behaving, in ways much more elaborate and complex than before the war. A distinctly Greek society with its own institutions was being created in Australia.

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26 Interview with Stan Longinidis, Melbourne, June 1996.
27 See Ethnikon Vema and Phos (November and December), for the most detailed accounts on the impact of the Melbourne Olympic Games on the Greek society.
The old Australian slogan of "populate or perish" had been revived as a response to the Japanese invasion of the Pacific. On 13 July 1945, the Chifley Labor Government established a Department of Immigration. On 2 August of that same year, Arthur Calwell, the first Minister of Immigration, announced that Australia would assist large numbers of immigrants to settle in Australia. Calwell's hope that the British would outnumber alien non-British immigrants by ten to one never eventuated. In the immediate post-war years, 180,000 refugees came to this country. Immigrants from West and Southern Europe also entered Australia in large numbers, particularly after 1952 when immigration agreements were signed with the Greek government.28

The 1947 census has recorded a total of 12,970 Greek-born residents of Australia. The great influx of Greeks in the post-1950 period brought about important changes in the Greek society. The most obvious was the numerical increase of the Greek born population in Australia. The Greek exodus was facilitated by greatly relaxed Australian immigration laws and practices, which together with Australia's high demand for labour explains the massive increase in Greek emigration in the 1950s through to the early 1970s. From October 1945 to June 1982, 239,723 Greeks arrived in Australia, of whom only 74,447 were assisted under the agreement between Australia and Greece. The peak year for permanent new arrivals from Greece was 1964 when 18,459 Greeks settled in Australia.29

Post-war Greek immigrants came from a greater diversity of origins. Many arrived from the Peloponnesos, Crete, Epirus, Macedonia and after 1952, even from well established Greek settlements in Egypt and Rumania. Greek immigrants had also arrived from European nations surrounding Greece, the American continent, the Soviet Union and Cyprus. The sharp increase in the size of the society, was accompanied by an expected proliferation of organisations and institutions such as coffee-houses, schools, churches and regional fraternities.

Class differences began to emerge. Some of the pre-war settlers had attained upper class status, many now being very wealthy. Their lifestyles included living in exclusive suburbs, dressing elegantly and endowing their children with the advantages of wealth: an expensive often private school education and financial backing. Often these pre-war settlers had minimal social contact with the new arrivals, whose status and lifestyle contrasted with those of their wealthy compatriots. Many post-war Greek immigrants

29 See Appendix 1 Demographic Statistics.
were employed as factory workers and labourers. By 1971, 59.5 percent were labourers and process workers.\(^{30}\)

Greeks also became divided politically, largely as a result of the Greek Civil War, 1946-49, an event which was also very much part of the worldwide "Cold War" conflict. Pre-World War II immigrants tended to be politically conservative. However, left-orientated organisations in Australia gained most of their support from post-war immigrants.\(^{31}\) All of these regional, occupational, social and political divisions profoundly affected the structure and politics of the Greek society, yet none more so than the implementation of the new church system after 1959.

The orderly creation of sporting bodies and youth clubs in the 1950s was thrown into disarray around 1960 by events in the Greek-Australian world that themselves had nothing to do with sport but which severely affected it along with many other immigrant institutions built up over the decades. These events are generally known as "the Split", and involved a church divided: the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, and the Greek Orthodox Communities of Australia. The fiery history of "the Split" has been told in two theses, by Tsounis and Tsingris so that it is not necessary to outline it here in great detail.\(^{32}\)

The Greek Orthodox Community's (GOC's) church activities naturally linked it with the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia. The jurisdiction over Greek churches in Australia had been transferred in 1924 from the Church of Greece in Athens to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. The GOC willingly placed its own church under the Patriarchate and worked harmoniously with the Archdiocese. Metropolitan Theophylactos was appointed to the See of Australia and New Zealand and was enthroned in 1948. Theophylactos had successfully served as the Patriarchal Representative during the period of 1928-32 in Australia following the recall of Christopher Knitis. The new Metropolitan immediately set the basis for the organisation of the Archdiocese. Theophylactos did not make forceful moves towards abolishing or weakening GOC power. Theophylactos believed in the GOC as a collective institution, and in co-operation between Archdiocese and Community. Therefore he did not try to disturb the balance between Archdiocese and Communities.

\(^{30}\)Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1971 Census, Greek Born.


\(^{32}\)For a comprehensive outline on the history of the split in the Greek society, see Michael Tsounis, Greek Communities in Australia, Ph.D Thesis, The University of Adelaide, 1971; Dimitrios Tsingris, Power Struggle Between the Greek Church and the Established Community, MA Thesis, The University of Sydney, 1984.
In July 1958 Theophylactos was involved in a motor vehicle accident and died two days later. Into this volatile situation came Archbishop Ezekiel in February 1959 with instruction to set up a church authority independent of GOC. As a consequence he mustered up support from disaffected pre-World War II factions. In the process he became the fourth Metropolitan of the Greek Orthodox Church in Oceania. His pastorship in Australia coincided with the most bitter confrontations which were tearing the Greek society apart. He immediately attempted to undermine the Greek Orthodox Communities which were in danger of being overtaken by "communists".\(^{33}\) Ezekiel's letter to the President of the GOC Sydney, Issakidis, illustrates the situation that existed:

\[\text{We wish at the same time to express to you our deep sorrow and disappointment because we saw, in the list of those elected, the names of some compatriots with leftist beliefs or who are supporters of communism. We express the same sorrow and disappointment, for we cannot see how it is possible for persons who follow the Marxist and materialistic theories of communism to serve our Christ and our Church.}\(^{34}\)

Therefore from as early as 1959, serious clashes were present between the politically opposing sides. This eventually spilled out not only in the communities but also in brotherhoods, schools and also manifested itself in the sporting arena. The Community disagreed with the new Archdiocese because it sought a greater control of Community affairs including ownership of church buildings. To protect its interests the Community seceded from the Archdiocese in June 1960 and placed its churches under a new Independent (Autocephalic) Greek Orthodox Church of America and Australia. The period of 1960-63 was a very confrontational period which was characterised by both sides, which spilt into all areas of the Greek paroikia.

There was no heresy involved, that is to say there was no doctrinal difference between the parties; it was a schism that exists even to this day arising out of divergent views of church governance. What it meant was that the Australian Greeks, who were in so many ways becoming during the 1950s and 1960s a homogeneous society, found themselves ranged on one side or other of the divided church. Moreover the differences among the Greeks: social, economic, regional, and political, all became exacerbated as they were forced to take sides in this ecclesiastical quarrel. It was not merely a scandalous situation, it meant that Greek would not talk with Greek; it meant that organisations and clubs

\(^{33}\) Interview with Peter Aroney, Sydney, February 1996 who claimed that Ezekiel personally asked him to buy the \textit{Ethnikon Vema} because he claimed the communists were trying to shut down the churches.

\(^{34}\) Ezekiel's letter to I. Isaakidis, 7 January 1960, File No.118, DAPLA: Quoted in Tamis, \textit{An Illustrated History of the Greeks in Australia}.\]
collapsed or were pulled apart. The public spaces the Greeks had so laboriously created were in danger of disappearing.

It was against this background of impending and actual social polarisation that a whole series of initiatives was undertaken after 1945 to provide for the sporting needs of Greek youth in Australia. Some of these were undertaken by the established and Australianised pre-World War II Greeks for the benefit of the rising generation, basically establishing clubs that stressed commonalities in the Greek experience and played down regional differences: these could be called Panhellenic enterprises. Some others were undertaken by the post-war immigrants, who were as yet not so Australianised and so well off as to consort easily with the earlier arrivals: and these sporting enterprises, because of the great number of the new arrivals, were able very often to reflect regional interests. The number of sporting organisations for Greek youth created in this period throughout Australia was enormous -- and even in the early 1960s when the effects of the ecclesiastical Split were being felt most, there was little diminution of the number, because while many sporting clubs collapsed, new ones were created (in effect duplicated) to ensure that young Greek men, on both sides of the ecclesiastical divide, could still play sport.

On the surface the polemical debate centred upon the canonicity or otherwise of priests’ sacraments and national religious practices. Underneath were the disputes over the rights of the Greek Orthodox Community and the Greek Orthodox Church. Then there were the social divisions between the old immigrants and the new immigrants; and, probably under that, the difference between urban and rural Greeks, a difference which was more obvious in their cultural mentality, patterns of behaviour and even dictum. All the other complications in the legal and intellectual superstructure were expressions of that original dichotomy of the Greek population which goes back to the structure and social stratification of Greece.

In this post-World War II period, Greeks had created a large number of ethnic organisations in Australia. These ranged from regional fraternities to Greek Orthodox Churches, from political clubs to philanthropic organisations. The importance of these institutions should not be underestimated, for they immensely increased the Greek public spaces accessible by men, and in some cases they offered public space to women. Many of these organisations were therapeutic, in the sense that they were intended to maintain the social health of the community and the wellbeing of individual Greeks.

For the new settlers the tyranny of distance, and the other difficulties of settlement created serious social problems, which ranged from gambling to bigamy to suicides among the young immigrants because of psychological problems. The gambling problems reached epidemic proportions in this period. In the camps of Bonegilla, things were not much
better, with strict and terrible living conditions. In 1960-61, with many Greeks finding themselves unemployed, the GOCM embarked on a program of support for the unemployed and needy. Sporting teams and wrestlers were called on to stage games for the suffering immigrants, and by involving them to restore some confidence in themselves, some dignity to their masculinity seriously hurt by unemployment.

**Second Generation**

In spite of the dissensions and bitterness which marred the latter part of this period, Greeks on all sides were becoming concerned about the welfare of the younger generation. Whether it was second generation youngsters who had never known the homeland and therefore could not be expected to absorb the accepted code of Greek masculinity because many of the key instruments for learning this, including the military service, were missing or whether it was the young immigrants who had lost the traditional elements of Greek identity and were coping with the difficulties of resettling as young Greek men in Australia, there were many difficulties and perceived dangers.

The Greek society, fragmented though it was, began to establish institutions to keep the rising generation conscious of their Greek identity. The most traditional way of doing this was by creating Greek schools, but there was also the use of classes for dancing, and of social clubs for young people, very often attached to the churches. And there were sports clubs.

**Church and Schools, Physical Education**

Michael Tsounis estimates that in 1974 (figures which have not been brought up to date by other researchers), there were 25,000 Greeks enrolled in Greek schools. The Greek Student Games, held at Albert Park in 1959 attracted 1,500 students from all over Australia. The success of these games organised by Egyptian born Greek Taki Efstratiadis was greatly affected by conflict within the Greek paroikia. The Archdiocese and GOCs, which set up their own schools were unable to co-operate for these games which ceased in 1962.35 In Sydney school games were conducted since the end of World War II. The last time the Greek schools came together was in 1959. In that year six Greek schools Leichhardt, Newtown, Erskenville, Marrickville, Rozelle, Forest Lodge were involved in a sports day.36

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36 *Hellenic Herald*, 5 February 1959, p.4.
Greek schools varied immensely in character and quality. Some afternoon schools were held after ordinary schools had closed for the day; others were conducted on Saturdays. Often the Orthodox priest, or one of his helpers was the teacher. The curriculum was Greek language of an old-fashioned kind and Orthodox catechism; the standard of teaching was usually poor. It was common for students to be bored and resentful. Tuition was often counter-productive: the students, especially the males, frequently lost interest in learning Greek. Their elders feared that they would lose interest in all things Greek. 37

Greek Orthodox Archdiocese Schools in Melbourne included the bilingual Oakleigh Greek Orthodox College, Saint Anargyri, established in 1983, to cater for the educational needs of the Greek Community in the south-eastern suburbs, home to about 40 per cent of Melbourne's Greek population. The other Archdiocese school, Saint John's Greek Orthodox College in Preston, founded in 1979 enrolled 600 primary and secondary students by 1996. 38 This school had began as an after-hours school in 1972. In Sydney, two Greek day schools exist: St. Spiridon College established in 1987 in Kingsford and Saint Euphemia College established in 1991 in Bankstown.

Archbishop Ezekiel maintained the Orthodox Church was obliged to take a regulatory role in the social and educational events of the Greek paroikia. His position on schools was clear: "If the application for a new school did not have a negative influence on the other schools, if it was serving the program of consolidation by the Archdiocese and if the applicants were not enemies of the Church then it would give its blessing". 39 An aspect of this education included organising sport for the students.

Dancing schools were established in areas of Greek population, mostly by proficient women, and they thrived with a clientele composed almost entirely of females. Young men, for the most part, did not consider it desirable to learn more than the dances traditionally required for weddings and for those an institution was unnecessary.

There did not seem to be any professedly educational institution that could bring together young Greek males, to inculcate into them the Greek code of masculinity. Therefore, increasingly, the remedy for the difficulties of Greek youth was seen to lie with an institution that did not purport to be educational, rather one that entertained, but one that was in fact profoundly formative: the recommended remedy was the sporting club.

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37 Michael Tsounis, Greek Ethnic Schools in Australia, Canberra, 1974.
38 Dominique Francois De Stoop, The Greeks of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1996, p.43; Geoffrey Sherington, R.C. Petersen and Ian Brice, Learning To Lead: a history of girls' and boys' corporate secondary schools in Australia, Sydney, 1987, pp.93-4 described the St John's College at Preston and must be the first attempt to do so.
Youth Clubs

In September, 1945, as World War II was ending, the *Hellenic Herald* published an article about the new Greek generation, stating "when one gazes around, they will notice that in the whole of Australia, there is an emergence of one generation that Greek immigrants view as our salvation and hope." 40

Youth groups formed in most capital cities after 1945, with their main focus being sport. Historians of Greek ethnicity have virtually ignored the youth clubs. Michael Tsounis has stated that sporting youth clubs played an important role in the development of the Greeks in Australia, but he did not pursue the issue further. 41 Yiannakis reviewed Greek youth clubs, especially the activities of the HYA (Hellenic Youth Association) in this post-war period. Yiannakis highlights that clubs, although focusing on mainstream Australian sports such as cricket, Australian Rules and Rugby Union were important devices in mobilising Greek youth in Perth. He further highlighted the considerable female involvement which he attributed to Greek females holding positions on the executive of youth committees and to the success of women's netball and softball teams. 42

The concern of this generation was perhaps best illustrated by examples from the Greek press. An *Ethnikon Vema* editorial in 1946, titled 'Look after our Youth' stated:

> The hope for the future of our society is its youth, and we should give them an ethnic and religious character and a love of Hellenism. There should be many youth organisations. They are the 'Achilles' heel' of the Greek paroikia. Because of assimilation, they are easily losing their Greekness because of the influence from the outside environment. After youth reach a certain age, they may lose their interest in Greek life. The formation of sporting clubs should be the central aim of our community. What have we done so far? Where are our sporting youth clubs, which bring our youth close to us? When they reach the age of temptation they have two choices 1) they may go to the Greek coffee-houses which have no positive activities or 2) to occupy their time, they may go to the foreign clubs and be lost to Greekness as such clubs have nothing constructive to give in this regard. By neglecting our youth, we are leaving our society orphan. 43

An *Hellenic Herald* editorial, titled 'Our Youth' claimed:

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40 *Hellenic Herald*, 13 September 1945, p.6.
43 *Ethnikon Vema*, 6 February 1946, p.4.
The pressures of assimilation of the Australian environment generates so fast that demands there should be a systematic and comprehensive attempt to succeed so our young men and women maintain the ideal characteristics of the Greek race. Apart from church and school we need grounds to gear our youth towards. 44

Another editorial of Ethnikon Vema, 'Healthy Mind and Healthy Body', claimed that "sport is the tool that should be used to gear our youth towards Hellenism and get them out of the coffee houses". 45 This illustrated the belief that sport has a role in maintaining Hellenic values in Greek youth. It also highlighted that, in the Greek diaspora, the role of sport was quite distinct from that in Greece itself. Although articles such as these discuss Greek youth in general, second generation males were their primary concern. This was frequently raised in the decade after the war. 46

Clubs established during these decades reflected quite clearly the division and the latent fault in the Greek population of Australia. The oldest clubs were founded by and for the sons of immigrants, those who had not been raised in the old Greek settlements and to whom, therefore, Australian ways were as familiar as mainstream Australian sports. It was these "Australian" Greeks who founded the Olympic Clubs in cities round Australia. The name "Olympic" was intended to convey that these clubs were for all Greeks and not, like most of the earlier sporting organisations, for Greeks from one island or one district. The "Australian" Greeks had moved beyond their fathers' local loyalties to a general identity as Greeks.

The newer clubs, however, founded in the 1950s and the 1960s, represented a reactivation of those local loyalties. The new immigrants from Greece and from settlements in the Diaspora did not identify themselves foremost as Greeks. Instead, they presented as first-generation immigrants. It would be their sons who discovered their Greek identity; this postwar generation was not ready for that yet. The post war generation did not feel at home in the "Olympic" clubs, which, for their own part, found such newcomers as rather too foreign. New immigrant youth tended to regard their predecessors as socially and intellectually beneath them, while the early Australian born youth found the new arrivals to be arrogant, boisterous and overly demanding.

Even with the arrival of the post World War II immigrants, sport was used to give new arrivals a sense of familiarity. John Paxinos, the well respected Australian-Greek

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44 Hellenic Herald, 15 July 1948, p.4.
45 Ethnikon Vema, 26 February 1947, p.4.
46 See Hellenic Herald, 3 July 1952, p.4. "History of Youth Organisations", which is typical of the concern highlighted in this period.
journalist wrote of the difficulties of the younger generation who, apart from frequenting the coffee-houses, seemed to have no other leisure activities. "Sport must be used as a tool to educate Greek males," he asserts in the article, 'Greek Athleticism: a Means of Upbringing and Progress. 47

A focus on Greek youth was part of a general concern with youth in Australia in the post-war years. In predominantly Anglo-Celtic Australia, this concern was manifested in several different ways. There was a concern over the impact of assumed changes to patterns of family life on youth. Concern focused on the traditional values of Australian culture being corrupted by the arrival of American popular culture in Australia. Irving et al. clearly illustrate these types of concerns and the way youth policy in Australia was used to combat this. 48 Throughout this period of the so-called 'baby boomers', there was a generational problem with "what are we supposed to do with our youth".

Olympic Youth Club organisations developed not only because of the common bonds of the fellow members, and their love of certain sports, but also because existing organisations found it hard to cater for the second generation, who had outgrown the sporting auxiliaries of regional brotherhoods. After the war, youth clubs in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth formed. Interestingly youth clubs were being established in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, with one of the most organised being the Olympic Youth Society of Townsville, formed in 1946. 49 Other non-metropolitan youth clubs included the Port Pirie Olympic Youth Club. The non-metropolitan clubs limited their sporting activities to athletics, and did not seem to follow team sports in the same way that the metropolitan clubs did.

By 1949, members of these Greek youth clubs were publishing their own features and columns (in English) on sport and social activities in the Greek press. A select few included J. A. Vallianos from the Kastellorizan Sports Club with 'Sporting and Social Review', Katina Fermanis from the Melbourne Olympic Club with 'Melbourne Sidelights', Nick Marcels from the Sydney Olympic Club with 'Olympic Jottings', Kitty Varvaressos with 'Between Ourselves' and Con Koutsoukis with 'Worth Reporting', (Sydney) Olympic Younger Set News by Three Roving Reporters, and Olympic Club News by C.P. Mottee. Thus the Greek paroikia did much to promote the activities of these youth clubs both morally and financially. Their profile in the first few years brought great pride to the various GOCs in Australia.

47 The Australian-Greek, 15 September 1951, p. 2.
48 Terry Irving, David Maunder and Geoff Sherington, Youth in Australia: policy, administration and politics, Melbourne, 1995.
49 Hellenic Herald, 13 June 1946, p.6.
The emergence of these youth clubs began in the 1940s, with membership similar to the membership of the GOC with whom they were affiliated. Apart from a close relationship with the GOCs, they were also represented at the various GOC meetings. For the most part, members were composed of the Australian-born youth of pre-War immigrants. These clubs prized codes of respectability that involved training Greek youth not only to be men, but to be part of an elite group of community leaders in various fields of endeavour.

The active role in the clubs was taken by the second generation, the typical Greek-Australians. Even though they had been educated in the Australian schools, spoke English much better than their Greek parents and had been subjected to Australian way of life, they had never stopped feeling and being Greek. The clubs had their own constitutions and generally members ranged in age from between fifteen to thirty. Once they married, members' involvement in the clubs ceased, although friendships remained strong. To the present day, former members of the Sydney Olympic Club meet annually for an event called "Always Together" (panta mazi).

In fact, the clubs facilitated high rates of intermarriage between members. By 1956, the president of the Adelaide Olympic Club claimed that:

Helen Vidale, Christina Spirou, Koula Zafiropoulos and Laki Plomaritis are a few of the club members to become engaged recently and this brings us to a total of 479 members to have become engaged or married in the whole history of the youth club. Join the club now. You never know your luck.50

Youth clubs were extremely successful in helping young people form relationships. Therefore socialisation at clubs was used as a bulwark against exogamy. Perhaps, this point is best illustrated by a letter claiming that as soon as members of the Adelaide Olympic Club get married, they disappear from the scene.51 Mick Adams, owner of the successful Black and White Cafe, funded the activities of the Sydney Olympic Club and claimed that the club needed to be strong and attractive to Greek youth, so to ensure that his two daughters had opportunities to marry Greeks. "I want my two girls to marry Greek boys and this could only happen from the activities of the Sydney Olympic Club".52

50Greek Youth, Official Organ of the Olympic Youth Club South Australia, August 1956; Former members of the club such as Mary and Michael Tsounis confirm the figures.
52Interview with Nick Marcells.
Melbourne

The first Greek youth club established in Australia was the Melbourne Olympic Club (MOC).\(^{53}\) It was undoubtedly the most dynamic, mainly for demographic reasons as many Greeks lived in Melbourne. Unlike the formation of later Greek youth clubs, second generation Greeks were instrumental in its founding in May 1943. Although there were informal cricket games much earlier, with the first one taking place in October 1941, with the captain of the team being Nick George. The elected first committee was Nick Fisher (president), George Kokinopoulos (vice-president), Michael Kalafatis (secretary), and Peter Polites (treasurer) while the committee included Mick Savvas, Nick Polites, Con Mangos and honorary vice president Mr Fleming Cook, head of the Melbourne State Library of Victoria. Most members, all of similar ages, had known each other from Greek school and Greek Church in the pre-War period and some like Peter Polites and Con Mangos had attended the same school, Melbourne High School. Michael Kalafatis born in 1923, Peter Polites born in 1926 and his brother Nick born in 1927 had been altar boys at Evangelismos Church in East Melbourne. Active in the regional and Pan-community sporting activities in the pre-war period especially the picnics, these young men knew the limitations of these activities.

MOC primarily sought to develop a sense of unity among Greek youth and to provide facilities for youth who could not find acceptance into Australian sporting circles. Neither Australian nor Greek parents were keen for them to mix with Australians. The club catered for all Greeks, with a predominance of second generation Ithakans, Kastellorizans, and Lefkadites.

I would like to state that the formation of the club was a result of friendship enjoyed by a number of the original members of the club. This was a strong friendship based predominantly on the fact that we were Australian born. No thought was entertained whether we were Kastellorizans, Ithakans, or Lefkadites. We wanted to prove to them that we could take bump for bump on the field of sport.\(^{54}\)

The name 'Olympic' was chosen as it represented the special historical relationship between Greeks and sport, namely the Olympic Games. The ancient Roman symbol of Mercury was their emblem, so that it would not be so identifiably Greek, as to arouse anti-Greek sentiment. In Greek mythology, Hermes was represented as a graceful young athlete whom the Romans identified as Mercury.

\(^{53}\)Where directly not referenced this section is based on interviews with the original members of the club Peter Polites, Nick Polites, Con Mangos and Michael Kalaf.

\(^{54}\)Interview with Michael Kalaf.
The Greek society in Australia flourished in the World War II period, as many Greek shop keepers, profiting from the custom of visiting US servicemen, reached middle class status financially. One such example was the Polites family whose Green Gate Confectionary Shop, was very busy being next to the Flinders Street Railway station in Melbourne. Such families helped consolidate the club in its first few years.

While all the members of the club were in their teens or early twenties, some of the committee members were much older. Michael Savvas had been involved with Apollon Club in 1934, while president Nick Fisher (Fatouras) was in his forties. The latter had a special role, not only in the activities of the club, but also in the Greek paroikia. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Fatouras held various positions on the executive of the GOCM, including representative of the GOC to the Greek School. He was committed to ensuring that Greek youth eventually made a name for itself in Melbourne. Allegedly, he was a professional gambler whose notoriety in sporting circles came from an incident in the 1930s when he was thrown out of amateur running after it was found out he ran as an amateur with the name Fisher and as a professional with the name Fatouras. With the blessing of the GOCM, he guided the rather young Greek committee.

Able to speak fluent English and Greek, Fatouras was an extremely well connected man. Ironically both a professional gambler and a confidante of Archbishop Theophylactos, Fisher was also responsible for introducing well educated and respected Fleming Cook to the club. Cook was in charge of Melbourne Library and Fatouras believed he would add respectability to the club. In fact Cook, a philhellene, attempted to promote the activities of the club to the wider community, at the same time giving the club the necessary respectability.

Fisher always calculated that the club would receive greater support in fielding teams if they had an official Australian presence in the club. In its first few years, to gain more respect and to create less antagonism, the team included a couple of Australian players. John Onyons (nicknamed Onyonopoulos) played in the first cricket team and had figures for that season (1943-44) of 61 wickets at 10.4.55

Peter Polites, who had just enrolled in law at Melbourne University, drafted the first constitution of the club, which included 17 clauses. In the original constitution, females were excluded as members. Important clauses included:

Clause 1. The Club will be named the Olympic Athletic Club. The club will aim to sponsor athletics, sport and social functions for the Greek youth of Melbourne.

55 Archives Nick Polites, Scorebook and Figures Cricket Season, 1943-44.
Clause 2. Candidates for enrolment must be of Greek extraction, wheresoever born.

Clause 17. The colours of the club will be pale blue and white.56

By the second elections in 1944, the club was endorsed by all Greeks of Melbourne. Their original lack of interest was related to being distracted by World War II and secondly their objection to the sport of cricket. Unknown to most Greeks, cricket as a sport was not considered masculine enough. In fact, crowd support for the cricket team throughout the club's existence was always minimal. When the club entered into competition, the GOCM always provided the club with moral and financial support. Nick Spartels also helped the club by providing his gymnasium free of fees and allowing injured players free treatment.

The first cricket team was entered in the 1943-44 competition season. Because of a shortage of teams during the war, MOC entered the District Thirds Competition of the Victorian Cricket Association, despite the fact the team did not represent a geographical district. Nick Fisher was responsible for securing funding and even secured Fawkner Park as the club's home ground. Although MOC lost most games that year, Con Kanis was responsible for claiming the wicket of future Australian test cricket captain, Neil Harvey. In 1944-45, MOC entered in the Victorian Junior Cricket Association, with Brighton Park as their new home ground. They had much more success in this competition, and in their third cricket season (1945-46), they were runners-up in the cricket competition.

In 1945, MOC's first Australian Rules football team was entered into the Sunday competition, the Eureka Football Association. They reached the grand final, meeting North Melbourne, but lost 11.8.(84) to 9.12.(66), with outstanding players being Kastellorizans, Con Kanis and Con Mangos. The success of the cricket and Australian Rules teams was treated with much enthusiasm by the Greek paroikia of Melbourne. The finals games attracted crowds of at least 500 Greeks.

During those first few years, Fisher also procured coaches for the teams. Doug Ferguson, coached the Australian Rules Football Team until 1950 when he eventually left the club to be caddie to golfer, Ozzie Pickworth. Nick Fisher's good friend Jack Titus, the famous full forward, watched matches regularly and was always willing to assist in coaching. The standard reached by the club was quite high, with some players, in later years, leaving to join mainstream clubs, eg Peter Canis played for Hawthorn Football Club, while George Caris played for the South Melbourne Football Club.

By 1946, Como Park became the club's cricket home ground. Twice weekly training sessions were conducted for both the Australian Rules and cricket teams. Peter Polites attended meetings of the Victorian Junior Cricket Association (VJCA) and the Eureka Football Competition and eventually became president of the Eureka Football Association in 1948. By 1949, Con Mangos, a top spinner, was selected to play for the VJCA State team.\(^5\) Cricket in the early years was the main focus of the club; more teams could have been fielded but lack of grounds handicapped this endeavour. Past and present players were invited to a pre-season (1949-50) dinner where former Australian cricketer Walter Driver was guest speaker, and where GOCM presented players with club blazers.

With the return of servicemen, such as those with heroic status such as Mick Spartels and Mick Simons for the 1946 season, the club no longer took backward steps in racial and physical abuse, with many Australian rules games ending up in player and spectator brawls. One such brawl took place at the end of the match against Sandringham, with both players and supporters involved.\(^5\)

By 1946 a soccer team was formed, after an early struggle for recognition. Members of MOC remembered the appearance of the Apollon soccer team in 1934-35, and were keen to involve the club in soccer. Mick Savvas, an inaugural committee member of MOC, had been an Apollon soccer player, while ex-serviceman Con Dimitriades, had played several games for Apollon in 1935 as a fourteen year old. However other club members had little knowledge of soccer, so a soccer team was not formed in the early years. Two Australian born Greeks, Jim Harris and Nick Raftopoulos, became interested in soccer during World War II, when they served in the labour corps in Australia, and watched Jews and Italians playing soccer. When they returned to the club, soccer was their preferred sport. Three other Australian-born members, George Lucas, Jack Mitchell and Nick Xeros, had been detained in Greece for the duration of World War II. During their stay in war-torn Greece, relatives in Athens had introduced them to soccer, so they were keen to support it at MOC.

Jack Fatouros was appointed manager of the team, L. Paizis was secretary and Mick Savvas was coach. Nick Fisher approached Bill Thomas, president of the Victorian Soccer Association, early in 1946 to admit the soccer team into the competition. Some initial players had little knowledge of the rules of the sport, and the team performed poorly that season. At the 1946, Soccer/Australian Rules presentation night, Con Dimitriades was awarded the best and fairest trophy, with Jim Harris winning the award for most consistent player. That night, manager, Jack Fatouras, claimed:

\(^5\)Ethnikon Vema, 21 December 1949, p.3.
MELBOURNE OLYMPIC CLUB

Above. Australian Rules Football Team 1947
Below. Soccer Team 1948
As an old Apollo athlete, I have seen my dreams come true. The initiative, broad mindedness and courage of the Melbourne Olympic Club to brave out into soccer has been a success.... Soccer attracts more Greek supporters because they understand it better. It must come into its own, so wake up members! Give soccer the support it needs.59

In August 1946, MOC's monthly magazine *The Mercury* first appeared as the official organ of the Olympic Athletic Club.60 Nick Polites became first editor and Bill Levis was responsible for the cartoons, which depicted visually the activities of the club.

For the 1947 season, the soccer team made its debut on 19 April and were defeated 8-1. For the 1948 season they were in the third division although with the new arrivals the team was starting to enjoy more success. The sporting activities of the club increased, while on the cultural front more social activities were held for members not involved in sports. The club's first ball took place in 1945, while the second annual ball on 22 October 1946 was held at Earls Court with 600 hundred people present, including dignitaries from the Greek paroikia.61

The support given to the club by Greeks in Melbourne was demonstrated on 24 August 1947 when the Orpheus Club donated part of its premises at 235 Bourke Street, for use as the office of the club, and where, later, English classes for "new arrivals" were held. MOC also established a library in this building, purchased sporting equipment and portable table tennis equipment.62 Regular dances and theatrical concerts were also held in the Orpheus Club premises. Many of the elders of the Greek society were more than happy with the role the club played in keeping males and females within the sphere of Hellenism.

By 1947 the constitution was changed to allow women to join the club, and to participate in sporting and social activities.63 In 1948 Mrs Anna Matthews and Nina Black were elected to the committee. However any attempts to establish girls' teams were short-lived. Apart from their role in organising social events and in raising money for the club, women's contributions were limited, apart from a tennis team, which was not in competition. The role of women in MOC was highlighted by a debate in 1951: "Should women have equal rights with men?".

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60 ibid., The Official Organ of the Olympic Athletic Club, Melbourne, August 1946, Vol.1, No.1.
The slow stream of post war Greeks immigrants was welcomed into the club. MOC organised welcoming parties at the piers for the newly arrived. Unlike other youth clubs, the MOC committee not only welcomed them but also did much to establish sports familiar to the newly arrived, such as soccer, basketball and volleyball. By 1948, MOC was conducting English classes for newcomers.

The first MOC team formed specifically for the newly arrived were four basketball teams in 1948. By 1949, the impact of newly arrived members forced the club to enter two soccer teams into competition. By 1950 they had a volleyball team in competition made up of entirely newly arrived Greeks playing on Thursday nights at St. Phillips Hall. As with soccer, most of the local second generation had little knowledge of basketball and volleyball. As late as 1950, basketball was a minority sport and played little outside YMCA and army drill halls. Volleyball, however, received impetus from the post-World War II immigrants, especially those from the Baltic states. In 1950, Mrs Anthony Ayarotic, newly arrived from Egypt, was invited to speak to the members about a similar Greek-run club in Cairo.

By 1950, MOC had two soccer teams, two basketball teams, one volleyball team, an Australian Rules team, a cricket team and track and field athletes.64 The two soccer teams competed in the Victorian Soccer division, with the first team captained by Michael Canzi and the second team captained by Michael Savvas. Michael Kalaf was captain of the Australian Rules side, playing in the Victorian Junior Cricket Association Competition. Their home ground was now the larger Olympic Park.65 To encourage women to join, Maria Xeros and Maria Polites were added to the committee. In 1955, MOC had eight teams in competition: Australian Rules, cricket, tennis, basketball, squash, table tennis, but no soccer.

Initially the club not only welcomed the new arrivals, but worked well together with them. Until 1951, the MOC also had a positive relationship with GOCM, but this changed very quickly. The general problems that existed in Greek society manifested themselves in the MOC and the result was a breakdown in the relationship between the two organisations.

By 1952, the GOCM wanted to control a sporting team. At the time (1950-54) Melbourne was the most divided society. The Greek right was in control of GOCM and believed that MOC and the Orpheus Club were being overrun by communists. Therefore in 1952, the GOCM decided to form a sporting club to be named the Hellenic Athletic Club.

64 _The Greek Australian_, 6 April 1950, p.3.
65 _Ethnikon Vema_, 17 May 1950, p.5.
The GOCM was deeply suspicious of the slow but gradual increase in membership of the communist Democritus League. On 14 November 1951, MOC received a letter from GOCM ordering the committee of MOC into their offices for a meeting, to discuss "very important agendas". Five of the nine members could not attend the meeting, so MOC did not keep the appointment. On 10 December 1951 they received another letter stating the GOCM's concerns about MOC activities: that the club was becoming a political party and that MOC had sponsored a lecture about Cyprus, an act regarded as an anti-British and anti-Australian stance.

The Hellenic Athletic Club was formed as a response to the actions of members of the communist Democritus club who had began to hold committee positions in MOC. A survey in The Mercury points out that this infiltration began as early as 1946, when members of Democritus enrolled in the club. In the November 1946 edition of The Mercury, Nick Xeros wrote an article on the youth group EPON, which produced the following response in the next issue:

Dear Sir, I would like to stress my disapproval of a political article written in last month's edition of The Mercury. I am sure many members of the club must have been given the impression the paper is but an excuse for Communistic propaganda, as the club already participates in football and athletic functions of the Communist Youth League. I think an apology is due from the paper to the members of the club, and trust that such a serious mistake will not occur again. It could lead to unhappy consequences. Yours, etc G. Lucas.

In fact, GOCM had always been suspicious of the liberal activities of the MOC committee. However, because MOC contributed so much to the community in organising sport and social activities, GOCM had chosen to ignore these alleged political activities.

In 1950, when The Mercury was being published in both Greek and English, it supported a theatrical group and sport for members whether they were Australian born and newly arrived. However, late in late 1951 Takis Gogos, a known communist and member of the Democritus Club, wrote an article on Cyprus which was very critical of the English and noted that Cyprus should join with Greece. By then, Marmaras knew MOC had left the sphere of the GOCM. Before Marmaras established Hellenic he

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66 The Democritus club was formed in 1935 and represented the views of the radical left in Melbourne. For a good analysis see Stellios Kourmpetes, The Dawn; the Greek-Australian Left: Summary, Melbourne, 1992.

67 Ethnikon Vema, 23 April 1952, p.4.

68 ibid., December 1946, Vol.1, No.5.

69 ibid., December 1950, Vol.11, No.6. Takis Gogos who would later establish the most popular Greek newspaper in Melbourne Neos Kosmos was involved in sub-committees of the drama group and also published articles towards leftist ideology.
organised a secret meeting with Peter Polites, claiming that the Greek secret service had copies of *The Mercury*. He enticed Polites to stand aside from MOC and allow GOCM to run the club. Polites did not and so the split occurred.

Marmaras secretly gained support from prominent members of the Greek society and from club athletes. Matters came to a head in 1952, when former members such as Mick Savvas, Basil Colligas, and George Martakis deserted MOC to join Hellenic. George Martakis became president and Basil Colligas became secretary of the newly formed club in 1952. They changed allegiance not because of political affiliations but because Marmaras promised that the new club would emphasise soccer and with the imminent mass arrival of Greek immigrants, a truly great Greek team would be established. In addition, many of the club members were from conservative backgrounds, with many of their fathers being members of the powerful Greek Ex-Service Men's League of Melbourne.\(^70\)

By late April 1952, Hellenic had played its first two matches against Slavia and Malta. The club had also formed a competition basketball team and by 1953, they had entered two soccer teams in competition, plus basketball and volleyball teams. By 1955 Hellenic was the only Greek soccer team in competition and in 1956 were playing in the second division, with their basketball team winning the first division two years in a row.

After the split, MOC failed to field a soccer team after the 1955 season, as many of the newly arrived Greeks joined other soccer playing clubs. No longer being attractive to the newly arrived, the club's numbers declined. By 1957, the club was severely depleted in both resources and support. Many of the original members had married, and ceased club involvement and membership was thus minimal.

By October 1957, Con Kanis, club president, published an article "Hope for an Olympic Revival", in *The Mercury* recommending a role for newcomers on the committee dominated by locals. Ironically Mrs Vrachnas, whom the club had employed in the early days to teach English, was teaching Greek to the remaining members. Nick Politis made one last effort to restore the club when he became president, but he succeeded in attracting the Australian born members.

By the late 1950s in Melbourne, other organisations established their own sporting associations, so that sport was not simply a Panhellenic activity, but was also enjoyed by various groups.

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\(^70\) The Greek Ex-Service Men's League of Melbourne was established by the radical right in the Melbourne Greek community.
Sydney

Through Nick Fisher's connections in Sydney, MOC members travelled to Sydney to play against Greek youth in Sydney who, up until then, had not formed a sporting club but who met on the weekends at Queens Park playing rugby league and cricket. During the Christmas period of 1945, 15 members of MOC competed against Greek youth of Sydney in cricket, athletics and table tennis. After travelling by train to Sydney, MOC were picked up by their billets, as organised by Cypriot Aristedes. Kastellorizans Con Mangos and Con Kanis were billeted out with Kastellorizan relatives. GOCS hired the services of sporting coach Roy Ascot to guide the sporting proceedings. Ascot, a non-Greek, eventually became full-time salaried coach for SOC. On 26 December 1945, MOC practised at Rushcutters Bay Park for the cricket match which took place the following day. This occasion marked the first interstate official cricket match between Greek youth clubs in Australia. MOC easily defeated the Sydney select team, before a round of social activities including a visit to church and a farewell function at Archbishop Timotheos' house prior to their departure.

Given the example and success of MOC, GOCS was now motivated to form their own properly organised Greek youth club.71 In February, 1946, a steering committee was set up, consisting of senior members of the GOCS, including Andrew Aristedes and Jack Angelides. After the hiring of coach Ray Ascot, a general meeting at Agia Triada Church was called for 27 February 1946 to elect a committee and ratify a constitution.72 Second generation Kytherans, Con Mottee, Nick Marcells, Bill Psaltis and Ithakan Leo Raptis who was president for the first three years were the main proponents of the new club. Raptis, although only 22 years old was already on the GOCS committee. By early 1946, SOC were playing cricket at Rushcutters Bay against each other. Their first trial game took place when they beat North Katoomba by 180 runs. The game was organised through the efforts of the GOCS and Peter Tzortzopoulos, co-owner of the Niagra and Savoy cafes in Katoomba and a prominent member of the Katoomba golf club. Apart from gaining wide publicity from the local Katoomba newspaper Advertiser, the whole management of the GOCS were present including president of the committee, Arthur George.73 Later that day at the Greek owned Niagra Cafe, the GOCS committee presented the players with white shirts embroidered with the emblem of the SOC. It read "Sydney Olympic Athletic Club" (founded 1946 by the Greek Orthodox Community NSW).

71 Where directly not referenced this section on the Sydney Olympic Club (SOC) is from interviews conducted with Nick Marcells, George Stell, Bill Psaltis, Leo Raptis, Con Mottee.
72 Ethnikon Vema, 20 February 1946, p.4.
73 Hellenic Herald, 28 March 1946, p.4.
In the 1946-47 cricket season, the SOC entered a cricket team into competition, registering their first win in the Metropolitan Churches Centennial Park Cricket Competition defeating Prescott outright.\textsuperscript{74} In 1946, the club organised a dance at the Paddington Town Hall, to raise money for the team going to Melbourne to play the MOC in the Christmas break. This first Melbourne interstate visit involved contests in cricket, track and field and tennis. The team left Sydney on 23 December 1946 and returned 3 January 1947. A two day cricket match at Como Park saw the defeat of SOC team captained by George Stell, formerly of the Paddington Police Boys Club coached by Colin McKould.

Sporting exchanges between the two clubs increased, the most successful being during the Christmas season of 1949, when SOC defeated MOC, for the first time and won the Hellenic Shield, donated by the Hellenic Club NSW, as they had been victorious in three of the five events. SOC defeated MOC in cricket at Moore Park (Fisher Shield), table tennis at St. Sophia School Hall (Angelides Shield), and swimming at the Coogee Aquarium. MOC won both tennis at Waverly Park (A. T. George Shield), and athletics at Redfern Oval (Polites Shield). New Year's Eve celebrations and Presentation Night were both held at Paddington Town Hall.

Not until the 12 April 1952, did females of MOC and SOC compete at Moore Park in Sydney with the MOC team winning the netball match (22-10). From SOC's inception until 1951, the club played predominantly Rugby League, cricket and netball, with their annual games usually taking place during the Australia Day Long Weekend period in January. The annual games also served as selection trials for the interstate visits, and were held at athletic tracks with spectators.

The official organ of the SOC was its monthly "VOD" (Voice Of Diskobolos) which first appeared in June 1947, its first editor being Nick Marcells. The club's shield appeared on the front of the magazine with the slogan "healthy mind, healthy body".\textsuperscript{75} Every issue proclaimed that:

\begin{quote}
The Olympic Club represents Greek Youth of NSW, and its purpose is to keep together Greek Youth. We ourselves have parents who came from Greece, our children will be less Greek in the environment we are in. They may, as already many have, lose entirely their Greek identity. We believe that the Olympic Club must continue to keep together Australian-born Greeks.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{74} ibid., 17 October 1946, p.4.
\textsuperscript{75} Voice of Diskobolos, June 1947, Vol.1, No.1.
Apart from sporting articles, the magazine printed articles on literature and art. The regular 16 page issue was distributed by mail to subscribing club members. The club's social events which invariably took the form of social dances were advertised. Monthly dances were usually held at the Coronet on George Street. The annual ball and the two presentation nights (one for the summer sports season and one for winter sports season) were held at the Paddington Town Hall. At the presentation nights, trophies were presented to the various teams and athletes by the Archbishop, speeches were made by senior members of the Greek society and there were very few females in attendance.

A typical year of the activities of the club was 1949, with two teams in the cricket competition. Similarly to the situation with MOC, the SOC cricket teams were the most significant of their teams. After winning the Eastern division, the SOC team entered the final of the Churches' Cricket Union C grade Competition where they played against the winners of 12 other divisions. The C grade junior cricket team won the state premiership, defeating 104 metropolitan teams, and talented players were Con Mottee and George Stell.

The netball team defeated Maroubra in the NSW Premiers Association. The team was made up by J. Varvaressos, T. Stanley, M. Marcels, L. Coombes, N. Limbers, L. Varvaressos, K. Casimaty, I. Rafty and D. Katsoulis. Social events organised by female members included two reviews, a production of their original musical comedy *Sproxenia*, written by George Stell, a fancy dress ball and monthly dances.

By 1951 the club celebrated its fifth birthday with an artoclassia (a religious celebration: blessing of the bread) at the Holy Trinity Church on 2 December, 1951, the ceremony performed by Archbishop Theophylactos. The first annual ball was held at the Roman Showboat on 4 December, 1951.

Yet new immigrants were not attracted to club membership. An essay competition, "How to bring old and new Greeks together and the best way to do it" was organised and sponsored by the GOCS. Prominent members of the community were the judges. Still the club was unable to attract post-War new arrivals and SOC remained interested in only the second generation (Australian born) Greeks.

With news of MOC's visit to Sydney in 1945, a meeting was called to select players for the Sydney team. Kastellorizan Johny Johns believed that coach Ray Ascot

\[ ^{76} \text{Hellenic Herald, 13 December 1951, p.3.} \]

\[ ^{77} \text{Where directly not referenced this section on the Kastellorizan Sports Club (KSC) is based on interviews conducted with former members Con Vallianos, Jack Vallianos, Johnny Economos, Tasha Vanos, Peter Johns son of Johnny Johns.} \]
discriminated against and excluded Kastellorizan youth. Johny Johns informed the Kastellorizan society of this and a meeting was called at Jack Charamis's "PLEASU" city cafe attended by about 100 Kastellorizan youths and priest George Kateris. This meeting elected Angelo Karp, a World War II airforce veteran as a steering president. Subsequently Karp recommended that both youth clubs (KSC and SOC) amalgamate, but members of the club rejected the proposal, so he resigned. The first committee included Jack Charamis (president), Con Vallianos (vice president), John Economos (secretary) and George Alexiou (treasurer).

The success of MOC's visit to Sydney in December 1945 also stimulated the Kastellorizan Brotherhood to form their own youth club, at the same time as SOC was being formed. Therefore the Kastellorizan Sports Club was formed in January, 1946 when the Kastellorizan Brotherhood raised 500 pounds to buy a club house and gymnasium for the newly formed KSC.

Rugby league was the chosen game as many of the boys were familiar with the sport as they had played the game at state primary and high schools. For example Luke Lucas, Basil Anthony and Con Vallianos had attended Cleveland Street Junior High School. Most of the boys knew each other from Saint Sofia Church and the Greek school. For the first few months, the team trained twice weekly at Queens Park under coach Johnny Johns. He had been an avid Rugby League player and supporter in his youth.

The first KSC team formed was a Rugby League team which played its first game on 29 April 1946 when it defeated the John Hunter Shoe Company, a work place team, at Arncliffe Riverside Park. George Netes, an employee of the shoe company had organised the game.

In its first year, the team played against any team available, including once, a side of jockeys. Johnny Johns, a provedore at the fish markets, was successful in obtaining the coaching services of former Rugby League Kangaroo International player Joe Pearce. Peter Manettas provided funds to purchase playing strips while the Kastellorizan Brotherhood, under the presidency of Leo Leondis, also provided financial backing. The Rugby League team trained twice weekly at Rushcutters Bay Oval.

The only other Greek youth club playing Rugby League at the time was the Brisbane Olympic Club (BOC), so an interstate Rugby League match was organised between the two clubs. The BOC (also known as Youth Club, or Australian-Hellenic Youth Club of Brisbane) had formed early in 1946. At first, Rugby League was its main focus despite

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78 *Hellenic Herald*, 11 April 1946, p.4.
hostility and non-acceptance by other teams in competition. The sporting connection between the Sydney and Brisbane clubs was promoted by Kastellorizan families, such as the Penglis, Lazos and Kosadias' who had moved to Sydney from Brisbane. The match took place, in June, at the State High School West End, South Brisbane with KSC winning 26-5. The outstanding player was George Netes who scored 3 tries and kicked one goal. Luke Loukas kicked 3 goals, while John Zorbas, Argos Lazos and Mike Kousadias each scored a try, and A. Souris kicked a goal. The KSC team was billeted out by members of GOCB. A rematch took place on 11 August 1946 at Centennial Park in Sydney with a tennis tournament at Redfern Oval, preceding the Rugby League match which was won once again by KSC (12-7). In this rugged match where Mick Kosadias had his shoulder dislocated, a large crowd including the consul-general, the manager of the Brisbane team Augerinos Theodosiou and church dignitaries watched the match. This well attended match and the activities of the KSC reinvigorated the Kastellorizan regional fraternity.

In 1947 the KSC team entered the Eastern Suburbs Junior Rugby League "B" Grade competition. Although they wanted to join the South Sydney Junior Rugby League, they were unable to do so because they could not field three teams in all three grades. As early as 1948 Johnny Johns succeeded in locating a suitable site for a home ground with a 99 year lease. Unfortunately the site, where Saint Spiridon Greek High School is now located, was rejected on the grounds of distance.

Both SOC and KSC developed along separate lines. Although in March 1947, the KSC defeated SOC in a tennis tournament and cricket match. In a cricket re-match, on 8 February 1948, SOC defeated KSC at Centennial park. Apart from regional background differences, there were also class differences as most of the KSC members were not university educated. As early as 1947, KSC established its own newsletter the Cassie Chronicle which was printed in English. The club's monthly dances were usually held at the Coronet, while presentation nights and annual balls were held at the Paddington Town Hall.

With the arrival of soccer supporting Kastellorizan refugees from the Middle East, the KSC, influenced by Johnny Johns, attempted to form a soccer team. Unlike SOC, KSC pursued soccer because the newly arrived Kastellorizans were unfamiliar with cricket and rugby league. By May 1947 KSC had both a soccer and rugby league team in

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80 Hellenic Herald, 15 August 1946, p.5.
81 Cassie Chronicle, Official Organ of the Kastellorizan Sports Club, January-February 1946.
82 Ethnikon Vema, 1 May 1946, p.5.
competition. At their first dance, Archmandrite Nicolaides congratulated the one hundred or so Greek male youths who were members of the club, and commented on the sadness of the Empire Patrol disaster. \(^{83}\) At the clubs' first presentation night on 20 October 1947, both teams were presented with trophies for their sporting prowess. The first KSC picnic at Rodd Island on 25 November 1946, was attended by most of the Kastellorizan community. \(^{84}\) Thus the Kastellorizans were catering for not only second generation but also newly arrived Kastellorizan first generation youth.

During the 1946 and 1947 season, the Rugby League teams of KSC were of high standard, with some members playing Rugby League at an elite level, such as Mick Kosadias who played first grade for South Sydney. Later, Tony Stavrinos and Jim Poulos became regular first graders with Eastern Suburbs Club and Parramatta Club respectively. By 1949, KSC also had their theme song:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{The Kassie Boys are happy} \\
\text{The Kassie Boys are free} \\
\text{The Kassie Boys are happy} \\
\text{When they are on a spree} \\
\text{They never fight nor quarrel} \\
\text{And they never disagree} \\
\text{But they all drop dead} \\
\text{When the president says} \\
\text{Come, and have a drink on me.}
\end{align*}
\]

During December 1949 a tennis tournament was also established, with females playing for the J.J. Charamis Cup; and males for the Basil Cotis Cup. Jack Charamis and Basil Cotis, two successful businessmen, provided much financial support for the club. Picnics were held regularly where one of the major events was the soccer match between married and single men.

The year 1950 was the height of their sporting activities with the club fielding the following teams in competition; tennis, Rugby League, soccer, athletics, and picnic games and matches. Apart from the central committee, there were Rugby League and Soccer sub-committees. The Rugby League sub-committee included Johnny Economos, Steve Koutalis, Mick Penglis, Mick Sergis and Jack Cotis. While a soccer sub-committee existed in 1950, the soccer team was disbanded the following year due to falling numbers. Many of the newly arrived Kastellorizans who made up the soccer team did not receive support from established Kastellorizan youth. Although by this stage the most

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\(^{83}\) Ethnikon Vema, 8 May 1946, p.6. The Empire Patrol was a ship that sank off the coast of Egypt containing many Kastellorizans who fled their island during World War II. See Paul E. Boyatzis and Nicholas G. Pappas, Embers on the Sea: the Empire Patrol Disaster, 1945, NSW, 1995.

\(^{84}\) Ethnikon Vema, 5 January 1947, p.5.
Above. Tennis Team 1946
Below. Senior Rugby League Team 1946
important concern of the KSC was "where are the girls." During its existence, the club never attempted to establish female teams although some members supported the idea.

While the GOCS always claimed that SOC was "the leading non-sectarian Greek youth organisation of Australia", it made no attempt to accommodate the slow stream of new arrivals who, by 1950, had significantly increased youth numbers in Sydney. As stated previously, KSC enticed only newly arrived Kastellorizans into its club. While the new arrivals attended the social events of SOC and KSC, none of their sporting preferences were being catered for. Dissatisfaction and decreased interest in the clubs was common for new-comers. At the SOC elections in December 1950, some new arrivals attempted to have themselves voted onto the committee, which up until that stage was made up of the original group. A heated election took place and the defeat of the newcomers resulted in their decision to form their own Greek youth club.

Consequently the Hellenic Cultural Society (HCS) was formed in January 1951, the first president being Taki Kaldis. Its first picnic in May 1951 was attended by 80 people, "where they danced and played games, in particular the males who played volleyball all day". Its sporting teams never entered into formal competitions although the club focused on soccer, basketball and volleyball. The club produced plays, their first being To Stravochili. To celebrate their first anniversary, a masked ball was held at the Paddington Town Hall where the club launched its own monthly paper Dawn. By 1952 it had produced its second play, Eternal Life.

With the formation of HCS, the number of Greek sports clubs in Sydney increased to three, catering for three groups: GOCNSW youth, Kastellorizan youth and new arrivals. The new arrivals had formed the HCS because they felt they were not welcome in the existing clubs.

It is very awkward and unpleasant for the newcomers in Australia. They are so anxious and ready to mix and enjoy themselves with our Australian born youth, but I have seen the welcome given to them. Our Australian born youth do not care to speak to them.

The HCS was significant in that it was the first youth club formed by newly arrived immigrants, and remained closely associated with the ATLAS club. Marcells noted that:

86 Hellenic Herald, 14 June 1951; The section on the Hellenic Cultural Society is based on interview with Taki Kaldis, founding president of the club.
87 Hellenic Herald, 29 March 1951, p.7.
"They were under the control of the ATLAS Club especially their leaders. They called us the second generation Greeks - the Australians." 88

**Adelaide**

Perhaps the most organised post-World War II Greek youth club was the Adelaide Olympic Club (AOC), which was also known as Hellenic Youth Club or Olympic. 89 Formed in 1946, it existed for approximately twenty years, during which time it had a positive relationship with various other societies especially the GOCSA. The Greek society assisted the club in its various activities. The doubling of Adelaide’s Greek population (mainly new immigrants) between 1946 and 1950 resulted in more members for the new youth club, which, mostly, welcomed and integrated the newly arrived.

Many of the original members of the Hellenic soccer team of 1939 were committed to the formation of the Olympic Club, including Sam and Tom Savvas, Nick and Stamatis Platis and Mick Finos. The majority of the members in 1946 were Australian-born Greeks, sons and daughters of the immigrants of the 1920s, who, before their arrival in Adelaide, had lived in Port Pirie, Thebarton and other non-metropolitan areas. Other young members, born in Adelaide, had known each other through Greek School, church or from the quarter where most of the Greeks resided, in the west end of Adelaide. Most were from Asia Minor, Kastellorizo, Levisi. Because many of them had played in the 1939 soccer team Hellenic, it was not coincidental that their preferred sport was soccer. AOC was the only Greek club in Australia that immediately adopted soccer.

As early as 1947, the club entered a soccer team into competition. The team, coached by Gordon Hall, and placed in the second division, was simply known as Olympic. Andonas’ Victorian Cafe was used for club meetings. The team’s main players were Tony Gratzis, Jack Kantilaftis, Tasso Andonas, Tony Cacas, Mick and George Tsounis.

In March 1948, a cultural exchange involved MOC’s visit to Adelaide and their performance of the play ‘Von Dimitrakis’, to an audience of 600 at the Tivoli. The production, directed by Greek teacher, Mrs. Vrachnas, was organised by the committee of MOC. Both the Melbourne and Adelaide clubs realised that soccer was the only common, acceptable sport, so a soccer match was planned for later that year.

By September 1948 the first match between MOC and AOC was played in Melbourne for the Marmaras Shield, (a large silver shield donated by Theo Marmaras). In this first

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88 Interview with Nick Marcellis, Sydney, March 1997.
89 Where not directly referenced, this section on the Adelaide Olympic Club (AOC) is based on interviews with club members, Michael Tsounis, Mary Tsounis, Sam Savvas and Mick Finos.
encounter MOC soundly defeated AOC 8-0. The return annual second match took place on 25 September 1949 in Adelaide, and was funded by the GOCSA and MOC won once again this time 4-0.

Of all the interstate youth club sporting exchanges, the annual exchange between MOC and AOC was the most eagerly contested. In 1950 AOC travelled once again to Melbourne. On 1 October 1950 at Olympic Park, MOC won the match 2-1 and the Theo Marmaras Shield for the third straight time in a row so they automatically kept the trophy. At the presentation dance, trophies were presented by Archbishop Theophylactos, who made an impressive speech on the role of sport in the Greek community, stating that "a healthy mind exists in a healthy body". The best player from each team was presented with trophies donated by Mick Theophilos and 26 medallions were given to the players, while Eugene Gorman, Consul for Greece, presented the Marmaras Shield to MOC.

The 1951 soccer match between the clubs was filmed and shown at the Greek RSL Hall on 15 January 1952. Stan Moraitis had filmed both the match as well as the Adelaide Panhellenic Picnic at Silver Lake. The match was played at British Tube Mills with AOC winning 4-3. The first basketball encounter between MOC and AOC resulted in MOC winning 33-9. The Eugene Gorman Cup was presented for soccer, while the Nicholas Spartels Cup was the prize for basketball. In 1952 MOC won the basketball match 40-25 for the Spartels Cup but AOC won the soccer match 6-1 for the Theo Pappas Cup. With its best players having defected to Hellenic, the MOC soccer team had been considerably weakened.

Problems in AOC first appeared in 1949 when the soccer team, which had commenced the year optimistically, had trouble maintaining harmony as the newly arrived Cypriots, Andrew Pieridis, Tony Solomon and Chris George tried to establish their own team. There were many personality conflicts. The Cypriots claimed to be not fully accepted and to not have much of a voice in the decision making processes of the club.

Up until 1950, soccer was the club's principal sporting activity. The monthly newsletter *Greek Youth*, the official organ of the Hellenic Youth Club of SA, had as its motto "Healthy Mind in a Healthy Body", illustrated with a picture of Myron, the Discobolos. By 1950, the club's sporting and social activities expanded. Apart from the youth club

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90 *Hellenic Herald*, 21 October 1948, p.6. Description of sporting activities.
92 Stan Moraitis' film contains footage of the entire soccer match, while only a few of the events are filmed from the Adelaide Panhellenic picnic.
committee, there was a three man sports committee consisting of Tony Gratzis (chairman), Mick Taliangis (secretary), and Con Mangos. A coach, Keith Jamieson was hired to coach the soccer team.  

At the soccer presentation night, the players of the B team were acknowledged as having had a successful year, finishing undefeated premiers, but just missing out on the Rowley Cup. Tony Gratzis, an A team member, was declared the best goalkeeper at the SA Soccer Association presentation ball.

Keith Jamieson's article "Become sports-minded" primarily criticised the female club members who had not been able to form one team since the inception of the club: "If the boys can show so much interest in their soccer team, surely there are a few girls with enough sporting blood to start the ball rolling". Apart from conducting their first debate, "Should young Greek girls follow the old ways of their parents in Australia?", the AOC females did not establish a competitive soccer team.

With the arrival of new Greek immigrants to Adelaide, tensions started to grow in the Youth Club. This stimulated the club to state the problem in an article, "The Youth Club and Newcomers". The newcomers believed that they were being excluded from the club, which had far more Greek-born than Australian born members, yet the latter exceeded the first, and had the controlling influence. Only a few newcomers had joined, for they had not been approached in a supportive way and the Greek language was not used a great deal at the club. From that time, the loyalties of Greek youth were divided in Greek society. From 1950 onwards, the club's activities encouraged the newcomers by aiding them not only in sport but also socially. By 1951, two soccer teams, men's volleyball and basketball teams, and a women's basketball team, were evidence of the club's appeal.

At the half yearly general meeting, it was agreed that a separate soccer club be formed because this sport was becoming more popular than others in the club. The GOCSA, although opposed to the idea, noted that "we stress the importance of always keeping the youth united in some sort of organisation. This will ensure that as many of our youth as possible participate in sport away from the Hindley Street coffee-houses."

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94 ibid., December 1950.
95 ibid., January 1951.
96 ibid., January 1951.
97 ibid., February 1951.
98 ibid., August 1951.
The GOCSA was instrumental in ensuring that the soccer team did not break away and form a purely soccer club. A compromise was reached only after GOC offered to provide all the necessary funds to field a soccer team, as they knew that one youth club interested in soccer and one in other sports was not a practical situation. By 1952, the influence of the newly arrived Greeks resulted in the election of two of their representatives to the committee in the November 1952 elections. Much pressure was exerted from the GOCSA for the youth club to become a branch of the GOC or even amalgamate with the GOC. By 1954, competition in the third division was rigorous, with the presence of other European teams like Hungaria and Volga. Because of the strength of the other teams, the soccer sub-committee, with the aid of GOCSA, separated from the AOC to become an independent body in 1956.

Brisbane

With the arrival of the post-War Greeks and their commitment to soccer, soccer replaced rugby league as the preferred sport. The Rugby League teams of 1946-48 found too much opposition from Brisbane Rugby League authorities who did not want a Greek team in competition. This meant that at the end of the 1948 season, the Rugby League team folded. The soccer team was formed in 1949. By early 1949, the Brisbane Greek Youth Club played the Adelaide Olympic Club in soccer. A and B teams were soon playing in competition in Brisbane. The A team captained by J. Ververis and vice-captain S. Vidialis included the following players: P. Vidakis, C. Kyriakisis, J. Moscos, A. Papadimas, G. Manetas, K. Vernisis, T. Mitaros, and T. Papadimas. Funds raised from monthly dances supported the soccer teams and gave financial assistance to injured players. The club was also closely associated with the Orthodox Church and the GOCB; for example Father Boyatzoglou and the Consul for Greece, Kristy Freeleagaus, gave lectures.

By 1950 Bobby Bonds was employed to coach the two soccer teams while the club player, Spiro Vidialis, was selected to train with the Queensland State soccer team. The first attempt to enter a soccer team in the fourth division was made in 1951. After their divisional win, the Queensland Soccer Football Association automatically promoted them to the second division in 1952. After winning 14 games, drawing 4 and losing 0,

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99 ibid., Jan-Feb 1952.
100 ibid., December 1952.
103 ibid., 25 August 1949, p.6.
104 ibid., 22 June 1950, p.6.
they were admitted to the first division for 1953. Although soccer was the club's main sport, a boys' basketball team existed briefly in 1950, the year of the first promotion of the monthly magazine, *Hellenic Columns*.

**Perth**

In Perth, the Hellenic Youth Club provided sporting opportunities for Australian born Greek youth. The stated aim of the Hellenic Youth Club was a "bringing together of young people in the right atmosphere". The club was formed in late 1945, although Australian Rules and Cricket exhibition matches took place during World War II. Its first team, the cricket team made its debut in the 1945-46 cricket season and cricket was the main focus of the club. The Greek interest in cricket had developed since the early 1930s, when Xenophon Balaskas, a member of the South African Team which toured Australia in 1931-32, had been treated like a hero by the Greeks of Perth. At their first annual presentation night, Tony Zebilias was presented with a silver trophy for being the best and fairest sportsman. In the late 1940s, Tony Zimbulis was selected as a spin bowler in the state cricket team.

The first committee included executive members: John Lemonis (president), Michael Charatsis (vice president), Michael Kakulas (secretary), Hercules Kakulas (vice-secretary) and B. Manifis (treasurer). The rest of the committee consisted of: Antonios Michail, B. Palasis, Elias Anastasas, S. Estelzis, A. Spartalis, F. Bellos and George Passaris. All were of Kastellorizian extraction. By 1949, their main achievements had been in the sporting field and "membership continues to improve, though there are still some unbraced stock to be rounded up".

The club organised dances to raise finance for their sporting teams. Unlike the eastern state clubs, this club also embraced girls' teams. By 1948, girls were playing in the netball association and also in tennis tournaments, under the name of the Hellenic Girls' Association of WA. In 1952 the organisation renamed itself as the Hellenic Youth Association (HYA).

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105 Ethnikon Vema, 17 March 1953  
107 Ethnikon Vema, 11 November 1931, p.4.  
108 Hellenic Herald, 10 October 1946, p.6.  
109 The Greek-Australian, November 15, 1949, p.6  
The cricket team had been admitted into the senior Matting Association in 1946-47 season. In the 1948-49 competition, these players were undefeated premiers, winning the Association Cup and pennant. Led by M. Michael, the team was undefeated throughout the season, winning seven matches outright and two by an innings. Bowling average winner was G. Nicholas, who got a hat-trick in two consecutive games.111 During the 1949-50 cricket season, they were elevated to the A reserve, but throughout that season, the team fought hard to justify promotion.112 By 1952, *The Australian-Greek* newspaper described the club as the best organised, peacefully working together.113

The Perth Club was the only club to take up the sport of Rugby Union. By 1949 a Rugby Union team was formed, but was not playing in any formal competition. By 1952, attempts to play against another Greek youth club in this sport, did not succeed. However, they succeeded in entering in the local Perth competition.114 In 1955 the HYA Rugby Union team organised a tour which took in the Eastern States.

By 1955, the club had eight teams in competition: two Australian Rules, two basketball, three rugby and one cricket teams. A year later, with the financial assistance of GOC Perth, HYA purchased their own land in Morley for youth - sporting purposes. Thus HYA was the first Greek youth association to have its own land. All Greek youth clubs in Australia were handicapped because they did not have their own grounds. During this period, Hellenic did not encourage new arrivals to join and throughout its existence, retained within its membership most of the Australian born youth.

The Athena Association, formed in 1951 originally saw itself as a cultural organisation, aiming to attract newly arrived Greek immigrant youth. Apart from its sporting teams, soccer, basketball and volleyball, it had dances, picnics, a regular newspaper, *The Voice of Athena*, and even a radio program as the means by which the association could help younger Greeks socialise. Post-war immigrants joined Athena and, even though the founders of the organisation were primarily Kastellorizans, pre-War settlers tended to keep away. The GOCP saw the new fraternity as a rival, and with the growth of Athena, the long established GOCP (dominated by pre-War Kastellorizans) became concerned. Consequently the Hellenic Youth Club amalgamated with various other clubs for Australian-born Greek youth to form the Hellenic Youth Association (HYA) in 1952. The sports offered by HYA were purposely distinct from soccer, and thus more appealing to

114 See: *Rugby Union Weekly*, 23 April 1955 to 28 Sept 1957. Some players of the Rugby Union teams of the 1950s represented Western Australia, including John Hondrus, Con Fermanis and Michael Kallis.
PERTH HELLENIC YOUTH CLUB

Above. Hellenic Cricket Team 1949

Below. Hellenic Netball Team 1948

The only post World War II Greek youth club to embrace female sport.
the Australian-born youth than to the new arrivals. Co-operation between HYA and the Athena Association was limited in the 1950s. Antagonism and rivalry between the clubs were intense. There was much friction between Australian-born and the new arrivals. Generally the sporting activities of the HYA and Athena were diametrically opposed.

With fewer Castellorizians arriving in Western Australia in the late 1950s, their influence in the Athena Association began to dwindle, and other Greeks came to control its destiny, possibly exacerbating community tensions.\(^{115}\)

It has been demonstrated that the Kastellorizans did not wish to merge themselves with the rest of the Greeks. Their example was followed, though probably for other reasons, by the more numerous groups of Greeks who settled in Australia. One group, for example, that retained its very special identity was the Greek Egyptians, and another was the Cypriots. About 5,000 Greeks arrived from both Cyprus and Egypt by 1952. But also the Samians, whose island had been united to Greece only after 1945, when Italy gave up the possessions in the Aegean it had held since the Italo-Turkish war of 1912, found themselves unwilling to lose their identity in Panhellenic organisations.

Greeks were forced out of Egypt by President Nasser's new nationalistic policies in the 1950s. Although it was the Suez incident in 1956 that caused the Egyptians to expel non-Egyptians. In Sydney the Estia club was formed in 1952, with the first president being Nicolaides. In 1953 they had their first picnic with games. By 1954, they had bought their own building at 112 Darlinghurst Road, Kings Cross. Estia promoted sport with fanaticism and formed teams in basketball and volleyball for both boys and girls. By 1953 they had entered basketball and volleyball teams into competition, the teams training on Saturday afternoons at the YMCA gymnasium.\(^{116}\)

The Greek Egyptian and Middle East Society of Melbourne (EEAMA) was formed in a general meeting on 17 December 1950. One of the first articles in their constitution refers to the formation of a sporting sub-committee.\(^{117}\) Weekly picnics would focus around soccer matches and in one such picnic, three teams competed, two represented Alexandria and the other Port Said. The athletic subcommittee was eventually formed in 1954 with athletes mainly from Egypt. One of the first was Petros Filippou who, on 28 August 1954, established a basketball team. On 3 September 1954 he sent a letter to the Victorian amateur basketball association requesting the team's admittance into the first division where it played against other ethnic teams. Their first win (38-27) was against Latvia on

\(^{115}\) Yiannakis, Megisti in the Antipodes: Castellorizian Migration and Settlement to WA, p.215.

\(^{116}\) Association of the Greeks from Egypt "Hellenic Hestia", (irregular issues 1953-56).

\(^{117}\) The Greek Egyptian and Middle East Society of Melbourne, Constitution. Article 1. No.5.
the 29 October 1954. Petros Fillopou was president, while Giannis Agapitos was coach of the team.

A women's team was added soon afterwards with Giannis Agapitos as coach. Ultimately, by the end of the 1950s, EEAMA had five male and three female teams in competition in the various associations. The Greek Egyptians greatly improved the status of basketball in the state of Victoria. During 1955-60, they competed in the first division with Hellenic. Some of their achievements include:

1956: they won the 2nd division of Victoria
1957: they won the basketball and the volleyball at the Panhellenic games
1958: they won the basketball of Victoria first division
1958: Panhellenic won men's basketball - volleyball and girls basketball
1959: they won both male and female basketball in the first division Victoria
1959: Panhellenic basketball champions.

In 1956, EEAMA competed in the basketball first division with the Hellenic team. One of the players from the basketball team, Peter Demos, represented Australia in basketball at the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games. In years to come, EEAMA primarily confined their activities to basketball and volleyball, and apart from being a leader in the basketball competitions in Australia, also organised their own Greek volleyball competition against other Greek teams.118

The Cypriot society was affected by all the troubles as well. The Zenon Association of Melbourne, formed in 1934, had been overrun at committee level by the newly arrived post-war Cypriots. The pre-war settlers, led by Floros Dimitriades, a leading figure in Greek sport, established the Troodos Club (named after the highest peak in Cyprus) in mid 1952, as a response to the post-war Cypriot immigrants. "Troodos" had their clubrooms at 272 Exhibition Street, Melbourne. Zenon immediately formed a soccer team, and attracted most of the post-war Cypriot immigrants.

Egypt and Cyprus provided the largest groups of Greeks with a distinctive ethnic consciousness but other lesser groups also began to form their own sporting teams. For example, the Samos Brotherhood 'Lykourgos' was formed in Sydney in 1956, by newly arrived immigrants from the island. Con Manolio was elected president. One of the aims of the constitution was to form a youth and athletic sub-committee.

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118 Interview with Peter Demos, Sydney, November 1996.
In Melbourne, the Ajax Athletic Club was formed in 1954 by newly arrived immigrants. At their first dance in early 1955, prizes were awarded to the winners of events.\textsuperscript{119} The formation of the club was a response to the fact that Hellenic was not willing to form more soccer teams. Consequently many of the newly arrived took it upon themselves to form their own team.

**Younger Sets**

Sport was greatly affected by the differences and various splits in the Greek paroikia. To distinguish their activities, many of the pre-War settlers chose to involve their male youth in sports which were profoundly different from the rest. It was the time of the fashionable younger sets, who chose sports which were as far opposed to soccer (the newcomers game) as they could possibly be. For example in Sydney, younger sets of Kastellorizans and St George were formed in this period. The St George Younger Set, associated with the church in Rose Bay, was formed in 1961 and their activities were threefold; social, spiritual and sporting. Tennis and squash were their preferred sports.\textsuperscript{120}

The Kastellorizan Younger Set defeated the St George Younger Sets 12-6 in the first annual Rugby match at Saint John's Oval on 10 September. The previous week they had advertised for players, and called the match a test.\textsuperscript{121} In Brisbane, the Kytheran Younger Set and the Pan-Rhodian Younger Set were formed. Melbourne had youth organisations such as the Ithakan Younger Set. The only state where this phenomenon did not occur was South Australia.

While the formation of the Greek Boy Scouts in Sydney assumed a Panhellenic role in the 1930s, the formation of the Boy Scouts was also a response to the split in the Greek paroikia. For the first time, some of the male youth of these organisations were third generation Greeks. The Adelaide group had sent 25 members to Sydney for the Pan-Pacific Scout Jamberoo in 1953. The Greek Boy Scouts Association re-formed in 1954. In Sydney, Nikos Symeonides once again was president of the Sydney Scouts Association.\textsuperscript{122} Scouting activities included picnics, bush walking, camping and even playing Rugby Union against the Hungarian scouts in 1955. Unlike in the pre-World War II period, the Scouts organised groups in all parts of Australia and by 1956 there were Boy Scout troops in all metropolitan areas. Throughout 1963, the Brisbane Boy

\textsuperscript{119} Ethnikon Vema, 23 March 1955, p.7.
\textsuperscript{120} Hellenic Herald, 6 July 1961, p.5.
\textsuperscript{121} ibid., 12 October, 1961, p.7.
\textsuperscript{122} Ethnikon Vema, 10 November 1954, p.6.
Scouts held fund raising activities to send Greek Boy Scouts from all over Australia to the World Jamboree in Greece in August 1963. In this post-war period, the Scout movement attracted only pre-War settlers. The first Greek Sea Scouts Sydney Committee was elected in 5 August 1956 and the group was officially inaugurated on 26 August 1956 at the Saint Sophia School.\textsuperscript{123}

Members of the regional Brotherhoods were still predominantly first generation immigrants, but the youth clubs, and later on the Younger Sets of Brotherhoods, and Churches were designed for their second generation, and later on so was the Young Ahepans' organisation. It was also a type of age grading system. It was created so these youths could get to know each other. For men it was a much more important organisation. Although for women, parents would be suspicious of any contacts made outside, that is, not from 'good established families'. In Sydney in particular, many of the established settlers lived in the eastern and south eastern suburbs of Sydney where the success ethic was firmly entrenched and competition was intense. Youth clubs became the area where this was most visible.

**Push from Leaders**

Throughout this period, support for Greek youth involvement in sport was constant and came from a variety of sources. The GOC Melbourne sent two athletes to the Fifth World Festival of Youth in August 1951. It was hoped that two of its best athletes, Stefanos Michael (wrestler and Australian middleweight champion) and Dimitrios Kontos (renowned short distance runner) would represent Australian Greeks at the Olympic Games. A committee was set up to raise the 800 pounds needed to send the athletes.\textsuperscript{124}

Many of the aging pre-War Greek settlers began to form social golfing clubs. The first Greek bowling clubs, made up largely of older generation Greeks, were also formed as early as 1947. The Greek Bowling Club of Sydney, formed in 1947, consisted of Kytherans.\textsuperscript{125}

Michalis Vidalis, commented on sport in a special edition dedicated to Australian Greeks of *Krikos*, a magazine published in London for expatriate Greeks all over the world. He emphasised that sport should be used as an antidote for the coffee shop and the gambling which plagued the Greek community because of unemployment among young immigrants. Vidalis said:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{123} ibid., 22 August 1956, p.2.
\textsuperscript{124} ibid., 8 June 1951, p.8.
\textsuperscript{125} *Hellenic Herald*, 14 August 1947, p.4.
\end{quote}
Communities must pay special attention to the athletic field. The purchase of suitable venues for various track and field events, tennis, soccer etc, is both inexpensive and of vast social significance because it will get our young people together so that they develop physically and morally without them becoming poisoned at coffee shops with gambling, the machines, horse racing or pubs and other disastrous habits which poison the body and the soul and cause individual and social wrecks... Organising our athletes into worthwhile Federations and a Confederation with the necessary financial assistance by our Communities and with the organising of local and Panhellenic Games will result, besides getting the young Greeks living throughout Australia to get to know each other, in the creation of athletic spirit which our ancestors worshipped and all nations today, and especially Australia, cultivate. 126

Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations (CGYO)

The scene just surveyed, of sporting initiatives of one kind or another, was thought quite early to be a scene of the undesirable (and unnecessary) fragmentation and duplication. The idea of co-ordinating Greek sporting endeavours became increasingly attractive and a movement gathered momentum until it was brought to an abrupt halt in 1960. This was not, however, a simple movement toward centralisation. Behind this idea, or certainly accompanying it, was the feeling that all Greeks should be able to play sport in one ethnic organisation, simply as Greeks. In other words, they should co-operate in a single organisation that paid little attention to the differences among Greeks but rather stressed their commonalities. What was needed was a Panhellenic organisation, which would minimise if not erase the differences between old settlers and new, the second and first generation, partisans of the Community and of the Archdiocese, between Rugby players and soccer devotees. However, this idea itself was seriously endangered by the Church crisis of 1960.

Archbishop Theofylactos first proposed a Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations, as an issue as early as 1950, when there was an attempt to establish a Panhellenic Athletic Federation of Australia. This eventuated in 1953 with the Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations (CYGO) which was succeeded in 1957 by the Panhellenic Athletic Association of Australia (PASA) which lasted until 1963. PASA folded then because of problems at the time in Greek society. Unlike the Federation of Greek Communities, established in 1949 and lasting only two years, PASA was extremely successful in uniting Greek youth in Australia.

126 Krikos, July-August, 1957.
By early 1952, the GOCA claimed that MOC was the best organised club. MOC had sporting exchanges with two clubs, while AOC and SOC had contact with only one club, and that dual association was the reason for its progress. A drive to hold a carnival to bring all clubs together developed. Increased co-operation would result in young Greeks developing social and sporting networks and thus pave the way for a Federation of Greek youth organisations in Australia.\(^{127}\) The main obstacle, however, was the great distance between the various Greek youth clubs, together with the expense and difficulties in transportation in the vast continent of Australia.

The idea of a confederation had been raised as early as 1946 by MOC, after its first visit to Sydney in December 1945. When MOC members arrived in Sydney, Archbishop Theophylactos gave a party at the Bishop's Court on 10 January 1952. Members of the SOC, CSC and HCS were present, along with Vrysakis, who, with Theophylactos, proposed the formation of a Confederation of all Greek youth clubs in Australia.\(^{128}\)

AOC and HSC were keen to initiate such an organisation but they could not convince SOC to participate. In Sydney, SOC called a general meeting at St. Sophia School Hall where 70 percent of their members voted against staging a Pan-Youth Congress.\(^{129}\) A conference planned for January, 1953 was thus cancelled until more support was gained.\(^{130}\) SOC's reluctance to join was related to the HCS involvement. Allegedly, SOC members did not want to be belittled by the new arrivals.

During the June long weekend of 1953, four representatives from MOC journeyed to Sydney to confer with the representatives of the HCS with a view to closer co-operation between interstate Greek youth clubs. It was decided that sport was the best medium for Greek youth (both old and new Australians) from the various states to be introduced to each other.

The Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations was formed in July 1953 when representatives of the AOC, SOC and MOC met at the Orpheus Club in Melbourne to elect an executive committee and formulate a constitution. As stated in the constitution of the Confederation, the main aim was to coordinate annual athletic meets between the various Greek youth and sporting clubs in Australia.\(^{131}\)

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\(^{127}\) *Greek Youth*, Jan-Feb 1952.


\(^{129}\) *ibid.*, 10 July 1952, p.5.

\(^{130}\) *Greek Youth*, December, 1952.

\(^{131}\) Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations, *Constitution*. 
From 26-28 December, 1953, Melbourne hosted the first Panhellenic Sporting and Cultural Exhibition. Representatives of youth clubs of Sydney, Adelaide and Melbourne participated in these games. The exhibition included some art and handicraft displays. The program included: 26th Saturday, welcome and dance at the Orpheus; 27th Sunday, picnic at Werribbie Park with volleyball, basketball and athletics; 28th Monday, soccer, tennis and ping pong competitions. George Zangallis was voted athlete of the year. Athletics was the most keenly supported activity not only because of the tradition of athletics at the various picnics also because it was the one event that each youth club could contest.  

At the end of the games, a conference took place to elect a committee and ratify the constitution of the Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations (CGYO). Elected to the committee were Vasilis Colligas (Hellenic), Miss Spyrou (AOC), Taki Kaldis (HCS) and Michael Kalaf (MOC) was elected first president. Kalaf's home in Melbourne was used as CGYO headquarters.

The aim of the games organised by CGYO is the friendly competition among its members.... For a few days it will be the best that the Greek youth can present. The adults joyfully see their children, their hopes of tomorrow, advance on the road to progress. Because of the disunity between the two Melbourne clubs, it was agreed to include a statuary clause that the Confederation would ban every political activity. Additional insurance against the violation of the clause would be secured by granting the GOC of each capital city the right to supervise the participating associations in their state.

The second Confederation games took place in Adelaide on 25-27 December 1954, with the two Melbourne teams competing. The program included on respective days: basketball in Wakefield and a Christmas dance; picnic with athletics, wrestling, volleyball and table tennis at night; tennis, soccer matches, girls' basketball and a presentation dance with the highlights being the award of the Confederation shield and Greek folk dancing by women. On 29 December, after the CGYO annual conference, the teams departed.

The Games were a resounding success, although participation from certain clubs was limited. An unofficial cricket match took place between AOC and MOC but finished early due to bad light. The Melbourne group of 52 athletes won the Confederation Shield after winning all but the wrestling and tennis. Silver trophies were also presented to Jim

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133 Confederation Journal, January 1954.
Condos as best all round athlete MOC and to Jim Liacos as best all round athlete AOC, while Phyllis Vrachnos, (from MOC) was best female athlete. Charles Moschakis was best soccer player for Melbourne while Elias Kayias was best soccer player for Adelaide. The Greek press applauded the success of the games but noted that more money and support by the various GOCs would have produced even more teams and participants. The launching of *Confederation Journal*, the official organ of the Confederation of Greek youth organisations, coincided with the closing of the games.\(^{135}\)

The third Games on 24-28 December, 1955 were once again held in Melbourne, with Melbourne teams: MOC, Hellenic, Egypt association, and ZENON; Sydney teams: Atlas and SOC and South Australia: AOC. The arts and crafts exhibition continued. The program included a pre-Christmas luncheon, basketball and a dance at Orpheus; on Christmas Day, soccer, volleyball, wrestling and table tennis; post-Christmas picnic at Werribee Park with track and field events and ladies' basketball; and tennis, a presentation night and the Confederation executive meeting.

In 1955, the Confederation had become affiliated with SEGAS (Greek Amateur Athletic Association) and thus received its publications. SEGAS president Anthony Nicolaides thanked the organisation "for the patriotic work they are doing over there (Australia). One cannot but feel proud when we see our fellow countrymen keeping close together in foreign lands and keeping the national flame burning brightly.\(^{136}\) This prompted the Confederation to implement a policy where at the end of each Games, a choice team would be selected to compete in Greece in the various Greek athletic tournaments.

Sydney hosted their first Confederation games in 1956. With the moral and financial aid of the GOCS NSW, over 350 interstate athletes participated. The games were opened by Archbishop Theofylactos, with the president of GOCS Vidalis proclaiming "the precious and beneficial influence that sport has on the young". A parade of uniformed athletes was followed by a ceremony similar to the traditional opening ceremony of the Olympic Games. The success and popularity of the Games were immense with one reporter commenting "why can't the Greek Communities themselves be so united as our youth?\(^{137}\) The standard of competition was high. Spiros Defteros participated and won the Middleweight and Light-heavyweight Wrestling Competitions.

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\(^{136}\) ibid., September-December 1955, p.6.
\(^{137}\) ibid., January-February 1956, p.3.
The Confederation of Greek Youth was succeeded in 1957 by the Pan-Hellenic Sports Federation of Australia (PASA). On 20 April 1957 the Pan Hellenic Athletic Federation (PASA) was formed and in 1957 the Panhellenic Games were held in Adelaide. When officially opening the fourth Australian Pan-Hellenic Games in Adelaide in 1957, the president of PASA proclaimed:

The object of the Games is to provide healthy competition between members of the Greek Community generally in Australia on the field of sport and to build better citizens. Behind it lies the ancient Greek tradition of fair play and good citizenship. It was the Ancient Greeks, from whom we are all descended, who established the Olympic Games and first led the world in culture, science and education. In our own humble ways we are trying to preserve the dignity of true sportsmanship and to uphold the proud tradition of our forefathers. We have the full support of all the Greek communities in our efforts as we believe that a youngster's education does not end at school and that some avenue of healthy and worthwhile pleasure must be provided by the elders to keep him on the good road of life. So the Pan-Hellenic Sports Confederation of Australia was formed to give Greek youth this chance.  

On the same occasion, the general secretary of PASA Con Mournekis stated:

Our youth is our future and our past. Youth are the foundation that a good and progressive society are built on. The aim of the Federation is to help our youth and to keep them as far away as possible from the road of destruction.

By the end of that year PASA was affiliated with more than ten Greek sporting clubs, including those in Perth, Tasmania, Townsville and Brisbane. By this stage the Pan-Hellenic Games were attracting considerable attention and assistance from the GOCs, regional fraternities and other Greek societies, both large and small. The games brought into contact people of different backgrounds: Australian born Kytheran, Ithakan and Kastellorizan youth could compete alongside young newly arrived Macedonians, Epirots, Thracians, and Greek-Egyptians in track and field events, basketball, volleyball, and tennis.

In 1957 the Pan-Hellenic Games were held in Adelaide. The Panhellenic atmosphere and good will of the games was demonstrated by the cross section of Greeks nation-wide who contributed financially to the Games. This group ranged from individuals in Adelaide like milkbar proprietor Sigalas, to GOC’s in NSW, SA, Brisbane, and regional

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fraternities such as the Kastellorizan Fraternity NSW, the Cypriot Society of Adelaide and the Ionian Association of Brisbane. The Games were blessed by Father Miltiades Chryssagis and the athletes took the Olympic oath. The athletics program was well conducted and officials from the South Australian Amateur Athletic Association judged all events, thus helping to keep the events free from disputes. On the first day athletics at Railway Oval were keenly contested. In the following period volleyball, basketball, soccer tennis, ping pong and wrestling were contested. On the last day, a meeting at the Community Hall was followed by a presentation night and dance. AOC won the championship award by amassing 189 points, with the NSW group second and the Victoria group third.\textsuperscript{140}

Because of the growing number of teams, it was agreed that from 1958 onwards local state Panhellenic games would occur, and from these state teams would be selected to compete in the national Panhellenic games. The idea was to make the games less political. In 1958 at the Panhellenic Games in Melbourne, athletes from Adelaide, Canberra, Sydney and Brisbane participated. These games were organised by the Victorian Council of PASA whose committee comprised of two representatives of each Greek athletic body and two representatives of GOCM.

In 1959 the Panhellenic Games were held in Sydney, where only seven teams all from Sydney, competed. There were no competitors from other states. In 1960 the games were held in Adelaide with many of the sporting clubs boycotting the event. After 1957, games lacked a true Panhellenic atmosphere. By 1960 it was patently obvious that the Panhellenic Games had ceased because of conflicts relating to the religious schism in the Greek paroikia and the emerging popularity of soccer, which by then dominated all other sports. The religious schism also inevitably spilled over into the Panhellenic Athletic Federation which itself dissolved in 1963.

It is important to note here that the classical pre-war structure of the Greek society in Australia had been irrevocably changed. The sports scene too was very different. The picnics and the Panhellenic Games of earlier decades disappeared. Individual sports continued, as has been demonstrated, but they were largely Greek tributaries to the mainstream of Australian sport for there was nothing particularly Greek about their organisation or their ethos. The idea of a sporting organisation that would unite all Greeks and that would be Panhellenic, had great appeal to many people. Unfortunately, the Panhellenic Games collapsed, and indeed were never revived.

\textsuperscript{140} Archives Basil Talianis, President of the Central Committee of the Panhellenic Games.
But more than that, it was clear to concerned observers that the demise of most Greek sporting clubs in the wake of the ecclesiastical crisis had left the younger generation of Greeks in Australia very liable to lose their ethnic consciousness. It was as if a fire had swept through the institutions, reducing most to ash and leaving very few of them standing and green. What was significant for the coming years was that those few clubs which were still growing, some of which called themselves “Panhellenic”, were soccer clubs, and they already formed part of the soccer federations that were established in the late 1950s in most states.
CHAPTER SIX

Greek Soccer in Australia 1960 to Present: Panhellenism and Soccer. Proliferation of Greek Soccer Clubs.

The huge soccer expansion of the last fifty years resulted in three kinds of soccer organisations functioning to form Greek men. These are: Panhellenic clubs, the proliferation of second-line soccer clubs (regional fraternity, geographical, etc.), and the junior and youth teams. This chapter will deal with the first two types, the Panhellenic clubs and the proliferation of second-line teams, while the following chapter will deal with the junior and youth teams established for the second generation.

Panhellenic

The first type, the Panhellenic teams were the first organised and successful Greek teams. The name 'Olympic' of previous youth clubs was discarded in preference to the more identifiably ethnic name of 'Pan Hellenic' and 'Hellas'. The ethnic run Federation soccer competitions allowed the use of ethnic names such as Polonia and Kiev, for example. Generally the Panhellenic teams were formed in the late 1950s, the club colours being blue and white, and the club emblem featuring the Greek flag.

In fact, in the early years, in all the big Greek teams, the playing gear was the same: they wore light blue, white vertical striped, white shorts, blue and white socks. All the teams were called Hellas, Pan Hellenic -- and the chants of Hellas or Panhellinios were echoed throughout the soccer grounds of Australia. There were blue and white flags everywhere at the ground. Announcements over the PA system were made in Greek, half-time amusement included raffle draws, barbecues, Greek music and Greek dancing. These was also the famous third halves where supporters gathered after the match to discuss various sporting issues.1

From the establishment of these clubs in the late 1950s, there emerged another public sphere, the soccer ground. Indeed the creation of a different and specialised public arena was in itself part of masculine identification in contrast to the resolutely generalised, private world of women. For Greeks, residentially dispersed, the soccer fixture was a major rationale for coming together as a group and publicly expressing their shared ethnicity. Weekly attendance at the stadium allowed them to come together in this purely Greek atmosphere. Throughout their existence there was much pressure for these teams to do well, as they were the pride of the various Greek societies which they represented.

1 Interview with Chris Lekosis, Adelaide, November 1995.
This concept of excellence, the ambition to excel and to be *aristos*, the best, has been of great importance in Greek culture down the centuries. Greek tradition stresses the importance not only of being the best, but also of being seen to be the best.

The two biggest Panhellenic clubs in Australia were Melbourne Hellas and Pan Hellenic in Sydney. Panhellenic teams also existed in Adelaide, Darwin, Brisbane, Hobart and Perth, and in some non-metropolitan areas such as Newcastle, Port Pirie, Wollongong and Geraldton. All these, large and small, were formed at the same time in much the same circumstances.

**Pan Hellenic of Sydney**

The history of Greek soccer clubs in Sydney provides the example of Pan Hellenic, later known as Sydney Olympic. The club was formed in 1958, the second year of Federation soccer in New South Wales and ceased amid crisis in 1976 when, co-incidentally, Federation soccer also came to an end. From its ashes was born an instant phoenix, the Sydney Olympic Soccer Club which has survived and flourished since 1976. The club's formation involved the humble dreams of a few dedicated Greek immigrants with a love of soccer. The club became a cultural and sporting icon for the Greek paroikia of Sydney. The team, as its name suggests, took on a Panhellenic character, uniting the Greek paroikia, especially in the difficult years of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

It had begun casually in 1957, when Greek workers at the Dunlop factory made a ball out of rubber and began kicking it around in their lunch breaks. Among them were Elias Michalopoulos and Chris Giannakoulas. Giannakoulas' ball skills were outstanding as he had been a professional soccer player with "Apollon" in Athens. The formation of a new soccer team was his initiative. Four Greek teams were already playing socially in Sydney. Two were run by regional fraternities, associations of immigrants from the islands of Samos and Simi: "Pan-Samiakos" and "Taxiarkis", coached by Nick Pettas and captained by Levtakis.3 The "Atlas" soccer team, whose coach and president was Peter Demetriou, consisted of members of the communist Atlas Association. "Astro" was made up of workers at "the beautiful night centre" of the same name and its coach was the former Greek first division player Dondas.4 There were other Greek teams but they

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3 Ethnikon Vema, 30 October 1957, p.4; Ethnikon Vema, 19 February 1957, p.4.

4 Hellenic Herald, 21 March 1957, p.5. Astro was situated in the corner of Oxford and Liverpool Streets.
functioned only at various occasions and not regularly: such teams as "Estia" (Brotherhood of Greeks from Egypt) and "Athena" (Athens Brotherhood).

The newly formed team of Michalopoulos and Giannakoulias included players from Cyprus who were keen that the club's name be "Pan Hellenic", because the term covered all Greeks (including Cypriots, Egyptian Greeks, etc.), and because Michalopoulos had once trained with the Panhellinios Club in Greece.

In November 1957, these five teams: Astro, Taxiarkis, Pan Hellenic, Atlas and Pan-Samiakos, played in a round-robin soccer tournament at the Sydney Panhellenic Games. Pan Hellenic came last having been defeated by eventual tournament winners Taxiarkis 9-0.\(^5\) Michalopoulos noticed that most of the supporters and athletes barracked for Pan Hellenic, and decided to form a professional team. He called in George Lagoudakos, Menio Karras, Dimitri Vlacho and Steve Papagiorgiou and formed the first steering committee of Pan Hellenic. George Lagoudakos called George Zantiotis, who turned to Peter Ignelli and Dimitri Agapitos to complete the committee. Borrowing thirty pounds from Paul Vlacho, Michalopoulos bought the first playing strips for Pan Hellenic.

The first official meeting of the Club early in January 1958 was held at Chris Giannakoulias' home in Alexandria. George Zantiotis was elected president, Menio Karras vice president, Dimitri Vlacho treasurer, and Michalopoulos secretary. Lagoudakos was appointed manager of the team, while Giannakoulias chose only to be a committee member. Then Zantiotis met with the leaders of the other Greek teams and persuaded them to let their best players transfer to Pan Hellenic to make a genuinely strong Greek team. "Taxiarkis" supplied most of the players. In February 1958 training sessions, led by Zantiotis, began.

George Zantiotis had arrived in Sydney in 1947 at the age of 38. At 18 he had started his soccer career as goalkeeper for the Athenian club "Ethnikos". From 1932 until 1935, he was the national team's goalkeeper, playing in ten internationals.\(^6\) His experience and expertise in world soccer made him the obvious choice for president of Pan Hellenic. Zantiotis knew Johnny Phillips, an Irish-born Australian with a Greek wife, whom he had met in Greece during the war. Phillips was a member of the NSW Federation of Soccer Clubs and on its executive. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Pan Hellenic and, through his connections, Pan Hellenic was at once permitted entry into Federation soccer. Pan Hellenic entered the Second Division although it had never played a competition

\(^5\)ibid., 14 November 1957, p.7.
match, had no finance, no ground and no social club. Phillips was appointed the first coach of the team.

As he was involved in its administration, Zantiotis visited the rich, conservative Hellenic Club in Elizabeth Street and tried to obtain funds. Many turned their backs on him, with ironic questions such as: "What is this Pan Hellenic? Where are your offices? What is soccer?" However, several modestly wealthy postwar immigrants such as C. Karabousanos, M. Laoutaris, M. Stamatiou and A. Vass undertook to stake the club so that it would be ready to play in the Second Division competition (in the Western group). Karabousanos paid Federation registration fees and allowed the players to dine free of charge at his restaurant, the Athenian in Pitt Street. Zantiotis secured the Golden Jubilee Oval in Glebe for the 1958 and 1959 seasons, though at considerable cost. Before the competition began, Pan Hellenic had received no press coverage in the Greek papers so an excursion was organised at Lane Cove National Park. The function was advertised by paid advertisements such as "Meet the Players Day" with music and dance, barbecue and games.7

Pan Hellenic's first match was against Dalmatinac (a Yugoslav club) at Jubilee Oval, Glebe on 2 March 1958. Pan Hellenic lined up with an all-Greek team in a European-style attacking formation. They played in the colours of the Greek national team: their crew-necked and long sleeved light jerseys were blue and white vertically striped, shorts were white, and socks were also striped blue and white. Pan Hellenic won the historic game 5-1, much to the joy of the 500-strong crowd. As the season progressed, Pan Hellenic drew many more supporters to Jubilee Oval. This outing became something of a weekly adventure for the single male Greek immigrants who met at the ground for the game and ended the day at Greek-owned venues. By the end of the season Pan Hellenic had won the Western group, winning nine out of their eleven home games. Pan Hellenic then played Budapest (the winner in the Eastern group) for the First Division play off. They lost this promotion match 4-0, although "Pan Hellenic played a lot better than the score indicated."8 The blue-and-white team lost but their performance and enthusiasm in 1958 had surpassed all expectations. The Hellenic Herald noted that:

Every spectator who attended the match was proud of the good clean game played by the Greek players. Obviously Sunday's match will remain unforgettable for all those spectators.9

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8 Soccer World, 17 September 1958, p.2.
9 Hellenic Herald, 18 September 1958, p.4. Although Pan Hellenic lost the promotion match, they won the Second Division Final Series, defeating Budapest in the grand final. See Soccer World, 10 October 1958, p.4.
The formation of the Panhellenic type club came a little later in Melbourne. In the 1959 soccer season, when the split in Greek society had already caused such institutional havoc, four Greek soccer teams were in Melbourne competition: Hellenic, Ajax (Yarra Park), Alexander the Great, and Florina. By 1959, Cypriot-supported Port Melbourne formed in 1957, had dissolved. None of the teams attracted much support, with Yarra Park in the State League (First Division), while Hellenic was in a division lower in the Metropolitan League (North Group). At the conclusion of the season, both of these teams were relegated from their respective divisions with Yarra Park amassing only four competition points from a possible 44. Hellenic had dropped two divisions in two years after having been previously relegated from the State League in 1958. This caused further embarrassment to the Greek society which was so publicly embroiled in the Church split.

1956 was a great year for the Greeks of Melbourne, Olympic Games, our own Panhellenic Games, and then the split in 1959, caused the collapse of everything progressive in the community. While the Italians, Maltese rallied behind their teams, our fragmented teams were dropping down divisions instead of climbing. In a way this desperate situation forced various people to take drastic action.

The Melbourne Greek press acknowledged in 1959 that, "It is very embarrassing that there is not one Greek team, that can remain in the State League..... There are many causes... The only solution is for a union of Greek teams." The Melbourne Greek press acknowledged in 1959 that, "It is very embarrassing that there is not one Greek team, that can remain in the State League...... There are many causes... The only solution is for a union of Greek teams." 12

At this time it was decided to form a Panhellenic team to unite the Greek society. Cypriot brothers Floro and Con Dimitriades first suggested that as long as the respective Greek teams confined sport to their own groups, Greeks would not produce a soccer team that could match the Italian, Maltese, Dutch and Polish teams which had been formed earlier and which already had consolidated their positions. Soccer would be used to unite the Greek society in Melbourne. As in the case of Pan Hellenic, the timing of this decision was not coincidental.

Representatives of the four Greek soccer clubs were invited to attend a meeting in the GOCM building in Bourke Street. Alexander the Great declined to attend, although Hellenic and Yarra Park showed much enthusiasm for the concept. Hellenic was represented by Theo Marmaras, Dimitrios Divolis, Petros Dimitropoulos and George

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11 Interview with Stan Raftopoulos, Melbourne, June 1997.
12 *New World*, 22 April 1959, p.7.
13 Polish immigrants supported Polonia, Maltese supported George Cross, Dutch supported Wilhelmina and Italians supported Juventus.
Lekatsas, while Yarra Park was represented by Con Antoniadis, Floros Dimitriades, Evangelos Ladas, Vlassis Vrakoulis, Elias Kokois and Pantelis Andrikopoulos. John Olfad from the Slavia Soccer Club was appointed as independent arbitrator. Some non-soccer sections of the Greek paroikia were represented. After heated discussions, all parties decided that a team should be formed as a matter of urgency.\(^{14}\)

Further meetings took place until the formation of a steering committee of 14 members, with Theo Marmaras the first president and Floros Dimitriades vice-president. George Lekatsas' motion that the name Hellas be used instead of Pan Hellenic was accepted unanimously. The committee, then reduced to nine members, considered two problems. Firstly, they had no home ground and secondly imported Greek players were needed to bolster the playing staff of the team to compete adequately with the other ethnic supported teams. South Melbourne Soccer Club who used Middle Park was approached so another amalgamation was likely. The South Melbourne area had a high concentration of Greeks. The Hamilton brothers, who undertook all administrative work of South Melbourne, after some early objections, finally agreed to the amalgamation. Thus Melbourne Hellas was the amalgamation of three clubs: Hellenic, Ajax and South Melbourne.\(^{15}\)

Unlike Pan Hellenic, the amalgamation with the long established South Melbourne club meant that painstaking efforts in finding such infrastructure as a playing field were immediately overcome. Hellas supporters demanded rapid progress rather than a slow progression and the Greek playing talent of Melbourne needed complementing. Within days Marmaras flew to Greece and returned a few weeks later with the first Greek players who included Georgousis, Kourkoulatos and Fourtoumanos. They retained some players from the Hellenic and Ajax teams, such as the Greek Egyptian Karagiannis, who was the team's first leading scorer in the first season of competition in 1960. In its first year, Hellas entered and won the second division (North) six points clear of second placed Corio.\(^{16}\) In a Docherty Cup semi final match against Jewish-supported Hakoah, three Hellas players were sent off and 50 police were called in to break up a crowd disturbance, an incident which almost resulted in the Victorian Soccer Football Association considering the expulsion of the team from the league.\(^{17}\)

\(^{14}\) Taped interview Floros Dimitriades (RMIT Archives); *Athletic News*, 20 August 1959, p.1; *Hellenic Herald*, 10 December 1959, p.8; *Ethnikon Vema*, 27 March 1963, p.16.

\(^{15}\) Prior to the first competitive matches, the club in the Greek press was called "The Union", highlighting the various forces that were responsible for its establishment. See *Hellenic Herald*, 18 February 1960, p.8; 25 February 1960, p.5.

\(^{16}\) *Soccer World*, 2 September 1960, p.4.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 14 October 1960, p.6.
This dispute was overcome and in 1961, Hellas made its debut in the Victorian State League competition. For this season, Hellas imported more players such as celebrated Greek first division players Giannelos (PAOK) and Mantarakis (Panathinaikos).\(^{18}\) Impressive results followed as the crowds increased and Hellas finished fifth in Melbourne's premier division.

**Other Metropolitan Panhellenic Teams**

By the early 1960s, the story of Melbourne and Sydney was repeated in every capital city and even the smallest capital city, Darwin, where a Panhellenic team was formed. The Greek presence in Darwin began with the arrival of Kastellorizans in the 1900s, although Greek numbers remained low until the arrival of diving crews from Kalymnos in 1956. In an attempt to revive the Australian pearling industry they were brought out by the Australian government to replace the Japanese divers who were banned after World War II.\(^{19}\) These Kalymnians were responsible for establishing the Greek Orthodox Community of Darwin and the church of St. Nicholas. In Darwin, the Hellenic team formed in December 1958, was Panhellenic in style and entered into the local Darwin soccer competition for the 1959 season. Steve Politis' house in Kingston street was club headquarters, where all team meetings and activities took place, until a club house was obtained. Lefteris Miliarakis was an influential figure in that group responsible for most of the administrative duties. The team included brothers, Nick and Matthew Barbaris, John Vrodos, Jim Kandis, Tony Papandonakis and Kostas Kossifologos. Significantly, some of these players are still actively involved in the club.\(^{20}\) Hellenic were champions of Darwin both in 1962 and 1963.\(^{21}\) Their main rival in those first few years was the Navy-Army soccer team.\(^{22}\)

At the other end of the country, Greek community leaders alerted all members of the Hellenic Youth Club of Tasmania and other Greek youth interested in forming a soccer team. The call for players coincided with the successful tour of the state of wrestler Jim Londos in 1959.\(^{23}\) Hellenic Youth Club, which in earlier years had sponsored Australian Rules and cricket, played their first social soccer match against Arcadia, losing 2-3, although the Greek press noted, "Most of the Greek population was present."\(^{24}\)

\(^{19}\) See M.F. Christie, *From the Islands: The Kalymnians*, Victoria, 1986, pp.4-16.
\(^{20}\) Interview with Nick Barbaris, Darwin, January 1996.
\(^{21}\) *New World*, 6 November 1963, p.13.
\(^{22}\) Ibid., 7 August 1963, p.11.
\(^{23}\) *Hellenic Herald*, 12 February 1959, p.6.
\(^{24}\) *New World*, 16 July 1959, p.8.
From this encouraging beginning it would take over a year before, a Panhellenic club, Hobart Olympia, was founded in September 1960, when J. Kailis, G. Valiotis, M. Kanydis and I. Skoulakis believed the time was right to establish a soccer team which represented the Greeks of Tasmania. In 1961, under the captaincy of Chris Syriginis the team entered and won the Hobart Second Division title. Olympia also made the final of the Association Cup, losing 2-0 to first division side, Rapid. During that inaugural competitive year, off field achievement was even more significant.

The Committee under the guidance of the late Bill Casimaty, did a wonderful job of uniting the Club, and the Greek Community, and things looked very promising for the future.25

At the end of the season, a dance was organised by president Bill Casimaty and secretary Andrew Koralis to celebrate the success of the team at the Blue Moon function centre.26 The mainstays of the team in those days were Alexiadis, Hatzivas, Syriginis, Petropoulos, Roussos, Hantzas and Plomaritis.

In 1963, Olympia had became the premier Tasmanian soccer club. Firstly, under the coaching of R. Girling, Olympia won the Tasmanian Soccer Association First Division on goal percentage after being on level points with Rangers and Juventus. Olympia had won 13 games, drawn 2 and lost 3. In a close finale, in their last game, Olympia had to defeat Wayatinah and they did so comfortably, thus becoming champions.27 They also became the first Tasmanian club to play in the national club competition the Australian Cup. After winning their regional elimination matches against Juventus Launceston (3-2) and Rangers (5-1), they eventually lost in the quarter final of the competition to Juventus of Adelaide at Thebarton Oval, Adelaide on 12 October 1963, before 5,000 spectators. The historic occasion was marked by the comment:

Tasmania's Olympia lasted 80 minutes against Juventus and the whole of Tasmanian soccer must have benefited from the State's first national club level competition.28

During that successful year captain Harry Alexiadis, became the first Greek to represent the State Team when he played in the Australian Representative Championships. Alexiadis had in 1963 been voted the best player in Tasmania by the State Federation and was selected in the Australian team to play Peru.29

26 New World, 7 November 1961, p.4.
In Brisbane, Hellenic Soccer Club, although established in 1949, did not become a Panhellenic team until the late 1950s. In 1951, Hellenic was playing in the fourth division where, at the end of the season, they won both trophies on offer, the Massey Cup and Special Trophy and were promoted to the third division. The next few seasons witnessed no major achievements, the club attracting only Greeks who had settled in the post-World War II period. This was evident in the 1955 and 1956 seasons, playing in the second division, they just avoided relegation both years. The turning point came when Christy Freeleagues, the most influential Greek in Queensland, invited all sections of the Greek paroikia to co-operate to build a strong team which would unite both early and newly arrived Greeks. In 1957, Hellenic Soccer Club supported by all sections of the paroikia won the second division and was promoted to the first division.

For the 1958 season, Hellenic embarked on a building program including obtaining the services of even non-Greek players such as Derek Clarke from Annerley and rewards immediately followed. The widespread support of the Greek club was highlighted in 1959 when the team set the Queensland soccer attendance record, when they played Latrobe in the grand final at Lang Park in 1959, with 10,127 people in attendance.

For the 1960 season, Hellenic won the Queensland Competition (Brisbane and Ipswich Soccer Football Association) quite comfortably. With star players the Tsombaras brothers, the team won 15 of their eighteen games, drawing the other three. Between 16 and 19 March 1960, Hellenic represented Queensland in the first Ampol National Club Competition (a national club tournament for the winners of State Ampol Club competitions) staged in Sydney, Newcastle, Brisbane, Adelaide and Melbourne. Hellenic finished second, with Yugoslav-supported JUST of Victoria tournament winners. Hellenic once again won the first division in 1961 and during 1960 and 1961 they did not lose a competition match.

At the conclusion of 1961, Queensland's move to Federation soccer was initiated by three clubs, one of which was Hellenic. Hellenic won the first Federation controlled Brisbane First Division in 1962. In 1963, Hellenic made a clean sweep of three competitions on offer, the premiership (for the fourth season in a row), the Grand Final, and the Ampol

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32 ibid., p.56.
33 *Soccer World*, 28 July 1961, p.6. In all it was 39 consecutive competition matches.
34 Rory Crowe, *100 Years of Queensland Football*, Brisbane, 1984, p.4; *Soccer World*, 2 February 1962, p.5.
Cup. \(^{36}\) In 1965, the premiership went to Hellenic for the sixth time since 1959. In the last match of the season, Latrobe, running second, had to defeat the Greek team by at least three goals to retain the title and this they almost did.\(^{37}\) Therefore this made the club the dominant side in Queensland and the most successful Panhellenic club in Australia in the 1960s.\(^{38}\) At the end of the 1972 season, when the Queensland Soccer Federation banned the use of ethnic names, Hellenic became St George South Club, the name St George taken from the largest Orthodox church in Brisbane. In later years it changed its name to Olympic United.

Like Hellenic in Brisbane, the Panhellenic-type team of Adelaide, Hellas evolved from the local Olympic youth club. At the conclusion of the 1959 season, Olympic had won the Metropolitan Division (third division) comfortably and was promoted to the second division for the 1960 season.\(^{39}\) In the same competition Cypriot-supported Omonoia finished eighth.\(^{40}\) During the 1961 season, after playing Elizabeth Soccer Club at Hindmarsh, the match referee was manhandled by goalkeeper Flessas and a few supporters. Under Rule 7 (c), the club was suspended by the SASFA from competition, while Flessas was given a life suspension. A soccer publication claimed, "Many voices of protest were raised against what was generally considered a penalty out of all proportion to the offence."\(^{41}\)

This incident forced the Greek paroikia to bring all factions together (including the Cypriots, who had formed Omonoia) to form the Hellas Club in July 1961, initially stating that it had no affiliation with suspended Olympic.\(^{42}\) Sam Savvas and Mick Finos, who were previously involved with Olympic, became the main protagonists in the formation of Hellas, which also coincided with the establishment of the South Australian Soccer Federation.\(^{43}\) With the struggle for soccer in Adelaide, the old South Australia Soccer Football Association offered to take Olympic back immediately, although Hellas did not re-join. Instead, when the South Australian Soccer Federation was established in late 1961, Hellas affiliated itself immediately with that group. When Flessas's life ban was lifted, Hellas was ready for competition in 1962. The soccer press highlighted:

\(^{36}\) Soccer World Annual 1964, p.57.
\(^{39}\) Interview with founder Michael Finos and first president Sam Savvas, Adelaide, March 1996.
\(^{40}\) The South Australia Soccer Yearbook, 1960, p.28.
\(^{41}\) King Soccer, 14 March 1962, p.8.
Speaking on behalf of the Federation, Mr A. Giordano said that Hellas Club would be a welcome addition to the Federation line-up in 1962, and that the absence of a Greek Club the previous year had been a loss to soccer in South Australia.\textsuperscript{44}

In its debut season in 1962, Hellas came fourth in the second division. At the end of the season they failed to gain access into the top division and more humiliatingly they were soundly defeated by Croatia 10-0 in a competition match.\textsuperscript{45} For the 1963 season, Sam Savvas managed to convince members of the club to raise a substantial amount of money to import quality Greek players. Within weeks, at a combined cost of 2,500 pounds five players arrived. All sections of the Greek society were urged to unite as this team, "will uplift the Greek name as long as we uphold the high ideals the club represents".\textsuperscript{46} The rival Greek newspaper claimed, "the success and progress of Hellas is the success and glory of the Greek name and race".\textsuperscript{47} Playing at Hindmarsh Stadium, Hellas gained promotion:

\begin{quote}
The rise to prominence of the Greek community team provided excitement, colour and pageantry. As runners-up to Birkalla, Hellas earned promotion to first division, and then proceeded to fell three of first division's 'tall timber' - Polonia, Enfield and Austria to qualify for the Federation Cup Final. With Juventus and Hellas as finalists, Hindmarsh stadium was transformed into a miniature Wembley with a record crowd for SA of nearly 7,000.\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

The great rivalry between Italian-supported Juventus and Hellas had begun. At the beginning of the 1964 season, Hellas won the Ampol Cup and ended it victoriously by taking the Federation Cup. Earlier some commentators had thought that, "Hellas lacked the consistency necessary to top the league in their first year in the first division."\textsuperscript{49}

The fortunes of the team steadily rose. Hellas finished fourth in 1965 and the following season, they finished second behind Italian-supported Juventus.\textsuperscript{50} Not until 1966 did Hellas win their first championship. For almost a decade after that, they were the dominant team in the state.\textsuperscript{51}

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\textsuperscript{44}International Sports, Incorporating "King Soccer", Vol.2, No.9, 1962, p.6.
\textsuperscript{45}Ethnikon Vema, 12 September 1962, p.9.
\textsuperscript{46}ibid., 6 March 1963, p.10.
\textsuperscript{47}Hellenic Herald, 24 April 1963, p.6.
\textsuperscript{48}Soccer World Annual, 1964, p.54.
\textsuperscript{49}Soccer World Annual, 1965, p.57.
\textsuperscript{50}Soccer World Annual, 1968, p.59.
While there was much uniformity between the Panhellenic teams in Australia, there were also some notable variations. In Perth, it could be said that two Panhellenic-type teams existed for over a decade. Post-World War II immigration from Greece peaked between 1950 and 1965. Early in this period, the progressive Association of Athena was formed by post World War II immigrants who felt that the Greek Orthodox Community of Perth, which was made up of pre-War settlers, did not attempt to accommodate their needs. Athena established and entered a soccer team in 1953 in the Western Australia Soccer Football Association third division.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the increasing number of Macedonian settlers emphasised the need for further sporting representation. In 1956, Pantelis Toumbides, a former Perth Athena soccer player, established a team which would be supported by the newly arrived Macedonian Greeks, most of them from the Florina region. Toumbides sought registration of the Olympic Soccer Team from the Western Australia Soccer Football Association. In that inaugural year the team played at Wellington Square, East Perth and won the third division (north section). At the end of the 1958 season, they were promoted to the top division as runners-up to Windmills. In 1959, Olympic were runners-up in the first division, while Athena were runners-up in the second division and promoted to the first division. Olympic, in fact, almost won the 1959 title as "they came second to Azzuri, in a battle that was not decided to the last round."

The Western Australia Federation of Soccer Clubs was formed in July 1960, supported by the city's two Greek clubs, Olympic and Athena, as foundation members. Therefore, when the Federation took control of soccer in Western Australia in 1961, it could be said that no team had the full support of the Greek paroikia. Macedonians who made up a large percentage of the Greek population supported Olympic while remaining Greeks supported Athena. In the early 1960s, large numbers of Slav Macedonians began to arrive in Perth and within a couple of years, Olympic had Slav Macedonians as members. Under the communist banner, these members attempted to control the activities of the club. Many Greek Macedonians wanting to disassociate themselves from the Slav Macedonian group left Olympic and joined Athena. At the conclusion of the 1963 season,

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52 Interview with Arthur Athens, early president, Perth, March 1996.
53 Tamis, The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia, p.203.
55 The Official Western Australia Soccer Annual and Fixture Season, 1960, p.30.
56 ibid., p.77.
Athena came third, while Olympic came seventh in the first division. From the 1964 season onwards, only one team, Athena, was supported by the majority of Greeks in Perth.

In the following decades, Athena became Floreat Athena and the club's fortunes were linked to its soccer team. Success on the playing field, especially in the 1970s, resulted in an upsurge in the association's membership. Michael Lekias, a Kastellorizan, having gained control of the club presidency, then proceeded to take the helm of the GOCP. Lekias led Athena's campaign to raise funds for a sporting facility at the Velodrome in Mount Hawthorn.

The other unusual club was Canberra Olympic, which acted as the Panhellenic team for both Canberra and the surrounding Greeks in the towns of Yass, Goulburn, Queenbeyan and Cooma. The club was established in 1959, primarily through the efforts of its first president, Tom Samios. The team played its first game against Bistula and won 4-2, "much to the delight of the 84 financial members of the club." After three consecutive wins against Hollandia, Balkan and Hungaria, a celebratory dance was held. At the end of the first successful season, Canberra Olympic played Pan Hellenic for the Olympia Cup, with Pan Hellenic winning 3-2 in Canberra. Canberra Olympic was an important unifying force for Greeks in the Canberra area.

Non-Metropolitan Panhellenic Teams

In non-metropolitan areas, Panhellenic type teams also were established during this period. They were the focus of local Greek hopes just as the large city teams were. In South Australia, sufficient Greek numbers in five towns allowed for the establishment of five Panhellenic type teams.

In Port Pirie, the Greek community, lost most of its members prior to World War II when unemployed Greek smelter workers sought jobs elsewhere. However, revived by post War immigrants in the early 1950s, the community formed the soccer team Port Pirie Olympic in 1959. In its first year the team finished sixth in the eight team Northern Area Soccer Association (NASA) competition.

58 Soccer World Annual, 1964, p.64.
60 Hellenic Herald, 30 April 1959, p.6.
61 ibid., 18 June 1959, p.8.
63 The South Australia Soccer Year Book, 1960, p.47.
In 1961 the team finished fourth, although during that season, they had defeated Italian rivals Savoy for the first time, a victory that they celebrated at the team's offices. Later that year, they defeated Savoy again 2-0 and won their first trophy, the NASA Cup, at Port Augusta. Twenty car loads of people watched the match and celebrated afterwards at Frangou coffee-shop till the early morning hours. Like their wealthier and bigger counterparts Pan Hellenic and Melbourne Hellas, Port Pirie Olympic also openly recruited players from Greece, as in 1963, when the Kanari brothers were recruited. Ioannis Mallas provided much financial support for the club in the early years, even in obtaining the team's own sporting ground. Olympic dominated the local soccer competition for years.

In the Riverland area, in 1965, Greeks in Renmark founded Olympic which acted as the Panhellenic team in that town. The small Greek paroikia of nearby Berry, where two rival Greek churches were established, also supported their own team Hellas, which in later years played annual matches against Olympic Renmark, for the Riverland Cup. The Greek team of Coober Pedy, formed in the early 1960s, played annually against other South Australian teams including Adelaide Hellas in 1963, an event which was followed by a celebratory dance. Thunders, the Greek team of Whyalla, also played annual games against Port Pirie Olympic Flame. These annual matches acted as important meeting points for the various Greek communities.

In 1952, Greek settlers had founded the Olympic Soccer Club at Geraldton, Western Australia. Olympic, along with three other clubs Chapman Athletic, Geraldton United and Roma played in the first post-World War II Geraldton District Soccer Association competition, which had disbanded at the start of World War II. A small community of sixty families were instrumental in founding Olympic, which functioned as a social, athletic and recreation club for rural Greeks. In 1956 Olympic won two trophies, the Lare Trophy and the Geronymos Trophy which had been donated by the Greek president of the Geraldton District Soccer Association, George Geronymos. The most notable aspect of the sporting club was that it preceded the establishment of the local Greek Orthodox Church, Sts. Michael and Gabriel, built in 1963.

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66 New World, 14 August 1963, p.4.
67 Hellenic Herald, 30 January 1964, p.3.
68 New World, 17 April 1963, p.15.
71 Tamis, The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia, p.203.
72 Ethnikon Vema, 3 October 1956, p.5.
Wollongong and Newcastle, two other industrial provincial cities to the north and south of Sydney, also attracted many Greek immigrants who similarly founded Panhellenic teams in the early 1960s. Hellas Wollongong was established in 1960 and had their first dance in early January 1961, with 200 people attending in support for the team.73 In Newcastle, in October 1960, the weekly Greek radio program called for a meeting of all Greek male youth at the Community Hall in Skelton Street to establish a soccer team.74 Soccer matches between Greek youth were played until an official club Hellenic was formed in 1963, the first president being Charmazoglou. The club's first dance took place in January 1963, with the Greek press reporting, "that it was the first time all Greek males in the Newcastle area have attended any social function".75 Throughout the 1960s, the team played in the second division of the Northern Soccer League after narrowly missing promotion on many occasions to the first division. In 1964 the team came second to Weston Soccer Club.76 In 1965 after finishing on equal points (31) Hamilton Azzuri was promoted because of better goal average.77 During that season John Nickolakis scored 40 goals in a season.78 The following year, although the team did not get promoted again, they played in the grand final against Belmont-Swansea United.79 Mainstays of the team were Con Trypas, John Nickolakis and Laki Kaimakamis.

However not all Greeks in NSW went to areas of secondary industry, as some moved to farming districts. In remote Dubbo, a Panhellenic team, Dubbo Hellenic, was established in early 1963. With three other clubs, Dubbo United, Baptists and Skennan Motors, that team took part in the first Dubbo Soccer League that year. After the first three rounds, Hellenic had defeated United and Skennan Motors and drew with the Baptists.80

The Greeks and Their Soccer

In Greece itself, soccer had cemented its place as the people's sport in the period after the Greek Civil War (1946-1949). By 1950 soccer was the dominant sport, played by more men than any other sport, and watched by larger crowds. It was also the sport that the post-war Greeks knew and knew well, and Greek club teams were well respected on the

76Northern Soccer News, Official Program of the Northern Southern League, 22 August 1964, p.4.
77Ibid., 29 August 1965, p.4.
78Ibid., 15 August 1965, p.3.
79Ibid., 24 September 1966, p.5.
European scene.\textsuperscript{81} The recent Greek immigrants and their teams were welcomed into the multi-ethnic world of Australian soccer.

Therefore the young immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s naturally brought with them their interest in playing soccer. This interest became very keen in the particular setting of Greek Australia in those years, and the founding of the Panhellenic teams all round the country has to be seen as a response to the social needs of the time.

Most urgently, the formation of the Panhellenic type teams was a response to the political problems manifesting themselves in the Greek society. Concerned observers recognised that something had to be done to give Greeks a stronger sense of community as identified in the previous chapter. So there was the urgent need, the postulate, and a demand, for the establishment of a non-political, independent institution to function as the springboard for cohesion and accordance amongst the conflicting factions in the Greek society. That institution had to be something beyond the reach of those who had instigated and perpetuated the split in the paroikia and should have been something like a vertical line, crossing through all strata of the Greek male population. Something needed to bring the Greeks together: something like the Panhellenic soccer clubs.

The Panhellenic clubs also solved or at least helped in some of the other problems related to mass immigration. Melbourne and Sydney were the main arrival centres of Greek immigrants, especially for young immigrants between the ages of 18-25. The number of newly arrived Greek immigrants began to increase rapidly after 1954 to reach 98,000 in 1971, while in Sydney their number increased from 4,635 in 1947 to 53,646 in 1971.\textsuperscript{82} The functional decline of the Greek paroikia worsened with the increased number of immigrants after 1954. The ideological conflict amongst the clubs and the lack of any structural achievements hampered the harmonious and smooth adjustment of new immigrants to their new environment. Until 1961 the mostly male intake contributed to social problems, especially in the urban areas, which remained predominantly communities of bachelors. It was not until 1961, that the Greek government allowed the unrestricted migration of women to Australia. This influx also resulted in a vastly increased concentration of Greeks in the cities where coffee-houses and gambling houses increased in numbers and popularity.

\textsuperscript{81} G. Kousounelos, \textit{History of Greek Soccer, 1896-1985}, Athens, 1986, deals thoroughly in the way that soccer became the dominant sport in the immediate post World War II period. The strength of Greek soccer was never so much in the National team, having not made a World Cup until 1994, but the various club sides. The highlight being in 1971, when Panathinaikos made the European Cup Final and lost to Ajax Amsterdam in Wembley Stadium, London. There is a short and factually incorrect history of Greek soccer in Richard Henshaw, \textit{The Encyclopedia of World Soccer}, Washington, 1979, pp.319-22.

\textsuperscript{82} Australian Bureau of Statistics, \textit{1971 Census}, Greek Born.
In this period, sport continued to shape the Greek sense of masculinity. Industrialisation and urbanisation impacted upon traditional Greek recreational patterns and there was anxiety over the emerging social order. Soccer was thus seen as an effective antidote to gambling and an assurance to conformity. Most of the immigrants were from rural areas. Life in an industrialised Australian society drastically altered their use of leisure time, which had been linked to the seasonal and agricultural cycle in Greece. In the 1966 census, Greeks showed by far the highest rate of residential concentration of all ethnic groups. They were also more highly urbanised than other ethnic groups, with the 1971 census showing that only 7 per cent of Greeks were found outside metropolitan areas. The number continued to decrease in the years to follow.

Clergymen, journalists and community leaders were concerned about the leisure activities of Greek youth who, being independent of the traditional customs and social controls of the regulated village life, now found themselves with ample opportunity for apparently immoral entertainments. Sporting opportunities such as soccer were expected to provide a healthy alternative to such dissipating pastimes. Supporters of soccer came from a wide variety of backgrounds and included religious leaders. The Orthodox Church in Australia, seen as too much as feminised with church congregations dominated by women and stressing feminine values, was unable to reach out to Greek male youth. Majority opinion was that soccer promoted manliness. Because Greeks regarded sport as almost inherently a male sphere, and therefore inappropriate for women, the Greek press described all sports as manly, masculine and urged young men to take up soccer, yet few youths needed urging.

The Panhellenic teams cater to a life long fascination with sport, which all men are expected to have and do have. Every sporting day, the village agora in the urban engaged in their favourite occupation, masculinising all ages from old and young. Therefore Greek men can be considered as building their own ethnic public space in the new country to take the place of the one they inhabited in the homeland. This explains why the Panhellenic soccer clubs were the reconstituted public sphere and also explains the tremendous politicising that goes on this site. Likewise, the socialising of young males into the sporting world could be seen as their being socialised into an ethnic male dominated public sphere. All this emphasises the analysis of the thesis of men's fear that if boys and youths are too much in the domestic or female sphere, they will become overly feminised.

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Initially even the public area of soccer had been marked historically as an Anglo area. Even the soccer playing style of the old Anglo soccer football association (kick and rush tactics) pre-existed the arrival of any European immigrants.\textsuperscript{84} Soccer playing styles provided vastly different concepts of masculinity.

The soccer ground was a public space for Greek men, even though virtually none of the actual grounds were owned by the Panhellenic clubs. For them soccer redefined their sense of manliness and provided mechanisms to achieve it. Peppes explains how he felt at his first soccer attendance:

\begin{quote}
I feel in love with the overwhelming Greek maleness of it all; the spitting, the swearing, the smell, the blue and white colours. Soccer matches were a traditional way of celebrating Greek manliness.\textsuperscript{85}
\end{quote}

Chris Barkas, a fanatical supporter of Adelaide Hellas, claimed:

\begin{quote}
It was not only a miniature Greece -- it was a Greek male world. It was competitive. We wanted to have the best team, to outdo the rest of them, the Polonias, the Italians, the Serbians, any one of them.\textsuperscript{86}
\end{quote}

The Contexts of the Panhellenic Clubs

These events are more meaningful in the context of the Greek community itself and the Australian soccer context. It is not surprising, for example, that the Cypriots were decisive in the naming and support of the Panhellenic teams. Cyprus was in the late 1950s, struggling to liberate itself from England and the motto of its liberation movement was\textit{ enosis}, that is union (with Greece). "Pan Hellenic" and "Hellas", that is "belonging to all the Greeks", were names that made political statements. But it went beyond the Cyprus question in making a statement about unity among Sydney and Melbourne Greeks. The Panhellenic clubs, it was hoped, would create a Greek society.

There is very often easy talk about the Chinese community, and the Croatian community, and all the other ethnic communities in Australia; especially, it may be said, by official or self-appointed "community spokespersons". But a demographic assemblage of people is not truly a community, and in the late 1950s, the Greek population of Australia was not a

\textsuperscript{84} See E.P. Archetti, "Playing Styles and Masculine Virtues in Argentinian Football", in M. Melhuus and K.A. Stolen (eds.),\textit{ Machos, Mistresses, Madonnas, Contesting the Power of Latin American Gendered Imagery}, London, 1996; For different playing styles in Australian soccer see, Leo Baumgartner, \textit{The Little Professor of Soccer}, Sydney, 1968.

\textsuperscript{85} Interview with Milton Peppes, Melbourne, March 1997.

\textsuperscript{86} Interview with Chris Barkas, Sydney, April 1997.
community in the sense of an interacting social group, with all Greeks communicating and
communing. It was not homogeneous; indeed it was divided along a number of lines.

The Australian Greek population was divided, like all other populations, by sex, by age,
and by class. In addition, it was divided by the parts of the homeland that the immigrants
had come from and by the length of time they had been settled in Australia. There were
males and females, but males predominated because in normal migration (not refugee
migration, for example) almost always men go ahead and women follow once a secure
position has been established. Until the 1980s an excess of males over females was the
norm in the Australian population. The subordinate role of women was exemplified in
sport. Women played a very small role in Panhellenic teams’ history and in the early
years, that role was limited to fundraising. Annual balls were the domain of women. The
first Miss Pan Hellenic competition was organised in 1963, at Valentine’s Restaurant with
15 girls taking part won by Vivien Karidis. The female that raised the most money was
crowned Miss Pan Hellenic.87

Moreover, migration is spearheaded by young men who establish themselves financially
before bringing out brides and families. Even with sponsored migration, the people who
leave their homes are mostly youngish men and women. Only in the case of refugees do
we find an indiscriminate age range. Young Greek males who emigrated to Australia in
the 1950s and 1960s were full of energy and very lonely. They had little money to spend
on essentials, and nothing for luxuries, as they tried to save money to establish
themselves while also sending money home. To play backgammon in a Greek club or to
kick a ball around, was the only kind of entertainment they could afford and their only
release after toil, for Australian hotels were not welcoming to immigrants. Even
television, introduced in late 1956, was hardly affordable. Not surprisingly, these young
men devoted time and energy to sport.

The time of migration is important, especially if there have been waves of migration rather
than a continuous stream. Emigrants cannot have the experiences that people in the
homeland do. The immigrants from the earlier waves may have surprisingly little in
common with those who arrive later, especially if there have been social revolutions in the
homeland in the meanwhile.

Many post-war Greek immigrants, having been rural workers in Greece, became factory
workers and labourers in Australia. By 1971, 59.5 percent were in the category of
labourers and process workers. They aspired to own a milkbar or other small business.
Numbers of the pre-war settlers had attained upper class status by Australian standards,

87 Ethnikon Vema, 13 March 1963, p.16.
as some were millionaires living in exclusive suburbs, dressing elegantly and raising their children to live up to wealth. Often these pre-war settlers had minimal social contact with new arrivals, many of whom were unemployed in the first few years.88

While there has never been any policy of ghettoising in Australia, there has been the tendency for immigrants to cluster together. The phenomenon of chain migration accounts partly for this; the variable cost of housing is another reason (poorer people must live in cheaper suburbs); familiarity with a suburb and its amenities (maybe because it is the site of the migrant hostel they firstly resided in), and ignorance of other areas, is another. Whatever the reason, the fact is that Greeks tended to concentrate in certain areas of cities, the poorer newcomers in places such as Brunswick in Victoria, Earlwood in NSW in the late 1970s, and the richer established ones in better suburbs such as North Adelaide in South Australia.

It is very difficult to characterise the Greek immigrants as middle-class and working-class because they were outside the Anglo-Celt class system anyway; and, as well, because prestige and power were not necessarily directly related to wealth, but depended often upon alliances and networking, family reputation, good relations with the consulate, patronage, etc. Within the Greek population there is more Gemeinschaft than Gesellschaft. It should be noted too, that for centuries rich Greeks have endowed schools and libraries, etc., not only for self-advertisement but also, and possibly more so, from a genuine civic feeling. It is according to an old tradition that a rich man should take a soccer team under his patronage and that others should admire his magnanimity.

There is an old saying: “two Greeks, three parties”. Greeks usually have a tremendous interest in political affairs and assume considered positions along the spectrum of opinion. The successive regimes in Greece have left a population riven by issues of monarchy, communism, fascism, etc. The traumatic civil war of the 1940s split the country. The Greeks of Australia took diverse political positions. Being effectively excluded from Australian politics their political passions could find expression only in the arena of immigrant affairs.

Most Greeks were Orthodox Christians by their baptism, but some were also Greek Catholics. Conservative forces in Greece have always claimed that Greeks and Christians are synonymous terms; but the truth is that many Greeks are disaffected and are even hostile to the Orthodox Church. Anti-clericalism has been a badge of the political Left. In

88 In 1961, 500 unemployed Melbourne Greeks organised a protest, outside the GOCM building demanding assistance and help. See Ethnikon Vema, 2 August 1961, p.5.
Sydney at the time, the Atlas Club just off Oxford Street was a stronghold of the Greek Left, although far too left for most leftist tastes.

However, in Australia even the religious, the Orthodox faithful, were divided on ecclesiastical grounds. There were two rival organisations: the Greek Archdiocese with its hierarchy and its official connections with the religious authorities in Greece, and the local Greek Community (the Koinotis) which had organised religious activities and employed priests since the earliest days in the 1890s. These two organisations, both devoted to the Orthodox religion, were in the 1950s at loggerheads and hurling anathemas at one another in a scandalous fashion. The appointment of Archbishop Ezekiel in 1957 inflamed the situation and in 1960 the Community seceded from the Archdiocese.

Some Australian Greeks had never seen Greece. There were not only Greeks from Greece but, following the Nasser reforms in Egypt and particularly following the Suez invasion, there were Greeks from Egypt; and there were Greeks from Cyprus. But even among the Greeks from Greece, there were regional and local differences, because Greece, being so broken up by mountains, generated populations with distinctive local traditions and loyalties that their common citizenship of one State had not effaced. There was no necessary and immediate fraternity between individuals from the various parts of Greece. The best testimony of this regionalism (topikismos) was the number of clubs in Australian suburbs: Messenian clubs, Epirote clubs, Dodecanese clubs, etc., each catering for members from these districts. Outsiders may fail to appreciate the variousness of the Greek people, but Greeks themselves appreciate this diversity as a sign of the rich vitality of Greek culture.

By the 1950s, then, the Greeks of Australia were divided and fragmented. They did not have a single community of opinion or interest. If the fault lines were not repaired, the Greek population would lose their sense of Greek identity and become subsumed under Australian society. It must be understood as a constant of Greek history from the most ancient times, that the Greeks have always maintained their identity in the midst of perceived barbarians; and that they have constantly and consciously intended to maintain it. The question was, in Australia in the late 1950s, how to do this. The answer promised to be, the establishment of Panhellenic soccer teams in every metropolitan area.

The other context in which the Panhellenic clubs operated was that of the Australian soccer establishment. It is well understood that the explosion of Greek soccer in Australia was paralleled by the explosion of soccer in many other ethnic groups in Australia, probably in each case for a set of reasons peculiar to that ethnic group. Underlying them were general forces, the most powerful and the simplest being that the wave of
immigration had multiplied the number of Europeans in Australia and that many previously tiny ethnic groups were now numbered in thousands.

There is no standard history of soccer Australia-wide, only the chapter by Mosely and Murray in the Vamplew-Stoddart collection. This chapter provides a clue to the labyrinth; but soccer history is fully documented only for New South Wales until 1957, with Mosely’s work on ethnic matters bringing the Australia story up to date. In other words, most states are lacking their soccer history, and even New South Wales is not covered for the last forty years --which happen to be the years of most relevance for this thesis. What can be said here is very slight, but something must be said to situate the Greek story.

As Mosely and Hay and others have suggested, everywhere soccer has appealed not to mainstream Australia with its Rugby codes north of the Murray and its Australian Rules to the south, but to ethnic groups. It has been called "a Scotch game" and "pommieball". The strong flow of English immigrants, even in Western Australia, failed to make their beloved Association Football the dominant code in this country. It is a mystery why not, but other settler colonies like Canada present the same picture. In New South Wales soccer had a slight Anglo-Celtic presence, mostly on the northern coal-fields, from the 1880s until after World War II.

The large-scale immigration from the Continent brought about a soccer boom. However, the sport, even more than before, was tainted as being "foreign". So much did soccer become identified with the new ethnic groups that despite its long and continuing history in Anglo-Australia, it now was referred to as 'wogball' by some sections of the populace.

Anglo-Australia kept fairly firm hands on the soccer organisations, at least until 1957. Initially the European immigrant clubs were welcomed into the various Soccer Association competitions. They provided extra revenue as attendances at senior club matches rose sharply. The NSWFA Yearbook as late as 1956 stated:

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Most New Australians (yes, and some old ones too) have little or no interest in sports other than Soccer, and a summer floodlight competition in NSW would retain their interest in the sport right throughout the year. It would also provide much needed finance for the NSW Association. 91

But the older clubs and the existing organisations in each state, basically the Australian Soccer Football Association (ASFA) affiliated with FIFA, found that they had begun their own destruction, so to speak by bringing a Trojan Horse inside their walls. The old district clubs with their locality names such as Fremantle and Ipswich found themselves playing ethnic teams called Melita Eagles and such. They also found themselves outvoted or at least seriously challenged around the administration tables.

In fact by 1957 the majority of players and the majority of spectators were European immigrants, even before the postwar wave of Greek immigration. By 1952 Italian, Maltese, Dutch, Jewish, Yugoslav, Polish, Serbian, and Ukrainian clubs were firmly entrenched, although most in minor competition. 92 Within just a few years, Australian soccer became a league of nations. The increasing number of ethnic clubs and their 'on field' successes had an unsettling effect on the various state Soccer Associations. By the end of the 1956 season it was obvious these new ethnic clubs were no longer welcome in the Associations' competitions, with some being denied promotion into the top divisions.

In Sydney, early in 1957, the dissatisfaction erupted. A rebel administration, the New South Wales Federation of Soccer Clubs, was set up and a rival competition commenced. The formation of this Federation instigated months of bitter argument as long-term administrators saw the soccer world they had inherited transformed. The new NSW Federation tried for accommodation with the NSW Association but the latter was foolishly convinced that the Federation would collapse: "It does not matter what the Federation may do, what it may accumulate, or whatever it may hope to accomplish, it will NEVER smash the NSW Soccer Football Association." 93

Its officials would not yield and the power structure of the ASFA remained intact, but soon proved to be hollow. The Federation form of control quickly won the approval of the clubs, players, supporters and many old officials. Events in New South Wales were replicated in other states, and eventually an immigrant inspired Australian Soccer Federation (ASF) was formally established alongside the old ASFA in November 1961. ASF reigned but no longer ruled, it owned property but had lost control; the edifice was white-anted. In April 1963 ASF replaced ASFA when FIFA recognised ASF as the

91 NSWFA Yearbook, 1956, p.25.
92 For a detailed account of the emergence of ethnic supported soccer clubs see, Mosely, Ethnic Involvement in Australian Soccer: A History 1950-1990.
93 Soccer Weekly News, 7 December 1957, p.3.
The collapse of ASFA had a domino effect, the rest of the states and territories in Australia following. In some states the transition from the Anglo-Celtic supported Association to ethnically supported Federation was simple, while in others the disputes raged for years.94

The history of those embattled years was in effect the history of an inter-ethnic tussle, in which one Anglo male public space was wrested away from its traditional owners and was converted into a public space for immigrant men. It may be that the soccer organisations were in fact the only Anglo public space that was ever appropriated by immigrants; certainly the contest showed how far the immigrants were prepared to go to control their own game themselves.

Arguments are still heard occasionally, rear-guard actions in which Anglo Australians deplore the use of ethnic tags and urge the niceness of district names for teams, forgetting the Caledonians and others of the 1890s, or they deplore immigrant violence while playing down English hooliganism. However, these are only symbolic arguments, for Anglo-Australia lost the real soccer battle by 1963. Thereafter soccer, not merely the grounds and the teams, but the organisations too, was the immigrants' male public space par excellence.

The presence and influence of immigrant clubs was maintained throughout the existence of Federation Soccer, presenting a continual image of soccer as a game administered, played and watched by immigrants. Federation controlled soccer introduced professionalism, increased spectator support, the relegation and promotion system, and sponsorship. During the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Greeks and Italians formed the backbone of spectator support for the game throughout Australia, as the Federation's main support came from the Italian and Greek community sponsored teams.

By the early 1960s, the game's chief organising bodies (called Federation) were controlled by immigrants and the top echelons of competition were dominated by ethnic clubs. Basically the framework for this development was the founding in the late 1950s of umbrella organisations, at first in Sydney and Melbourne, and later in Adelaide. These organisations, the so-called Federation, were founded by newly arrived immigrant groups.

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From 1957 to 1963 soccer emerged as a popular rival to other football codes. It even seemed that despite international disapproval and sanctions, expressed in bans imposed by FIFA, Australian soccer was primed to emerge as the leading sport in Australia. In the successful struggle of 1957-1963, described by Mosely, the game was locked into its own ethnicity. When soccer did sound a challenge to the rival winter football codes, in particular Rugby League and Australian Rules Football, the game's ethnicity was used to undermine the progress of the sport.

The Greek involvement in the ethnic Federation soccer in Australia is a long and distinguished one. Since the formation of the NSW Federation of Soccer Clubs in 1957, Greeks and Greek-Australians have played a central role in the affairs of Australian soccer. This involvement culminated in the formal establishment of the Australian Soccer Federation in 1961 which took over administrative control of the sport in Australia. As participants Greek clubs were prominent. In the various first division state league competitions between 1958-1976 Greek teams dominated. In the Phillips Soccer League (the first national soccer league) since it formed in 1977, Sydney Olympic, South Melbourne Hellas, Adelaide Hellas and Alexander the Great were foundation members and are still competing in the National League competitions. The 1997 National League (A-league) included four Greek-backed teams -- UTS Olympic, South Melbourne Lakers, West Adelaide Sharks and Collingwood Warriors.

In the Northern Territory and Tasmania, the only states and territories that have never been represented in the NSL, the Panhellenic teams in both Tasmania and Darwin have been perennial winners of their regional competitions. A West Australian Greek soccer club has never competed in the NSL, although the Panhellenic team of Perth, Athena had been one of the most successful teams in the state league. Even as late as the 1998-1999 NSL season the back page of *Hellenic Herald* titled "Our Three Teams Triumph" stated: "After the win by Sydney Olympic 2-0 on Friday against Northern Spirit, our Sunday wins came with Hellas Melbourne defeating Gippsland and Hellas Adelaide against Canberra, have satisfied the Greek supporters in these three respective states."

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95 Australian Soccer was banned by the world governing body of soccer FIFA (1960-1963) because of irregular transfer of European players to Australian clubs. Mosely, *Ethnic Involvement in Australian Soccer: A History 1950-1990*, p.60, calculated that in Sydney in 1963 soccer attracted 29 per cent of the football public, Rugby Union 6 percent and Rugby League 65 per cent.


97 See: "Phillips Soccer League", in *Soccer Year Book*, Sydney, 1977, pp.29-39, for the involvement of the above clubs; The 'de-ethnicising' of soccer club names resulted in numerous name changes. For example in 1997 Sydney Olympic was officially known as UTS Olympic, Melbourne Hellas was South Melbourne Lakers, Adelaide Hellas was West Adelaide Sharks and Alexander the Great was Collingwood Warriors.

Panhellenic teams in Australia, Melbourne Hellas have been the most successful. At the start of the 1998-1999 season South Melbourne Hellas became the first club in the National Soccer League to register 300 wins.

The current research focusing on ethnicity and soccer has begun to acknowledge the Greek contribution since 1957. This involvement could be found in all levels of the game. At the highest administrative levels Sir Arthur George, Theo Marmaras and John Constantine and Sam Papasavvas have been long time administrators of the sport.99 Arthur George served as ASF president from March 1970 to July 1988, vice-president of the NSW Federation of Soccer Clubs and under his leadership Australia qualified for its first and only World Cup Soccer Final in 1974. Theo Marmaras was the founding president of the Victorian Soccer Federation (VSF), vice-president of the Australian Soccer Federation (ASF), made second life member of the ASF on 26 February 1967, and was the prominent player in getting the FIFA ban lifted in 1963.100 Sam Papasavvas was president of the VSF, and chairman of the National Soccer League. Early in the 1990s, John Constantine was president of the NSWSF and ASF, as well as manager of the Socceroos at the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. All of these men were involved in the establishment of the NSL in 1977.

The Greek involvement was wide and varied. In 1985 and 1986 the Greek national airline, Olympic Airways, sponsored the NSL soccer season.101 While no Greek has coached the national team, Greek coaches were found at most other levels. In 1962, Manny Poulakakis coached Melbourne Hellas and the Victorian State team. In the late 1990s this coaching tradition is continued with Angie Postecoglou and Nick Theodorakopoulos, both successful first grade coaches. Postecoglou won the NSL premiership with South Melbourne Hellas both as a player and coach.

Numerically Greeks had been consistently the best supporters of their respective soccer teams. Initially (1958-1976) the various State Soccer Federations found consistent support from Greek clubs and the Greek community. In 1962 Melbourne Hellas defeated Juventus 1-0 before 20,800 spectators, a record crowd for a club competition match.102 The following season Sydney's club attendance record for a premiership round (19,676) was set by Pan Hellenic and Apia. A survey of crowd statistics shows the correlation between Pan Hellenic success and overall crowd figures.

100Ethnikon Vema, 22 May 1963, p.15.
102Soccer World, 6 July 1962, p.3.
In some instances, loyalties became divided as Greeks began to represent at state and national level. Overall, however, the inclusion of Greeks in representative sides was treated with great respect generally in the Greek society as they were representing their respective Greek clubs. In 1962, the first Australian Interstate Championship sponsored by the Australian Federation took place. Alex Mavro represented NSW while John Margaritis, Tony Mantarakis and George Karpousas represented Victoria. Within a couple of years Greeks from all over Australia began to represent, including Harry Alexiades and Michael Hantzas (Tasmania), Tsombaras (Queensland) and Nick Pantelis (South Adelaide).

Conclusion

The two years after 1959 were a story of continuing progress for Pan Hellenic in Sydney. Players such as Themis Toussis and Sotiris Patrinos, from first-class Greek teams were imported. The crowds increased and grew more enthusiastic as Pan Hellenic won again and again. On 17 July 1960, the passion for soccer of the Greek immigrants was vindicated. Fanatical supporter Peter Varvaressos had just been married, while Pan Hellenic was playing Sutherland at Jubilee Oval. With thirty minutes left in the match, Pan Hellenic was leading 6-2 when the newly-weds with a bridal party of 40 turned up and entered the ground in full wedding attire to watch the match. Everyone was bedazzled by this gesture and appreciated that it would be the first in world soccer. The man's love of Pan Hellenic was so passionate that he went to the game even on the day of his wedding.

Pan Hellenic was admitted to the first division in August 1960. "On 28 August 1960 Pan Hellenic gained promotion to the first division by clinching the second division by the narrow margin of one point over Polonia." Professionally the team was a success, but socially they fulfilled all that the Greeks of Sydney had hoped. The paper thanked the Greek society for their moral support and financial assistance, although it stressed that the team was representing Greece and more funds would be needed to do it justice. The first Pan Hellenic Dance was held in the Paddington Town Hall. For the first time this male domain opened up to females, who made up a large proportion of those present (later on there would be an annual "Miss Pan Hellenic"). The team attended the event in newly acquired blazers embroidered with the Pan Hellenic emblem, which indicated

103 Australian Soccer, Year Book, 1963, pp.22-4; Ethnikon Vema, 7 March 1962, p.5. In that season Alex Mavro was voted player of the year, see Soccer World, 21 September 1962, p.7.
106 NSW Federation of Soccer Clubs, Yearbook, 1961, p.16.
The inaugural Miss Panhellenic Ball was held 4 August 1963.

The female participation in Greek soccer teams was limited to
organising fund raising activities like balls.
professionalism. Pan Hellenic and individual Pan Hellenic players were now the heroes of Greek society in Sydney.

What is most interesting to note is that, for the first time since the Church schism, both conflicting groups (the Archdiocese and the Community) were represented at the dance. There were present, among others: the Consul-General, Zaphiriou; Archbishop Ezekiel; Bishop Dionysios of the Greek Community of Sydney, and its President, Isakkidas; the President of the Hellenic Club, Harry Kallinikos; the chief editors of the *Hellenic Herald* and *Ethnikon Vema*, Grivas and Nikolidis respectively; the Vice-President of the NSW Soccer Federation, Bruna; the presidents of most Greek organisations, and eight hundred guests.  

For the first time in decades all political, generational, and religious factions came together in a social event, and it was to acknowledge sporting prowess. On that glittering night, it was clear that soccer could bring Greeks together as nothing else could.

While promotion to the first division united the Greeks of Sydney, in Melbourne championship success was the unifying force. In 1962 Melbourne Hellas won both the State League competition and the reserve grade competition, mainly through the efforts of the Greek coach Manny Poulakakis and Greek international Boulis Camparopoulos. The championship win (after winning 15 of their 22 matches and gaining 32 points) was greeted with wild enthusiasm from the Greeks who had overcome the top teams of the day Juventus and Polonia. Hellas had a celebration dance on 27 October 1962 at Earls Court with an attendance of 600. As with the Pan Hellenic dance, all sections of the Greek paroikia attended.

By 1963, the old Victorian Amateur Soccer Association had lost complete control of soccer in Victoria, with the best clubs defecting to the Federation. The Federation claimed that never before in the history of Australian soccer has the future appeared so bright. With the winding up of the old Australian Soccer Association Limited, one body controlled soccer throughout Australia. President of the Australian Soccer Federation W. G. Walkley claimed "the growth of soccer in Victoria - in the heart of Australian Rules - has been phenomenal". Much of the success of soccer in Victoria resulted from the loyal following of Hellas by Greeks. As after the 1962 championship win, that team dominated competitions in the following decades. For the 1963 season, Hellas finished

disappointingly in fourth place although its home matches had been financially successful. However, they went on to win the 1964-1965 seasons, with a youthful Greek team.

South Melbourne Hellas found a winner in left winger Damianaikos, while Solopidas also looked promising in the games they played in the seniors.111

In the 1966 season, with the arrival of Greece's great player, Kostas Nestorides, Hellas won again, breaking all records including gate takings. The success of South Melbourne Hellas underpinned the fragmented Greek society of that city.

Proliferation of Greek Soccer Clubs

But it was not enough for young men to watch the first class players. They were expected to play and they wanted to play, so there was the establishment of other Greek teams. Scores of clubs and hundreds of teams were operating in the next decades. This elaborate scheme was for the benefit of the first generation, and they did it for themselves. The young men who came to Australia during the post-World War II immigrant wave produced a space for their own benefit and enjoyment, a space for socialising centred on soccer.

Initially the Panhellenic teams had second and third grade teams in competition, but this failed to adequately cater for the mass influx of Greek immigrant youth. When Pan Hellenic were promoted into the First Division in 1961, they fielded First grade, Second grade and an under 21 team in the Sydney competition. The following year Pan Hellenic again entered three teams, although the under 21 team became known as third grade.112 Thereafter a host of other soccer teams were organised, especially in the early 1960s, to cater for the number of Greek youth wanting to play.

The majority of these brand new clubs registered in any association willing to accept them. They assumed the names of first division teams in Greece, or the names of parishes, regional societies or workplaces. Some names were quite amusing, such as the Apollo 11 Soccer Club in Melbourne which played between 1972-74; it took its name from the USA spaceship, Apollo 11. A host of organisations took it upon themselves to set up teams. Probably, of all the Greek organisations in Australia only the consulates and the large Greek firms did not directly establish clubs, although they supported soccer in various ways, especially by funding Panhellenic clubs.

By far the largest number were those established by the regional fraternities, and some of these were very large. Perhaps the only Greek club to rival South Melbourne Hellas was the Alexander the Great Soccer Club. Nearly 30% of all Greeks in Australia were of Macedonian origin. Naturally they formed their own clubs, and set up their own regional teams, sustained by sheer numbers and Greek interest.

Alexander the Great Soccer Club was founded in 1958 by Florina immigrants. In 1955, its founding members had dissociated themselves from the politics and ideological strife which had characterised the Northcote Florina Social Club, forming their own social club, the Clifton Hill Social Club. The formation of Alexander the Great Soccer Club was a move by the Macedonian Greeks to emphasise their Greek identity as distinct from that of Slav Macedonians. Markos Economides convinced the committee of Clifton Hill Social Club to fund the equipment necessary for the team. In May 1958, the Clifton Hill members organised their first appeal, aiming to broaden support for the soccer team and to avoid politics and conflict, and to run a completely independent sporting club. This move gained momentum immediately.

The first elected committee of George Banitskas (president), Markos Economides (secretary), Nicholas Themelkos (vice-president), Tryphon Rakovalis (treasurer), and A. Doukas, E. Mangopoulos, G. Milopoulos, V. and T. Iliopoulos consolidated the power of the soccer club within the Clifton Hill Social Club and declared its administrative independence from it. These men decided to name the club Alexander the Great, as the name Macedonian was already being used by the Slav Macedonians. The name Hellenic was not available because a team with that name already existed. A name that was specifically Macedonian was sought and Alexander the Great was unanimously chosen. The club colours, yellow and black were adopted in memory of the Florina soccer club in Greece. Economides highlighted that, "Alexander the Great was not only the greatest Macedonian, but also the greatest Greek. He was a real warrior, wanderer and an athlete."

In the first two seasons, Alexander the Great Club received the financial support of the Clifton Hill Social Club, as well as that of their own membership, spectators, supporters, and even the players. Social activities included, the club's weekly social dances, held at

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113 For problems with Slav Macedonians in Melbourne, see Hellenic Herald, 10 November 1960, p.5; Tamis, "The Macedonian question in Australia", The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia, pp.290-325.
114 When not directly noted, the history of the Alexander the Great Soccer Club, is based on an interview with Markos Economides, Melbourne, February 1997; Tamis, The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia, pp.204-08.
the Masonic Hall, Queens Parade, Clifton Hill. The 1958 and 1959 team included the players Balis, Dafinis, Doukas, Fillipou, Korfiatis, Romanides, and Zygomanis.

Following the first successful two years of the club, for the start of the 1960 season Alexander applied and were granted permission by the Victorian Amateur Soccer Football Association to play in the Victorian Provincial League. By this time the team had managed to build a strong and skilful squad, one almost unbeatable in their category in Victoria. The squad was further strengthened with the recruitment of Foutoulis, the brothers Evan and George Morihovitis, Tangas, Taskas and Xanthopoulos. All were Macedonian born and newly arrived. Unlike Melbourne Hellas, the club did not openly recruit from Greece. During their inaugural appearance in the 1960 provisional league competition, Alexander was declared the undisputed champions of the league, gaining 34 points and scoring 113 goals.115

With its successful appearance in competitive soccer, the club made a rapid climb into the existing competitions. In 1963, Alexander won the First Division South Competition and gained access into the State League for 1964. The team had won 19 matches, drawn 2 and lost 1.116 Thus two Greek teams competed in the Victorian State League in 1964. The prospect of two Greek clubs in the State League was treated with much enthusiasm in the Greek press, although Alexander the Great was relegated in 1964, only to be promoted again in 1965.

Promoted were Alexander who went down in 1964 and by all accounts they will make a quick trip back to the first division unless they strengthen their team.117

For almost a decade, the club alternated from the Victorian State League to the First Division until the mid 1970s, when the team finally became a force under the coaching of Manny Poulakakis, winning 1975 Victorian State League championship. In 1977 Alexander was a founding club of the Phillips Soccer League. In that first year the team came third, the highest placed Greek supported team.118 After 1977, the team proved to be a model of consistency, managing to win various competitions and playing an important and central role in the Macedonian Greek community. Following the formation of the Phillips Soccer League in 1977, the club leased the Olympic Village from the Heidelberg City Council. The club immediately built a covered grandstand seating, along with turnstiles and public facilities for 3000 people.

While no other regional club in Australia became quite so powerful and prestigious as Alexander the Great, there were numerous other regional clubs that enjoyed strong support. It seems that the particular urgency of the Macedonian Question produced very special support for this club; indeed, with the outbreak of the Macedonian issue in the early 1990s there was a resurgence in support for the club.

Formation of Greek Soccer Clubs in Melbourne 1960-62

Other clubs proliferated. Melbourne, which enjoyed the reputation of being the third largest Greek city in the world in the 1970s and the 1980s, best illustrates this movement to establish soccer clubs for the burgeoning numbers of potential Greek youth players. Some Greeks unable to play in organised Greek teams began to play in non-Greek teams. Between 1960 and 1963, twelve clubs were established in Melbourne to cater for the soccer needs of Greek first generation immigrant youth: Olympic Soccer Club North Carlton (1960), AEK Soccer Club Parkville (1960), Keravnos Soccer Club (1960), Windsor Soccer Club (1960), Yarraville Soccer Club (1960), Garden City Soccer Club (1960), Albert Park Soccer Club (1960), Astrape West Melbourne Soccer Club (1960), Princes Park Hercules Soccer Club (1961), Athena Brunswick Soccer Club (1962), Doxa Soccer Club Richmond (1962) and Olympic Dandenong (1962). The homes of these soccer teams were usually suburbs that had high Greek-born populations. According to the 1966 Census, Richmond contained 5773 Greek-born immigrants, Prahran 5418, Collingwood 4730, Brunswick 4708, Fitzroy 4261 and Northcote 4205.119

Initially, the clubs began to compete against each other, they then joined the existing local competitions and by the early 1960s, numerous teams were in competition. Soccer teams grew out of the social clubs, regional brotherhoods and restaurants. Most of them adopted the name of their district, but some such as Hercules harked back to Greek heritage and traditions. Hercules, sponsored by the Communist Club "Democritus" was formed in 1961.120 The players of the first Brunswick Athena side included, George Liakoureas, Petros Antoniou, Alexander Michalatos, Bill Palatsides, Nick and Spiro Stamoulis and Nick Karastavridis.121 Nick and Spiro Stamoulis were also well known amateur wrestlers, were important figures in Athena. Some of these early teams had a brief existence, such as Doxa Richmond who played in competition in 1962, before abruptly folding at the end of the same season.

120 New World, 19 July 1961, p.3;
PROLIFERATION OF SOCCER TEAMS IN MELBOURNE

By 1963 only South Melbourne Hellas, Alexander the Great, Brunswick Athena, Princes Park Hercules and North Carlton Olympic were registered in the VSF's four Federation divisions. South Melbourne Hellas was in the State League with Alexander in the first division, while, in the second division reserves, were Hercules and Athena Brunswick. The rest of the Greek teams in Melbourne played in local, provisional and amateur leagues.

By the early 1970s, these clubs and others grew influential. After almost a decade of competition, many clubs had consolidated their position both in soccer competitions and in the Greek community. The clubs' concern for youth issues was clearly illustrated in the early 1970s when many Greek clubs raised a significant amount of money to establish the Department of Modern Greek at the University of Melbourne. In total 29 Greek sporting clubs raised $16,108 with contributions ranging from $1,482 to $89.\footnote{Athletic Echo, 16 October 1972, p.2. The contributing clubs were South Melbourne Hellas ($1482.05), Prahran ($955.24), Doxa Richmond ($806.31), Malvern ($726.62), St Kilda ($821.30), Box Hill ($338.20), Footscray ($763.51), Sunshine ($443.70), South Albans ($225.40), Frankstown ($115.60), Hawthorn ($372.00), Kew ($432.60), Collingwood ($1420.15), Carlton ($137.50), North Melbourne ($167.90), Moonee Ponds ($365.85), Thornbury ($867.10), Brunswick Athena ($669.22), Preston ($298.30), Fawkner ($56.40), Pascoe Vale ($570.55), Evano ($61.90), Oakley ($836.90), Clayton ($371.05), Brighton ($89.10), Ares Hyett ($225.00), Menton ($233.65), Olympic Dandenong ($335.00), City ($677.60).} Evidence from this fund-raising activity and from the Greek press, indicated that almost all Greek sporting clubs in Melbourne were soccer clubs. Of the thirty or so teams that operated in the early 1970s in Melbourne, only Hercules included sports other than soccer.\footnote{Athletic Echo, 7 April 1975, p.4.}

The number of official Greek teams may not seem large in proportion to the number of Greek males. However, many Greeks working full time, raising families, many with no transport or spare money and other reasons for not joining an organised Greek soccer team, enjoyed playing soccer at a recreational level, participating in leisure games with friends.

There was still of course the tradition of Greek sports picnics, but by the early 1960s the picnic sports were mostly soccer games, which had replaced athletics, that were so popular and dominant before them. Thus the proliferation of soccer in Melbourne is more evident when one considers that at picnics, soccer was being played. By the early 1960s the shift was clearly evident, and athletics had been replaced by soccer. At the 1963 Pan-Macedonian picnic at Monbulk, sixteen Macedonian regional fraternities took part, with each fraternity having certain organisational responsibilities. For instance, the Chalkidiki fraternity took care of the food, the Grammos fraternity took care of drinks, and
Alexander the Great fraternity organised the soccer tournament. The day had a distinctly Macedonian ambience with music by Alexopoulos' orchestra.124

Soccer was played by Greeks in a multitude of places. For instance, in Sydney, workplace teams, such as the Greek workers of the Palmolive factory in Balmain played informally at Birchgrove Oval. Informal games took place in parks. In Drummoyne informal pick-up matches were continuously played in summer from the 1960s through to the 1990s, at King George Park. At Marrickville Park, another scene of informal matches was referred to as Little Wembley because of its popularity as a soccer venue.

Some Greek teams were both district teams and regional teams simultaneously. AEK Parkville, established by Cypriots in 1960 played in the lower divisions of the Melbourne competition. In later years the club was affected by factional fighting in the Cypriot community of Melbourne, but in the 1990s the Cypriots rallied behind the team Pan-Cyprus which now plays in the First Division State League Victorian Soccer Federation. Within the period (1960-63) Cypriots Australia-wide successfully established soccer teams under the banner name AEK (Athletic Union Cyprus). Even the few Cypriots of Darwin founded an AEK Darwin in 1963. In Sydney AEK Granville was also established in 1963, after the team amalgamated with the Granville Soccer Club and entered into the second division. President of the club, Agathokleous, wanted to go to Cyprus to sign up several players.125 For the 1964 season they were playing in the NSW State League Second Division where they finished second behind Polonia and narrowly missed promotion to the first division.126 The following season, after signing Dacovannos, Omeros, Patrinos and Ambos, they finished second again after edging out another Greek club Canterbury-Marrickville on goal average.127

The scene in Melbourne was duplicated, though on a reduced scale, in every other centre of Greek settlement in Australia. We may estimate that some one hundred and fifty Greek soccer teams were set up between 1960 and 1980. Some of these were of course ephemeral, others lasted some years but with demographic movements lost their support base and either folded or changed location and name, while others still survive.

In Perth, the immigrants from Florina were again evident. The Florina Brotherhood of WA was formed in 1968 and in 1975 established the Florina Soccer Club, a team registered in the Sunday League. In 1978 the soccer club was forced to dissolve being

124Ethnikon Vema, 6 March 1963, p.10.
125Hellenic Herald, 10 April 1963, p.16.
unable to pay a penalty imposed by the WA Soccer Federation. In Melbourne the Florina Soccer Club, a break-away from Alexander the Great, was established in 1970 and still plays in competition. The establishment of the Melbourne club inspired the persons from Florina of Adelaide to establish their own club in the same year.

In Adelaide the majority of soccer clubs were formed by regional fraternities. Doxa was playing in the third division as early as 1964. The regional fraternities Imbros, Lemnos, Pontians, Florians, Cypriots, and Messinians in later years all formed teams. In 1988, Adelaide also had the distinction of the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia (GOCSA) establishing its very own club, Olympians, originally called Asteras. Until 1988, the GOCSA always had a very good and close relationship with Adelaide Hellas, although the time was right to establish their own club.

In Darwin, by 1966 a second team Olympic was formed as Hellenic was unable to provide for all youth keen to play soccer. In their second season, 1967, Olympic won the League Championship, while Hellenic were runners up. However, Hellenic won the Lorna Lim Knockout Cup and Top Form Competitions in that same year. The relationship between the two clubs has always been good as illustrated by the fact that in 1967, for the other major competition on offer, members of Hellenic and Olympic joined forces and made up the Greek Community XI which drew with a Darwin Select XI (1-1) for the final of the International Shield. Apart from the formation of Hellenic and Olympic, three other Greek teams have formed in Darwin: AEK Soccer Club, Hellas Soccer Club, and Omonoia Soccer Club.

The proliferation of Greek teams occurred even in non-metropolitan areas. In Port Pirie, the local Greek Orthodox Community entered a team United, in competition, in 1962. Ironically United played their first competitive match, against the other Greek team Olympic in the first round of the NASA Cup, and Olympic won easily 4-1. In 1968, Greeks from the north of Greece established their own team Doxa Port Pirie which entered competition in 1968. Newcastle Olympic was formed in 1976 and entered into the

128 Tamis, The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia, p.240.
129 In the 1998 Adelaide soccer season, these clubs were still in competition: Cypriot Omonoia (first division), Florina (third division), Imbros and Lemnos (both in fourth division), Pontians (fifth division), while the Messinian Hawks were in the amateur leagues.
131 Interview with Tony Haritos, Darwin, April 1997.
132 South Australia Soccer Year Book, 1968, p.100.
fourth division in 1976, and by 1979 were promoted to the third division. In 1979, they had three grades in competition playing at Austral Park, Birmingham Gardens.\textsuperscript{134}

The second most important Greek soccer team in Sydney, the Canterbury-Marrickville Olympic Soccer Club, was established in 1964. At the Pan Hellenic extraordinary general meeting on 17 February 1964 an election was held, where the majority of members voted for the company debentures proposal. Some Greek members of the club believed the vote was illegal, sighting the high number of "proxy votes". In the following months some of these disgruntled members raised 20,000 pounds and took over the Canterbury-Marrickville Club and turned it into the Canterbury-Marrickville Olympic Soccer Club.\textsuperscript{135}

Apart from being one of the oldest established in 1896, during the first years of Federation (1957-1962) Canterbury-Marrickville was one of the glamour teams of Federation. The club with a largely young Australian-born side, captured two grand finals (1958 and 1960), the Ampol Cup and were runners up in the league to Auburn, Corrimal and Prague. By the end of the 1964 season the situation changed:

Canterbury were relegated long before the last ball was kicked... With better planning Canterbury may well still have been among the elite today. No club can possibly afford to part with top players year after year without suffering consequences.\textsuperscript{136}

After languishing one season in the second division, these Greek businessmen, imported some quality Greek players and local recruits, and in 1966 the club finished second to Polonia before defeating Corinthians to rejoin the First Division. In the 1967 season, undefeated from the seventh round until four matches from the end, Canterbury in early August were challenging for a fourth place which would have capped a fairytale climb to the top.\textsuperscript{137}

The Greeks who established Canterbury-Marrickville Olympic believed that other Greeks would desert Pan Hellenic and join their club, although this never occurred. The act of establishing another Greek team to rival a panhellenic-type team was a stroke against the mentality of the Greek ethnic group. The establishment of a new team was simply an act of revenge, and so the new team did not win the confidence of the Greek supporters who felt deceived and betrayed. In the following years Canterbury-Marrickville Olympic alternated between the first and second divisions. In 1975 they purchased a social club in

\textsuperscript{134}Northern NSW Soccer Football Federation Soccer Year Book 1979 and 1980, p.39.
\textsuperscript{135}See article, "Greek Group's Decision to Back Canterbury May Start Civil War", Soccer World, 14 August 1964, p.8; 11 September 1964, p.3.
\textsuperscript{136}Soccer World Annual, 1965, p.6.
\textsuperscript{137}Soccer World, 20 October 1967, p.3.
Brighton, and under the coaching of Raul Blanco in 1987, they were promoted into the National Soccer League.

Apart from the Canterbury-Marrickville Olympic Soccer club which was different from the norm, all other types of clubs were found in Sydney, including church parish teams. St Gerasimos Church was established at Leichhardt in 1963.\textsuperscript{138} St Gerasimos Soccer Club was established in 1972 and affiliated with the NSW Protestant Churches Soccer Association. The founding members of the club and first players were Steve Salvartzis, Lee Salvartzis, Sam Karagiannis, Steve Dimantaris, Con Giotakis and Con Lappas with the support of local priest Father Constantine Mandridis. These single men were friends all residing in the Five Dock and Drummoyne area. The first team entered into competition was in 1972 in fourth grade, at Easton Park, the team's home ground. By 1976 there were four teams in competition, catering for first generation youth arrivals. Player numbers kept on increasing and in 1979 the priest's two sons were also prominent players in the third grade team. The highlight of the club was the competition organised in 1983 to celebrate the club's tenth anniversary. Canterbury-Marrickville Olympic allowed use of Arlington Oval where eight Greek clubs competed, with the eventual winners being Belmore Hercules.\textsuperscript{139}

The proliferation of Greek teams to cater for first generation Greek youth was replicated not only in the metropolitan area, but Australian wide, in areas where there were even barely enough players to fill teams. In Port Pirie Greek youth joined Hellenic, but when Doxa was formed, northern Greeks joined that club. Olympians of Taralgon was established to cater for the Greeks in this area, as did the Greek soccer team Shepparton. In the 1960s, employers of Greeks, for example the large Greek restaurants, became so convinced that soccer had positive results that they even established workplace teams and in some instances gave players time off for practice and games. In Sydney, there was the workplace team of employees of the Athenian restaurant. Workplace teams entered amateur competitions and matches were taken seriously. During one such match, Georgiadis, a Cypriot, playing for a team of Greek waiters, died after a collision with an opponent at Wentworth Park.\textsuperscript{140}

\textsuperscript{138}Ethnikon Vema, 27 February 1963, p.9.
\textsuperscript{139}Interview with Steve and Michael Salvartzis, Sydney, January 1996; Program St. Gerasimos Soccer Club Leichhardt, 10th Anniversary Knock-Out Competition. The teams involved were Hellas North Shore, Newcastle Olympic, Hercules Belmore, Newtown Pan-Macedonian, Canterbury Marrickville Olympic, Gladesville United, Hellas Western Districts.
\textsuperscript{140}Ethnikon Vema, 22 May 1963, p.16.
Greek Sporting Press

The rise of all these teams and clubs was accompanied by some other phenomena indicating that the soccer space was one of great importance to Greek men. The emergence of soccer as a force in the Greek paroikia was aided by the appearance of the Greek sporting newspapers. The first to appear was Athletic News, first weekly edition issued in February 1958, published in Hawthorn Melbourne, the editor being Con Antoniadis.141 Its motto was "A Healthy Mind in Healthy Body". The newspaper prided itself on the promotion of Greek junior soccer in Victoria. Athletic Flame's first issue in April 1962 claimed to be "the only Greek sporting newspaper circulated in the whole of Australia".142

Athletic Echo (first issue 4 January 1961, price 10 cents) contained information about soccer not only in Australia, but also in Greece. The founder and first editor was Takis Efstratiadis. The paper had much correspondence with Greece. It reported widely on the Greek soccer championship, which had remained previously outside of the sphere of the Australian press. For over thirty years it reported on Greek sport. In this regard it is important in promoting the steady growth of junior Greek sport. A regular feature of the paper was on junior soccer, titled "Up and Coming Stars". Typical of the advertisements was the double page spread of the Melbourne Hellas under 12 team which read, "The young who play in this under 12 soccer team will be the stars of Australian soccer", while the following issue on the under 14s read, "These are the stars of the Blue and White stripes, who in a few years you will be applauding."143

Another newspaper, Athletic Voice first appeared on February 1968 and claimed to be the most well informed Greek sporting newspaper in Australia. Its editor was Theo Patrikareas. Unlike the other newspapers, it was printed in Sydney, and it claimed to be a response to the needs of soccer supporters in Sydney.144

The press became especially important whenever a team from Greece visited Australia. The first documented visit occurred late in 1963 when a team from the Royal Greek Air Force arrived to play six matches against local club sides. The press commented:

The Greek flyers stayed in Australia three weeks under the auspices of South Melbourne Hellas and Sydney's Panhellenic... The matches only attracted Greek fans.145

142 Athletic Flame, 4 April 1962, Vol.1, No.1.
143 Athletic Echo, 11 December 1972, p.4; 18 December 1972, p.4.
Other tours continued but the highlight was the appearance of the Greek national teams which was hard to repeat. Two such tours took place, but after the outcry from mainstream sports supporters that the Australian national team was not supported by the spectators but rather most of the crowd supported the Greek National team, the team never played again in Australia.

The first tour took place in 1969, when the Greek national team played three tests between 19-26 June against Australia. In the first match Greece lost 1-0 in Sydney before 24,022 spectators; drew in Brisbane 2-2 in front of 12,000 spectators; and won in Melbourne 2-0 in front of 24,416.146 The second tour took place in 1978 when the Greek National Team defeated Australia 2-1 in Melbourne, June 11; defeated Australia 1-0 in Adelaide, June 14 and drew 1-1 in Sydney, June 18.147 In the second series Chris Kalafatides made his debut for Australia in Melbourne and John Karaspyros who played for Canterbury Marrickville Olympic made his debut for Australia in the Sydney game.

Greek Sportsmen's Association

Not only did the press provide links between clubs and in effect consolidate the soccer movement, in addition there were moves to create meta-club organisations. There was the Greek Sportsmen's Association, which was formed in Melbourne on 21 September 1962.148 A general meeting on 2 December 1962 adopted the constitution. At a further meeting on 16 December 1962 the first committee was elected. Membership grew rapidly and within two months, there were 600 financial members. The majority of these members attended the Association's first picnic, where sports events took place.149 At their first dance in March 1963, representatives from all major soccer clubs attended: Alexander, Athens, Hercules, Olympic but not South Melbourne Hellas.150 The first issue of their bulletin, The Sportsman, commenced in January 1963, encouraging readers: "all Greek men should join, because of the purely sporting and non-political aim that it has undertaken".151

In the 1960s the Greek Sportsmen's Association was an important body which organised Greek soccer in Melbourne. Even in 1968, it was still actively recruiting members by advertising: "Become a member of the Greek Sportsmen's Association of Melbourne and Victoria for the uplifting of the Greek name in the grounds, the moral, ethical and

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146 Gino Olivier- Scerri, Encyclopedia of Australian Soccer 1922-88, NSW, 1988, p.174
147 ibid., p.175.
150 ibid., 6 March 1963, p.8.
financial support of Greek soccer and the building of a sports house." The organisation would organise dances, lectures and general meetings discussing soccer-related issues.

Then as Greek clubs also began to flourish, the Victorian Amateur Soccer Federation (VASF), made up of many Greek teams was formed in 1970 to run the amateur leagues. It is difficult to trace the number of Greek teams in competition as many teams did not have identifiable Greek names. Some were taken over and after a while were again left by Greeks. A survey of the amateur leagues of 1991 revealed that there were 75 teams in competition with at least the following ones being Greek: Alexander the Great, Apollo United, Bentleigh Green Rovers, Carringbush, Caulfield Tigers, Democritus United, Garden City, Glenroy Doxa, Keeley Kings Pythagoras, Kcon Park Olympians, Laminex, Leros United, Northcote Hercules, Oakleigh City Lesvos, Old Wesley, Panahaiki Caulfield, Panserraikos, Prahran PIPA, and the amusingly named Taxation United.

With this proliferation of Greek teams in Victoria an annual soccer tournament was organised to cater for them. The importance of soccer in the Greek paroikia is well illustrated by the soccer competition 'Hellenic Cup', established in Melbourne, the city having the largest Greek population in 1986.

Although competitions between Greek clubs began in the late 1960s, a Hellenic Cup was discussed as early as 1971. Hercules Soccer Club organised the first such Greek soccer competition in 1973 with 12 teams taking part. In this competition the host team defeated Western Suburbs in the final 5-1. Other tournaments followed and in 1975 two tournaments took place. The first was held for Metropolitan and District League teams only. The triumphant side was New Hellas. Later that same year the other Greek soccer tournament was organised by South Oakleigh, and there were so many participants that the teams were divided into two divisions. South Oakleigh defeated Pelops Hawthorn in the grand final. These tournaments and many other similar ones eventually led to the more highly organised Hellenic Cup.

The Greek soccer team Hermes Mordialloc formed the first Hellenic Cup committee in early 1982, made up of Steve Rides, Nikos Kotoulis, George Safiropoulos, Nikos Athananasopoulos, Dimitris Amantides, Manolis Vathis and Ted Papazoglou. The first

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152 Hercules, June 1968, Vol.1, No.1, p.2.
156 ibid., 20 October 1975, p.7.
Hellenic Cup competition took place in November 1982 at the ground of New Hellas in Port Melbourne. Organised by that club, sixteen teams took part. Ethnikos won the tournament after defeating Oakleigh 2-1 in the final. The second Hellenic Cup competition was won by Clarinda after defeating Hercules in the final 2-0, at the home ground of Hermes. South Melbourne Hellas organised the fourth games at Middle Park, where Hercules defeated Clifton Hill in the final 5-1.158

By this stage the Hellenic Cup competition was a well established tradition in the Greek society. The fifth Hellenic Cup competition took place at Paisley Reserve from 2 November to 21 December, organised by the Doxa Yarraville Club, with matches being played at the home ground of East Altona PAOK.159 The tournament had grown so much that teams from all over the state were invited to participate. Every year, two non-metropolitan teams, Greek Soccer Team Shepparton and the Olympians of Taralgon, travelled many kilometres to take part in the competition. Support for the competition was widespread with the Greek government, as early as the second championship, donating 500,000 drachmas.

At this tournament, major Greek clubs were matched against smaller ones, from the National League side, South Melbourne Hellas to a drop of some 12 divisions to the amateur leagues. The cross section of teams included: National league teams Alexander the Great; from the state league Panhellenic, Ethnikos, Hercules and Oakleigh; from the Victorian League: Hermes in the first, Clifton Hill in the second, Doxa in the third, and New Hellas in the fourth. From the provisional leagues Malvern, Brighton, Leonidas, Pithagoras, South Springvale, Olympic, Ascot Vale, West Lalor and Antagora took part. In fact in 1986 Hercules defeated South Melbourne in the final 3-1. In the 1990s, the Hellenic Cup was still functioning and in the 1998 Greek Cup, Crete defeated East Richmond (organisers of the Cup) for the third place while Hercules defeated Pan Cyprus in the final 3-2.160

Greek sporting grounds were important 'testing grounds', not only of sporting ability, but of manhood. Although some women did play soccer, they did so in much smaller numbers than men, and they were usually observers rather than participants. Soccer was,
in fact, a male preserve. Hence as public performers in sport, men were highly visible, while women tended to be on the margins or invisible.

These conclusions about sport and masculinity have been reinforced by Rotundo’s findings that boys and male youth formed homosocial groups that allowed them to retreat from female dominated households and practise the non-feminine values of aggression and competition needed in the workplace.\textsuperscript{161}

Conclusion

There were matches every week. In Melbourne of a Saturday and Sunday afternoon by 1975, up to 100 Greek teams were playing, with matches attended by an estimated 30,000 weekly. The Greeks everywhere had created a set of soccer clubs for their youth and young men, Greek institutions which embodied and carried the hopes of the immigrants for the continuation of the Greek sporting tradition in Australia. They had created their own public space where nationalism, masculinity and sport were inextricably united.

Attendance at these matches does not seem to have been age-specific. The young men played, but they were watched religiously by a crowd of Greek males of all ages, especially at the Panhellenic matches. At these soccer matches there were greybeards clutching their walking sticks, and there were little boys holding their fathers’ hands. These boys were second generation and had not seen Greece, so their fathers believed that they should be sporting in order for them to grow up as Greek men. The fathers were enthusiastic about soccer and this became the tool to be used to socialise them. As George Plarinos said in 1971, “We must do something to keep the youngsters Greek”.\textsuperscript{162} This could best be achieved by setting up youth and junior soccer teams to cater for this rising generation.


\textsuperscript{162}Interview with George Plarinos, Sydney, February 1995.
CHAPTER SEVEN


Small boys held their fathers' hand at soccer matches in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Sons were taken along into this masculinising setting and thus absorbed the idea of soccer's importance for Greek men. Gradually the older generation began to realise and understand that something more structured needed to be organised for the rising generation of Greek Australians.

These boys were second generation and had not been to Greece. Their fathers believed that sons should grow up to be Greek men. Fathers were enthusiastic about soccer which became the tool used to socialise them. This could only be achieved by setting up youth and junior teams to cater for this generation. With increasing organisation by the late 1960s, soccer clubs mentioned in the previous chapter were well supported and assumed more significance with the rise of the second generation. In general, apart from the Panhellenic soccer clubs (Pan Hellenic, South Melbourne Hellas) and larger regional fraternity soccer clubs (Alexander the Great), most other Greek teams were established and have continued to the present day because of their focus on junior and youth teams. The emphasis for most of these clubs was not on having a senior team in the top division and putting resources (especially financial) into meeting this objective, but rather establishing a soccer club where both junior and youth teams were nurtured. If the senior team in any of these clubs was successful, it was seen as an added bonus.

Mass immigration from Greece in the 1950s and the early 1960s saw the number of school-aged Greek immigrant children increase dramatically. In Melbourne in 1961, the Greek population was only the sixth largest non-English speaking ethnic group, but a decade later, it was the second largest. The 1971 census figures of Greek-born males in Melbourne indicate approximately 10,000 Greek-born boys in Melbourne's Greek-born population of 40,000 males. The total Greek-born population in Melbourne in 1971 was 76,239 persons and the Greek population, including Australian born was placed around 120,000. By 1986 the second generation in Australia numbered some 135,000, about 25 per cent of whom were in the age group fifteen to twenty-four; and by 1991 the group was just over 151,000, 39.4 per cent of whom were from fifteen to twenty-four.

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In fact 90 per cent of the second generation were aged under 35 years at the time of the 1991 Census.\(^2\) In the 1970s and 1980s, the number of potential young soccer players was about 25,000, with many more in the age-groups under fifteen. Numerous teams and clubs were needed to cater for their sporting needs. Obviously, not all youngsters played soccer, and not all who played joined Greek clubs, but the potential membership was enormous.

These children, the second generation or Greek ethnic minority youth, whether born in Australia or in Greece, shared the experience of immigration: they belonged neither to the old country nor to the new. Greek boys were born and raised in two social worlds. One was particularistic, with an ethnic subculture made up of the Greek immigrant parents and relatives, immigrant priests, schoolteachers and Greek peers. These agents of socialisation shared similar experiences and attempted to socialise the children to traditional norms and values of the Greek subculture. The other was a more universalistic world (Australian) made up of schools, non-Greek peers and friends, and institutional norms and values of the majority society and culture. The second generation emerged as a product of a Greek subculture and an Australian culture; a sociocultural hybrid with a dual identity of Greek Australian. Older Greeks considered that these youngsters were particularly exposed to dangers in their social environment, although their concern was not recognised at official levels. Irving, Maunders and Sherington, writing about youth policies in Australia, do not note any government interest from 1945 to the 1980s in the welfare of immigrant youth.\(^3\) A later article by Sherington highlighted:

that up until the 1980s there was little formal recognition of ethnic youth in the development of youth policy in Australia. There was a general assumption that young people from ethnic communities could be assumed to share common characteristics with the general youth population.\(^4\)

It is not out of place to note here that there has been an extraordinary lack of interest by sports historians in younger players and junior clubs. In New Zealand, where there are innumerable books about Rugby Union, two books can be found on the history of school Rugby.\(^5\) In Australia equivalent books about junior teams in any sport are lacking.


\(^3\) Terry Irving, David Maunders, and Geoff Sherington, *Youth In Australia: Policy, Administration and Politics*, Melbourne, 1995.


It seems that governments and sports historians alike have been slow to recognise the importance of organisations that nurture future first-grade players.

For the Greek immigrants the education of their youth was perennially a problem, and junior sports was a continuing interest. They did not want their youngsters succumbing to what they considered the loose and dangerous morality of Australians, nor did they want their youngsters to cease to identify themselves as Greeks. It was thought that all agencies needed to work in concert, because Greek boys do not become Greek men by simply growing up, but by learning to display a variety of manly qualities and competencies as part of a conscious process of physical embodiment of the masculine code. This has, of course, its parallel in the traditional experiences of young women, but there the code of femininity does not involve sporting activities. Greek men must conform to the code of masculinity, and that means active, committed participation such as playing and watching sports, not simply expressing a vague interest in sport.

Because these children were attending Australian schools, it was especially important that some countervailing force be used. There was a current perception in Australian society and even in educational circles that immigrant children were performing well at school. Nobody was investigating their very real difficulties. In 1963, Dr H. S. Wyndham, then Director-General of Education NSW, stated that his department deliberately refrained from collecting statistics about ethnic students because "once they are enrolled in school they are, from our point of view, Australian citizens."  

School experiences of Greek youth, and those of immigrant youth generally, especially during the decades after 1960 were mostly ignored both from a pedagogical and cultural perspective. However, two books by Eva Isaacs paid more attention to Greeks than anyone had paid to other ethnic groups. Yet the cultural and moral problems that Greek parents felt were not seriously addressed. Mostly from rural districts and fearful even for themselves in Australia’s urban environments, they were particularly fearful for their children. It was so easy to get harmed. Australian cities not being ghettoised, Greek youngsters were continually interacting with other ethnic youth and Australian youth from their neighbourhood. At school and in their leisure time, they were exposed to alien, and what parents considered dangerous, influences.

Greek afternoon schools were not adequate to counteract these influences. But there were the soccer clubs. Such clubs were particularly appealing because Australian schools

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7Eva Isaacs, Greek Children in Sydney, Canberra, 1976; Eva Isaacs, Greek Children at School and After, Canberra, 1981.
mostly promoted League and Union and Rules football codes, and the situation of the film “Heartbreak Kid”, mentioned earlier, was repeated all over the country. Soccer was given little official support by either the Australian education systems, state and local governments or the local sports like Australian Rules in Melbourne and Rugby League in Sydney. Mosely demonstrates that on many occasions, Greeks and other ethnic youth were discriminated against in schools, with active sporting participation in schools discouraged and principals not always allowing the formation of soccer teams in school settings.\(^8\) Soccer Federation officials noted that as early as 1959 that, "It is clear, however, that the boys' demand for soccer has out grown school organisation. At one high school this year 70 out of 140 boys in first year applied to play soccer. The tragedy was that only two teams could be entered.\(^9\)

Even when teams were established, organised attempts were made to discriminate against their consolidation. Mick Tavlis, an Adelaide high school student claimed that during his team's second school training session in the early 1970s:

... we approached one of the teachers and asked him to help us form a team. During the second practice, some of the Australian kids, began hitting golf balls at us from the golf course, which was situated next to our field. The teacher training us knew who the kids were but did not get them in trouble.\(^10\)

Walker's study on male youth subculture at Cleveland Street High School in Sydney in the 1980s dealt with issues relating with Greek boys and the hierarchical low standing associated with soccer in the school and the type of boys who played it.\(^11\) Walker noted:

While perhaps it is reasonable for people to choose vigorous body-contact sports if they prefer them, it was sad to see them placed at the pinnacle of status in a way which reinforced one form of masculinity which was both oppressive and in practice limited the options of boys less inclined to pursue it. It also tended to devalue the preferred games of certain ethnic groups, such as the Greeks' love of soccer.\(^12\)

The lack of soccer promotion existed not only in the state school system. In private schools, soccer was not adopted as a GPS sport in Sydney until 1974. The adoption of

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\(^10\)Interview with Mick Tavlis, Adelaide, March 1996.


\(^12\)ibid., p.164.
soccer was primarily facilitated by parental concerns about high incidences of injury in Rugby Union.\textsuperscript{13} Increasing enrolment of Greek and other ethnic students in private schools also influenced the private school system to adopt soccer, as a means of attracting more ethnic students. Waverley College in Sydney's eastern suburbs, in particular, was one such school.

All these factors contributed to the formation of Greek youth soccer teams.

We considered soccer one of the best means of teaching our boys Greek ideas and ideals. The Greek soccer players have an irresistible appeal to Greek boys. Soccer served as one of the Greek cultural activities which attracted second generation Greeks, helped to define Greek Australians and to differentiate them from the Australian boys. We were alarmed at the increase in child rebellion caused, I feel, by many things including boredom and the need to burn up surplus energy.\textsuperscript{14}

Sam Savvas, president of the Adelaide Hellas Juniors, noted that soccer was the preferred sport, not only because Greeks knew it well but because the sport itself had many skills and codes of behaviour to be learnt. The sport was considered not masculine enough by non-soccer supporters who referred to it as 'wogball' and 'a sissy's game'. However, Greeks saw soccer as providing:

- Physical fitness because training is so essential to a good player, both occupying leisure time and assisting in building a healthier body.
- Discipline, because it teaches self control and respect. What sport is more suited than soccer when the player must refrain from handling the ball? Team work, where co-operation is so necessary to reach the goal.\textsuperscript{15}

Therefore, alongside the teams for young first generation immigrant men discussed in the previous chapter, we find a little later the creation of teams and clubs for the second generation, and these began with teams for young boys. This generation was catered for from the age of six, and it took years before they had grown up sufficiently to fill all the rungs on the ladder of junior soccer, all the way up to sixteen. The immigration pattern itself, with the large number of Greeks arriving and establishing themselves all within a few years, ensured that there was a fairly close-packed younger generation, who grew up together.

\textsuperscript{13}Geoffrey Sherington, \textit{Shore: A History of Sydney Church of England Grammar School}, Sydney, 1983, one of the few school histories to give soccer any treatment. The argument for soccer in Shore was founded on the hope that it was less violent than Rugby. In 1985, soccer was introduced at Shore and in 1988 soccer became an official GPS sport, see \textit{The Torch Bearer, Centenary Issue 1989}, The Magazine of the Sydney Church of England Grammar School, No.XCIX, Vol.1, p.103; For discrimination in schools especially in private schools, see \textit{Soccer World}, 15 November 1963, p.3.

\textsuperscript{14}Interview with Themi Pantzouris, Sydney, December 1995.

\textsuperscript{15}Interview with Sam Savvas, Adelaide, March 1996.
Clubs and teams were created early because proficiency at soccer is the result of years of playing. The promise was that if boys began as juniors, eventually they would be fit to enter youth teams. In Australian sport generally, the continual lowering of age eligibility for weekend soccer participation meant that it was possible to establish younger teams. As early as 1962, an under eight soccer grade was added while only ten years earlier the youngest grade conducted was 16. At the same time, getting them early would create a loyalty to the club that would ensure their playing for it in youth. This strategy also suited the associations, which normally expected that there would be a complement of junior teams. Talented young players could be allowed access to older-age competitions, whereas the reverse, an older youngster playing in a more youthful team, was not possible. In this period, especially the 1970s, there was no shortage of playing space, whereas earlier, in the 1945-60 period, Greek youth clubs had trouble obtaining playing fields. Greek junior teams, which were affiliated with and supported by the long established various junior soccer associations, had a structured ground allocation system which meant that theoretically teams would not have been sacrificed, due to lack of playing grounds.

While Greeks were essentially concerned with the masculising of youth, they took steps to ensure that soccer would be a vital part of the young man's socialisation. Their concerns led them to extend the range of soccer facilities to ever younger age-groups. Structures created for youth were now embracing most of the boyhood years as well, so that youth was being redefined as the central and dominant age. Thus the establishment of junior teams and the policy of encouraging Greek boys to play soccer, effectively meant that the parameters of youth had been expanded.

The simplest and least costly way of involving all Greek boys in soccer was the use of the existing junior teams and associations. Unlike the situation in Germany where the Greeks were not allowed to enter existing associations, the situation in Australia was favourable. Numerous and well organised junior associations existed and they permitted Greeks and other nationals to join their associations and, in most instances, to form junior teams. Unlike the respective state soccer football associations, many of the junior district soccer football associations affiliated themselves with Federation soccer quite early.

17 Richard Cashman and Amanda Weaver, *Wicket Woman: cricket and women in Australia*, Sydney, 1991 cleverly illustrates that marginalised sports and sporting groups in the immediate post-World War II period, like women cricketers, could not succeed as their infrastructure was inadequate.
18 Interview with Keith Gilmour, president NSW Junior Soccer Football Association in the 1960s, Sydney, April 1993; see article "Immigrants should encourage sons to join junior clubs", *Soccer World*, 6 April 1962, p.6.
In NSW the State Junior Soccer Association cut its ties with the NSW Soccer Football Association in 1958. In New South Wales, the long established junior associations ensured that the game had a strong Australian base which Greek and other ethnic groups complemented. Therefore the proliferation of Greek youths playing soccer was aided by junior soccer policies already in place.

Most junior soccer associations developed many years before post-World War II ethnic soccer involvement. Greek soccer clubs have maintained a close association with the various junior associations. In Sydney, two district associations in particular, the St. George junior district and Canterbury junior district had a close association with the Greek paroikia.

The St. George Junior Soccer Football Association was formed in 1924. In 1925 its constitution was changed to allow affiliation to any soccer clubs in the area. By 1948, there were 15 teams entered into competition. Four years later, the number had risen to 35 teams. In 1971, 3,860 boys, 274 junior teams were registered with the Association. The clubs that made up the association welcomed and allowed ethnic players to join their association, in particular the Bexley North Soccer Club. By the 1970s, Greek clubs and their junior teams were entered into these competitions, with the most notable being St. George Olympic, established in 1975, which, by 1997 still had 10 junior teams registered in this competition.

In some cases, Greeks took over existing clubs, without changing the clubs' name. For instance, the district association with the proudest record was the Canterbury Soccer Football Association, which was founded in 1922. Two years later the Canterbury Junior Soccer Football Association was established and throughout its existence, junior soccer thrived.

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19 *Soccer World*, 21 November 1958, p.4.
20 The 1960 Sydney junior district soccer association was made up of the following district associations: Bankstown, Eastern Suburbs, Granville, Gladesville-Hornsby, Kuringai, Manly-Warringah, Canterbury, Northern Suburbs, Protestant Churches, Southern Districts, Sutherland Districts, Western Suburbs and Illawarra.
23 The Canterbury Soccer Football Association has an unprecedented history in producing some of Australia's great players, including 1974 Australian World Cup captain, John Warren. In the annual state championships in the various junior age groups they had the most successful teams. For example, in 1961, all seven grades made it at least into the semi-finals. (*Soccer World*, 21 July 1961, p.8.) Canterbury District was one of the first associations to welcome immigrant juniors to the fold. As early as 1959 they organised a junior tournament with 1200 players from the ages of 7 to 17 taking part. (*Soccer World*, 9 August 1958, p.1.)
By the early 1960s, the Canterbury-Marrickville area had become a significantly Greek area, as shown by the government censuses. Eager to expand their dominance and to improve their financial status, clubs eagerly welcomed all youth including Greeks into their teams. By the mid 1960s with the arrival of new members and teams into the association, the number of teams and players rapidly increased. In the 1958 season, it was the biggest district association with 15 clubs affiliated, representing 106 teams with a total of 2005 players. By 1962 there were 152 teams. By 1968 the Canterbury Junior Soccer Football Association comprised 17 clubs and 207 teams, while by 1980 it had 371 teams with 5,279 registered players.

The first club to feel the Greek presence in this association was the Marrickville Red Devils Soccer Club. By the early 1970s, player numbers swelled and many of the Marrickville Red Devil junior teams comprised of Greek players, especially in the 8-12 age group. On Saturday mornings, Marrickville Red Devils' home ground, Mackey Park, had a genuinely Greek atmosphere and gradually was transformed into a Greek public space.

Marrickville Red Devils was the first long established soccer club to feel the Greek impact. Others eventually included Belmore, Earlwood, and Enmore all affiliated with the Canterbury Junior District Association. These administrative and financial arrangements of the well-organised junior associations permitted Greeks and other ethnic groups to join teams in the junior competitions. In the 1960s, it was difficult for clubs to establish independence because of the lack of grounds. Only later, especially in the 1970s, did Greek teams start fielding independent sides in considerable numbers.

Whether they were the Protestant Churches Associations or Local District Associations, many groups permitted Greek and other ethnic sides to join their associations and, in most instances, form junior teams. So that it seemed very promising to deliberately create and use a network of junior teams to take up the burden of socialising boys into Greek masculine identity. There was also, theoretically, no limit to the number of junior teams that a soccer club could foster, so that all the thousands of second-generation Greek males could ideally be accommodated. Although other youth groups did exist in this post war period, such as the Hellenic Youth Federation or the Greek Organisation of Young

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24 The high concentration of Greeks in the Canterbury Marrickville area was first depicted in the 1961 Census. Later censuses also demonstrate the continual Greek presence. In particular Marrickville in the 1970s adopted a Greek character and became known as 'little Greece'.
27 Interview with Chris Christodoulou, former coach Marrickville Red Devils, Sydney, September 1995.
Australians (GOYA), their numbers were insignificant in comparison with the number of Greek junior soccer teams. Many of these other youth clubs, such as GOYA, eventually became soccer clubs. For example Belmore Hercules Soccer Club in Sydney was formed from the defunct youth group GOYA and played in the local division in 1972. By 1975 there were six teams playing in the local Canterbury Junior District Association. By 1988, the club had joined the NSW Federation, starting in the lower divisions and progressing to the First Division.28

The combined effort of all sections of Greek society to establish junior soccer teams was quite a communal effort, as illustrated by articles in the Greek press. Soccer provided the main opportunity for young Greek males to participate in competitive organised sports which commentators regarded as particularly effective in nurturing Greek ideals of masculinity. Community leaders and spokesmen also made an effort to develop junior soccer, many of these people had in previous years promoted other sports they deemed more effective in developing Greek ideals of masculinity than soccer. In Sydney and Melbourne, the two greatest supporters of junior soccer were Arthur George and Theo Marmaras, who had, in earlier years, sponsored mainstream Australian sports such as cricket and Australian Rules. Marmaras showed little support for Apollon soccer team in 1934-35, while in 1945-46 George promoted the sport of cricket at the Sydney Olympic Youth Club.

Types of Junior and Youth Teams

The existing teams and clubs were not sufficient to meet membership demands, so new clubs under obviously Greek banners needed to be established. The rest of this section will deal with the way in which the Greek generations used Greek soccer clubs and teams to socialise their youngsters. It would be impossible to list all the Greek junior clubs that existed in Australia between 1965 to the present, as some were quite ephemeral, but it seems unnecessary and might be deceptive because many clubs, for one reason or another, obscured their continuing existence behind a series of name-changes. Other clubs varied the number of teams year to year depending on numbers of players. Most clubs had a high percentage of Greek players and generally non-Greek players were selected to make up short falls. The number of these clubs peaked in the late 1980s.

It can be estimated that in all Australia over the three decades some 100 junior clubs, alternatively some 2000 Greek junior teams, were set up and lasted for a longer or shorter time. Many were ephemeral and have left behind them little more than their name on a match schedule, but the histories of others have been investigated and it is apparent that

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their histories are basically similar. There has never been, after all, a great range of ways to establish a soccer club, train players, and play soccer.

The clubs can be classified, however, into four categories, depending on the agency which created them, most of which were found in every centre of Greek population. There were, first of all the junior teams of the Panhellenic clubs, then the junior teams founded by regional fraternities, then the church clubs and lastly the clubs set up in geographical centres of Greek settlement. These four types of clubs account for almost all the junior soccer teams established between 1960 and 1995; those set up by other agencies must be regarded as exceptional. The typology employed here reflects the considerations discussed earlier, about the public world constructed by Greek immigrants. It will be seen that the four types of agency constitute practically the whole of the Greek immigrant setting. The provision of junior soccer for the rising generation was undertaken as a matter of urgency by every Greek public agency in Australia. Soccer clubs, both junior and senior, can be viewed as constituting yet another part of the Greek public sphere.

These four types of junior club: Panhellenic, regional fraternity, church and geographical clubs will be illustrated by examples from Sydney supplemented by others from around the country where applicable. As mentioned above, the clubs' histories are similar, and a full history would be required to bring forward the anecdotal material through which this tremendous community effort can be discerned. Then, putting aside the typology, a description of the junior soccer scene in Adelaide in the late 1980s will be given, making a conspectus of a full system of clubs in operation.

Type 1, the Panhellenic - Pan Hellenic Soccer Club Juniors (now known as the Sydney Olympic Youth Teams).

Type 2, the regional fraternities - Cyprus United Soccer Club Juniors.

Type 3, the Church - St. Spyridon Soccer Club.

Type 4, the geographical areas - Parramatta Hellas Soccer Club.

Panhellenic Type

The Panhellenic teams which were the first to be formed were also the first to establish junior teams. In 1966 it was noted:
Many of our senior players are Greek born (70%) with less than 5 years in Australia. Junior football, however, indicates an opposite composition. The rapid increase of second generation Greek boys will need to be catered for.  

Pan Hellenic Soccer Club was the first soccer organisation in Sydney to embark on junior development schemes and one of the first to form junior teams. As early as 1962, committee member Peter Ignelli wanted to establish junior teams. Through the Greek press he attempted to raise awareness about the need to establish juniors and highlight the advantages of junior teams for the Pan Hellenic club:

I would be extremely happy if we could establish players from the juniors and not to buy ready made players, because this mentality does not achieve anything for Pan Hellenic, but not even for sport.  

In 1963, junior players between the ages of 10-16 were called to training under the coaching of Cypriadis. The first training session took place on 24 February, although no teams were entered into competition that year. The breakthrough year was 1964 when:

Pan Hellenic have embarked on an ambitious junior scheme. Juniors now train every Saturday morning under Jim Harris at Wentworth Park. The best prospects will be formed into a squad under the supervision of second team coach Bill Vrolyks, one of Australia’s top junior coaches. Pan Hellenic extend a hearty welcome to any youngster who wishes to attend.

The first junior teams entered into competition in 1964 were under eight, ten and twelve age teams. Wentworth Park in Glebe was the home ground of Pan Hellenic and the junior teams were allowed access to the outer field area of the ground. During Pan Hellenic first division match days, it was common for these players to practise tactics before and after matches. Pan Hellenic junior teams were usually managed by English speaking Greeks rather than the newly arrived. Jim Harris, who was the first president of the Pan Hellenic juniors, had played soccer in the Melbourne Olympic Club between 1946-49, before business interests brought him to Sydney. At the first presentation night of Pan Hellenic, Jim Harris claimed that, "Soccer is particularly suitable because it teaches physical fitness, team work, discipline and brings out individual skills like leadership. From this group of boys, the future of Pan Hellenic is assured."
Local Australian coaches with an understanding of the dynamics of junior soccer were also employed. There was a steady increase in support for Pan Hellenic juniors, who were always managed by a separate committee, from the senior body and were usually autonomous.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Pan Hellenic juniors were playing in the South Sydney District Soccer Association and were officially named the Pan Hellenic Waverley Juniors. The name "Waverley" was included because the club needed to represent a district area. By 1969, the Pan Hellenic committee felt that closer liaison was needed between the increasing number of juniors and the senior body. The minutes cited the large number of Greek juniors turning up to the trials each year, only to be turned away because of the limited number able to be selected. By 1970, the number of teams increased to eight, players coming from all parts of Sydney.

While the senior body did provide shirts and equipment for the teams, the specific role of the Pan Hellenic Juniors Committee was to raise the necessary funds to become a viable operation. Club minutes detail the amount of money spent on ground hire and coaching payments. Ground hire was always a problem but Endeavour Field in South Coogee was a popular choice. Adequate funds were achieved through dances, picnics, presentation nights, raffles and donations.

By 1972 the first division clubs of the NSW Soccer Federation established a youth competition in three grades under 14, under 15 and under 16, later known as the Youth League Competitions (with an under 13 team added in 1980), where for many years Pan Hellenic teams had been the strongest teams. In this competition First Division sides such as Hakoah, Apia and Pan Hellenic had to provide teams. This effectively meant that Pan Hellenic juniors could field only these three junior teams. Now the emphasis and objectives of the juniors altered. Instead of obtaining as many players and establishing as many teams as possible, they now selected only the best Greek players to fill their three sides, and many Greek boys would be turned away.

These Pan Hellenic junior players became the future stars of the club. The Pan Hellenic Juniors committee was expressly advised that their principal aim was to develop players to play for the first grade team of Pan Hellenic, the motive for this being primarily financial. The majority of the ethnic supported teams in Sydney were in debt. Transfer fees to obtain the services of players in Greece were too expensive. In the 1960s, the Greek first division had become professional and many players came to Australia only for

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35 Pan Hellenic Soccer Club, Minutes of Meetings, 6 October 1969.
very high prices. Pan Hellenic had to rely on local players, but even then transfer fees for local players became very expensive. Transfer fees put most clubs into debt and many clubs were bankrupt. The development of players through the Pan Hellenic juniors could thus be financially beneficial to the soccer clubs. The system soon paid dividends, with the emergence of competent second generation players such as Peter Raskopoulos and Con Economou. Many of these players were selected in various state and national representative junior teams and schoolboy teams. Since the establishment of the Pan Hellenic juniors, it is estimated that over 150 Pan Hellenic juniors ended up representing the senior team. Another financial windfall for the Panhellenic type clubs was the transferring of players from Australia to Greece. In 1987 Chris Kalantzis transferred to the Greek first division club Panathinaikos and Sydney Olympic received $200,000 thus reducing much of Sydney Olympic’s debt.

The new elitist stance of Pan Hellenic was shrewdly judged, and similar stances by other Panhellenic clubs elsewhere also worked well. For many years the Pan Hellenic youth teams (and since 1977 the Sydney Olympic youth teams) have been the strongest youth teams in the state. In 1984, three of the four youth teams, the under 13, 14, and 15 teams were involved in grand final appearances. By 1998, six teams were in competition as the Youth League Competition involves teams from under 11 to under 16 years of age. With the proliferation of the other Greek junior soccer teams, to be discussed later, the Panhellenic-type junior teams fielded the best Greek juniors in each capital city. The other types of team were the seed plots for Greek soccer, and Panhellenic clubs had little to do but cream off the talent as it rose to the top. In reality, however, the Panhellenic teams had little to do in recruiting juniors, as their junior teams irresistibly attracted the best Greek players.

Throughout Australia Panhellenic type junior clubs and teams formed. In 1960, Melbourne Hellas wanted to turn Albert Park into a Greek sporting centre for its youth. The following year, Hellas called for youths to form an under 16 side. Although the club embarked on a serious youth program in 1963, under the leadership of Geoff Harrison, the youth development officer. This program soon produced results. Mick Mandalis, a Melbourne Hellas junior team player, made his debut in the senior team in 1964, as an 18 year old and in the Hellas championship winning side was the state's public
leading goal scorer. By 1966, the Greek press wrote that Hellas Soccer Club "has become thick with youths" and that the other Greek teams should take responsibility in introducing junior teams and programs. By 1968, under coach Jack Murray, players selected from various teams made three teams for the under 12s, under 13s and under 15s. By 1972, the Marmaras Committee established an under 16 semi-professional team which also trained in the off-season. In 1976 Hellas had eight junior teams in competition, from under 10 to 16. By the time George Lekatsas had retired from the Melbourne Hellas Juniors in 1976, after being involved in their establishment and president for many years, there had been many Hellas juniors who had eventually represented the first grade side. Such players included John Daperis, Jim Daperis, Arthur Xanthopoulos, Manolis Tsivoglou, Andrew Bouzikas and brothers Alex and Lou Tsiagos.

An Adelaide Hellas junior team played in the First Division juniors competition in 1966. Adelaide Hellas Colts Team came second behind Polonia the following year. In 1968 an under 14 and 16 team were entered into competition. By 1977 Adelaide Hellas had under 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18 teams in competition. The Panhellenic team of Perth, Athena had an under 12 and under 14 team in competition in 1972. It had strong opposition from the two other Greek soccer teams Alexander and Olympic in recruiting players in the 1980s. In Canberra the situation was different, Olympic juniors were so well organised that no other Greek club established junior teams. By 1975, Canberra Olympic, under the presidency of Nick Xirakis had twenty teams in competition, 4 senior and 16 junior teams between the ages of 6 to 16. To provide for so many players, a club house was built where players could meet and socialise. The Acropolis highlighted that "Tomorrow the juniors play their first game of the season. We should give our utmost support to the players."

Type 2. Regional Fraternities

Of the regional fraternity groups in Sydney to form junior teams, the most notable were the Pontians and the Cypriots. There are many parallels between these two sets of

41 Soccer World, 18 September 1964, p.6.
43 Athletic Echo, 15 November 1976, p.7.
45 South Australia Soccer Year Book, 1968, p.77.
47 Acropolis, 17 January 1975, p.11.
48 Ibid., 7 February 1975, p.11.
49 Ibid., 4 April 1975, p.11.
Greeks. In Sydney the Pontians, who made up only a small fraction of the total Greek population, established the Pontian Eagles Soccer Club in 1978. The Pontians not only wanted to socialise their male youth into being Greek, but also into keeping a Pontian Greek character. Since 1915 the Pontians, from the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, with their very distinctive speech and traditions, had been systematically ethnically cleansed by the Turks. The Pontian Eagles Soccer Club's first junior teams made an appearance in 1982. By 1985, five teams were in competition.50

Another regional group that put effort into establishing their junior teams were the Cypriots. Like the Pontians, they had felt the devastation at the hands of the Turks, which culminated in the illegal invasion of Cyprus by the Turks in 1974. After the completion of government assisted mass migration (1952-1974), the number of Greek immigrants was considerably reduced except for the 6,000 Cypriot refugees who arrived after 1974. The Cyprus United Soccer Club, formed in 1978, was playing in the Southern and Eastern Districts Association, until 1984. At the 1985 General Meeting of the Cypriot Society it was decided to form a soccer club independent of the club. In 1985 they made their first appearance in the New South Wales Soccer Federation entering a team in the sixth division, and by 1992 they had been promoted into the premier division. After the consolidation of the First and Reserve grade teams, they concentrated efforts into establishing junior teams.51

The Macedonians, mentioned in the previous chapter also established a junior system of soccer teams Australia-wide. The Macedonians also wanted to maintain a distinctly Macedonian identity because of the problems mentioned in the earlier chapter. In Melbourne, Alexander the Great had by far the greatest number of Macedonian boys playing in its junior teams. In Perth, Alexander the Great primarily functioned to cater for the soccer needs of the city's Macedonian youth, and in the 1990s, although its senior team plays in the lower divisions, its organisation of junior teams is on par with the Panhellenic team of Perth, the Athena Soccer Club.52 Alexander the Great Soccer Club in Sydney was formed in 1966, and throughout the late 1970s and 1980s had always roughly about 150 players playing in their respective junior teams. The club was also financially supported by the popular Alexander the Great Social Club situated in Marrickville.53

50 Interview with Steve Dimoudis, former coach, Sydney, October 1996.
51 Interview with Con Pavlou, Sydney, June 1997. Archives.
52 Interview with Peter Vlahos, President Alexander the Great, Perth, November, 1997.
53 Interview with Thanasios Papapetrou, founding president, Sydney, February 1996.
Type 3. Church parishes

The Greek Orthodox Church perceived a threat not only from popular culture but also from Greek socialists and communists and was very keen to keep Greek youth within its sphere of control. The church, fearful of urban temptations, began to organise the leisure time of their parishioners. Many church parishes especially the Archdiocese ones, wanted to show the worshippers that they were more interested in community building rather than Church politics. This activity was not a tradition in Greece itself but was common enough in the diaspora, as we saw in the case of Smyrna, and in particular the example of the Panionios Club. Other organisations competed for the attention of youth and the church itself could not be left behind in these matters. All across Australia, church parishes sooner or later set up soccer teams. St Spyridon Soccer Club, in particular was a response to most of the above concerns.54

The Greek Orthodox Community of Kingsford was established in 1960 and the church of St Spyridon was founded the following year.55 In 1965, with the permission of Father Elias Economou (who was parish priest from 1961), James Livishanis was responsible for establishing a St Spyridon Soccer Team, which was an all age team, made up of first generation newly arrived youths, that played in the local combined Churches Competition.56 In the district, two other Greek teams had teams in competition, Kingsford Soccer Club and Rhodes Rosebery Soccer Club. Kingsford Soccer Club had been financially supported by the Kastellorizan Club, which at the time was one of the largest social clubs in Sydney, while Rhodes Rosebery was supported by the Rhodians in the surrounding area. In the early 1970s, both Kingsford and Rhodes Rosebery had already embarked on junior and youth teams. There were attempts to establish St Spyridon parish junior and youth soccer teams in the early 1970s but failed because of lack of committed support.

In October 1975, Father Elias Economou died and Father Steven Scoutas became parish priest at the age of 25 years. It was a historic ordination as Scoutas had been the first Australian-born and raised Greek Orthodox priest.57 Scoutas was born in Brisbane in 1951, moved to Sydney in 1966 and attended Randwick Boys High School, completing the Higher School Certificate Examination in 1969, before he studied theology in Thessalonike Theological College. The Saint Spyridon Soccer Club was a response to church concerns about Greek male youth. Father Steven Scoutas was responsible for

54 This section will be based on interviews with Con Pavlou and Father Steven Scoutas unless otherwise noted.
56 Interview with James Livishanis, Sydney, September 1998.
57 Father George Kateris was the first Australian born priest, although he grew up in Greece.
PAN HELLENIC AND ST. SPYRIDON JUNIORS


Bottom: 1976 St. Spyridon Parish Greek Soccer Cup Final - Randwick (green) versus Kingsford (orange).
much enthusiasm about sport and within three months of Scoutas's arrival, momentum gathered for the organisation of sport.

By 1975, the Greek Orthodox Community of Kingsford had 13 schools under its control. From these 13 schools, nine were large enough to form soccer teams. They were the schools at Gardiners Road, Eastlakes, Botany, Daceyville, Randwick, Randwick North, Maroubra, Rosebery and Kingsford. So in 1976 a winter soccer championship commenced, organised by the St Spyridon Parish and Community of South-East Sydney for these nine schools. Matches, held each Saturday morning at Paine Reserve, were well attended by players and parents and the various teams wore different coloured guernseys. The structure of the competition was a three round competition with playoffs at the end, with the Kingsford school defeating the Randwick afternoon school in the final, winning the inaugural competition and receiving the St Spyridon Parish Greek School Soccer Cup. Competitions were held and players were awarded with trophies and certificates of achievement. Twice a year, all players took part in a special blessing by Father Scoutas at St. Spyridon church. The competition amongst the various Greek schools continued until 1983.

By late 1978 a more formal manner of organising Greek male youth into teams was needed. Many of the boys were tempted to play for the Greek clubs, Rhodes Roseberry and Kingsford, and worse some were even tempted to play for the non-Greek soccer clubs in the area such as Maroubra United, Pagewood United and Queens Park which played in local competitive associations.

The Greek school soccer competition amongst the Greek schools worked well, but we needed to go the level further our boys taking on non-Greeks, to mix it with better sides, to make them play in other grounds, to make it more demanding and challenging.58

In 1979, three years after the first school soccer matches, the official St Spyridon Soccer Club was established and affiliated with the Southern and Eastern Soccer Association, an association with a long history which welcomed teams into competition.59 While a separate St Spyridon Soccer Club management committee existed, they reported to the management committee of the St Spyridon parish. Some members held positions on both boards.

In that inaugural competitive year, Con Pavlou coached the first team in competition, an under 16 team. There were no prerequisites for affiliation and the team finished third

58Interview with Con Pavlou.
59Annual Meeting St Spyridon Soccer Club, Minutes, Jan 1980.
even though points were deducted for fielding a non registered player. The playing strip, supplied by the parish, was blue and white, with the Byzantine Orthodox emblem of the double headed eagle evident. In the following year, 1980, four teams entered into competition under 12, 13, 14 and 15 teams which were comprised of Greek boys only. The entry of these four teams into competition created much enthusiasm and support from all involved in the activities of the St Spyridon parish.

It must be noted that the internal winter soccer competitions continued between the Greek schools and only folded in 1983 when, by that stage, 10 teams were playing in competition in the South and Eastern Football Competition. The number of teams kept increasing until 1988 when 16 junior teams were in competition as were two senior teams. Although by this stage the senior teams consisted of youth who had previously been juniors in the club. In 1988, two presentation nights were held to accommodate the numerous players in the St Spyridon Hall. Interestingly they were divided into two groups, corresponding into age groups (childhood and youth).60

The club also had a good relationship with the two other Greek junior soccer clubs in the area, Kingsford Soccer Club and Mascot Soccer Club. Pre-season encounters between the clubs always occurred. With the initiative of John Prokopiadis, president of Kingsford Soccer Club, an annual tournament was held for the Kastellorizian Cup at Turrawal Park between Kingsford and St Spyridon youth teams. By 1986 a junior Greek soccer competition involving Mascot, Kingsford, St Spyridon, Campsie United, St George Olympic and Kingsgrove Olympic was organised, with many of these games taking place before the Sydney Olympic Club games, the teams playing for the Sydney Olympic Cup.61

Father Steven Scoutas stated, "It is the Church's pleasure to support the sporting interests of Her people and we look forward to a successful future... A worthwhile member of a soccer team is well equipped to become a good team-mate in the Greek Orthodox society". The number of junior teams quickly increased. By 1997, the club had 14 teams in competition. A survey of the 11 teams which participated in the 1998 youth competitions indicated that 132 Greek boys were part of this club, with Greek youths making up almost 95 percent of the players.62

60St Spyridon Soccer Club Presentation Night, Sydney, 1988.
61Archives Con Pavlou which contains clubs and teams that took part in the competition. The competition was held twice in 1986 and 1987. Initially it was hoped that all Greek clubs who sponsored junior and youth teams would take part.
62Statistics were provided by the following coaches of the respective junior teams: U'6A- Ken Panselinos; U'6b- Jim Trakos; U'7a- Harry Christofides; U'7b- Denny Alevizos; U'8a- Tom Adam; U'8b- Chris Glastaras; U'9a- Manny Kaissis; U'9b- Nick Nittes; U'10a- Andy Tseros; U'11- Nick Kotzohambos, U'12- Peter Carkagis.
At the 1990 presentation night, former players of the club were urged to aid in this development and to coach and manage some of these junior teams. Con Pavlou said that, "Those of us who are past our playing days need to assist and participate. What better knowledge is there than that gained from experience?"63 This in fact did occur and testimony to this is present president Tom Adam, a former youth player in the late 1970s, and now president of the St Spyridon Soccer Club. His two sons play in the under seven and under nine teams.

When St Spyridon College High School was established, the school pursued soccer in competitive sport. The number of St Spyridon Soccer Club teams in the age group that corresponded with the high school years (13-18) dropped, but this reduction did not disappoint as the high school teams were seen as an extension of the St Spyridon soccer club. The height of the school's sporting success was 1994, when the St Spyridon school won the ISA Cup. Ironically they defeated the Kings School (2-1 in the final), which was coached by Rale Rasic, the 1974 Australian World Cup coach.

Type 4. Geographical Areas

The Parramatta Hellas Soccer Club also embarked on an ambitious junior program to cater for Greek youth in the area. Formed in 1974, the club entered the local Granville competition the same year.64 The Greek Orthodox Community of Parramatta was established in 1961 and the local church of St John was founded in 1962.65 Men interested in establishing a Greek team first discussed the matter in the late 1960s, although it was not until John Dimos, Bill Tsoukalidis, Anivas Gannou, Steve Salohoris and Aristidis Bounovas combined their efforts that a start was made. George Thomas from the Bankstown Crest Club was hired to negotiate between the local Granville District Soccer Football Association and the Greek men who wanted to establish the club.

In early 1974, the club was granted entry into competition providing they met certain requirements, one of which was fielding a minimum of four teams (a rule still applying today). These men set upon immediately rounding up eligible Greek youth in Parramatta who at the time had not been catered for. There had been problems at the St John Greek church and the church was unable to constructively deal with Greek youth, apart from organising an afternoon school and organising youth fellowship meetings.

63St Spyridon Soccer Club Presentation Night, Sydney, 1990.
64Where otherwise not referenced this section is based on interviews with Lou Mantzos and John Tsatsimas, Sydney, February 1997.
The first teams into competition were under 9, 10, 12, 16 youth teams and the club played out of Barton Park after being granted permission from Parramatta Council. There was a steady growth in the number of teams, with many Greek youngsters in the Parramatta area becoming players in the club. Having borrowed equipment from the Bankstown Crest Club, the recruitment mentality in the first couple of years was one of: "Locate them. Get all the boys down, give them a shirt, put it on them and put them on the park."\[66\]

By 1976, an all-age team existed and by the end of 1981 about fifteen teams were playing in competition, with over 95 percent of the teams being made up of Greeks.\[67\] In 1982 two teams were admitted into the NSWSFA as more was needed to be done for the all age team which would have been disbanded or the players would have gone to other teams as there was little competition. In 1982, two senior teams had moved into the Federation competitions, while the other junior and youth teams still played in the Granville competition. The other major development of the same year was the club obtaining a new home ground. With the help of the Mayor of Parramatta, Eric Primrose Reserve in Rydalmere became the club’s new home ground. The club in association with the council was responsible for the erection of seating, dugouts, car park facilities, and a canteen.

By the 1990s the club had in fact become the Greek Community of Parramatta. The bank account of the club was healthy due to the off-field yearly fund raising social activities primarily in the summer months. The newsletter of January 1998 advertised the annual Harbour Cruise on 21 February; Gold Coast trip 26 February-3 March; annual golf day, the club’s social and soccer news on the Greek broadcasting radio program 1683 and the sale of raffle tickets.\[68\] The club never had financial problems primarily because they never spent large amounts of money on senior player wages, even though in the space of five years the first grade team had worked their way up from the sixth division in 1988 to the second division in 1992. In 1992, the first grade coach Bob Wall attended the annual general meeting and put forward a motion that players be given a substantial wage increase. The motion was overwhelmingly defeated and Bob Wall and several players resigned from the club. In the same year, the club became an incorporated body and due to de-ethnicising of soccer at the time, changed its name to the Parramatta City Sports Club Incorporated.

By 1997, the club had teams playing in four separate soccer associations: since 1974 in the Granville District Soccer Football Association; since 1983 in the NSW Soccer

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66 Interview Lou Mantzos.
67 Parramatta Hellas Soccer Club, List of Registered Players, 1981.
Federation; since 1994 Youth League Teams (13, 14, 15 and 16) and since 1997 NSW Soccer Federation Cadet League (Cadet League under 11 and 12). 69

In the outer Western suburbs, the Liverpool Olympic Soccer Club was also established as a geographical type club. Concerned about the growth of crime in the area in the 1980s and wanting to provide activities for their youth, local Greeks organised junior teams, even though their senior teams were not in the top divisions. Liverpool Olympic Soccer Club juniors first made an appearance in 1980 and the number of Greek teams increased rapidly.

The importance placed on the youth teams was illustrated with the appointment of Andrew Papoulias as Head Coach of the Liverpool Olympic Soccer Club in the late 1990s. Born in the United States of America, he had learnt to play football there, eventually making several appearances in 1982 for the national team, which had a Greek coach, Alketa Panagoulias. After a successful career in Greece, he settled in Australia in 1993. 70

Because of the club's commitment to professionalism and to the encouragement and development of junior teams, its appeal broadened and membership increased rapidly. In 1997 Liverpool Olympic had 22 teams in competition. At the 1997 presentation night, 700 people attended the Macquarie Function Hall in Liverpool to honour the successes of their soccer teams. 71 In 1997 the club purchased land at Hoxton Park where they plan to build an athletic centre for Greek youth. In 1998 over 400 players were registered with the club. 72

In Melbourne's outer western suburbs a similar situation occurred. Western Suburbs Greek Soccer Club, formed in 1966, after the amalgamation of West Sunshine and Deer Park Soccer teams, played in the amateur leagues until 1968 when they entered the fourth division of the Metropolitan League. For four consecutive years, the team won four championships, and at the end of 1972 they were playing in the first division Metropolitan League. By 1972, they already had eight junior teams in the age bracket of 9-15, an achievement of great pride. 73

Other types of teams

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71 Interview with Jim Diles, president, Sydney, November 1997.
73 Athletic Echo, 11 September 1972, p.5.
Other Greek junior teams existed, some only briefly and some could not be categorised into the four-fold typography. Atlas in Sydney had a junior club in the 1970s. Other organisations such as the Greek university societies established soccer teams, including the Sydney University Greek Society (SUGS). The NSW Combined Greek University Sports Day, held annually in August since 1983, culminated with a soccer competition. At the Sports Day held in Randwick in 1989, SUGS defeated Hellsoc (Hellenic Society New South Wales University) in the final. The National Union of Greek Australian Students (NUGAS) also organised annual sporting competition between the various state university bodies.

**Combination of Typology**

Other teams were a complex combination of one or more types. The Gladesville United Soccer Club, for example, was established for Epirot youth in the geographical area of Gladesville, it worked out of St Andrews Greek Church in Gladesville. In the 1960s many Epirots had lived in the Balmain area and had formed the Balmain United Greek Soccer Club in 1967. In the early 1970s many Epirot Greeks had began to move to the Gladesville area seen at the time as more prosperous and suitable for bringing up their children. These Greeks took it upon themselves to establish a Gladesville United Soccer Club.

Two sets of Greek men (one headed by Tom Pappas and Emmanual Vatalis, the other by the three brothers Casapis) met under Gladesville Bridge at Gladesville Reserve to play a challenge soccer match. After the match and festivities, both groups of men decided to unite and form a soccer team, Gladesville United Soccer Club which was formed in August 1977. Twenty three foundation members all committed money and support for the club. John Margaritis was called upon to coach the team and by the end of November, two teams had been committed to play in the 1978 season, entering in the Gladesville-Hornsby Soccer Football Association, Premier Division. Until then, there had been little Greek sporting activity in the area. Two Greek soccer teams existed in the nearby area: the Epirot regional fraternity soccer team Balmain United Soccer Club, and the Leichhardt church parish side, St Gerasimos. None of these teams, however, as yet had juniors. By the end of 1979, Gladesville United Soccer Club believed the time was right for the establishment of junior teams.

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74 Sydney University Greek Society, Minutes of Special Annual Meeting, 16 March 1990.
76 Where otherwise noted this section is based on interviews conducted with Tom Pappas, George Anastasiadis, and Andy Christodoulou, founding members of the club.

PARRAMATTA HELLAS AND GLADESVILLE UNITED JUNIORS
Top: 1979 Parramatta Hellas under 10 team
Bottom: 1980 Gladesville United under 13 team
In 1980 six teams (Under 8, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 15) were established and placed in the lower divisions. An under 16 team entered one of the top divisions as there was a lack of teams. The success of the junior and youth teams was witnessed as three times in four years the club was crowned club champions, and over 60 per cent of eligible Greek boys in the area played in one of the many teams. In 1986, 18 teams were registered in competition. In pre season, matches were organised against other Greek teams. Greek boys were coming primarily from the suburbs of Drummoynie and Gladesville, although also from Ryde, West Ryde, Balmain and Rozelle.

Many players of the club were attending the Greek school at Gladesville High School organised by the Greek Orthodox Community Gladesville. The teacher at the time, John Koutoulas, was also the first secretary of the soccer team. When the Archdiocese was building St John church, an uneasy relationship between the club and the new church existed. In fact the church was established after they witnessed the success of the Gladesville United Soccer Club with the Greek youth of the area.

When St John Church established its own school, junior players increased. In two years the community school folded, and St John Church and Gladesville United Soccer Club amalgamated. The parish priest, Father John, became patron of the club and the soccer club offices were located at the church. The priest initially also made it clear, and without apparent irony, that he was encouraging the youngsters to play soccer but never on Sunday, or at least never on Sunday mornings!

So it can be seen that Gladesville United Soccer Club evolved and changed from district club, to regional club, to church club, and finally to one that recruited so widely it was practically panhellenic. Typologies are always betrayed by historical realities.

**South Australia**

The four types of Greek junior clubs are evident throughout Australia. In South Australia in the early 1990s, with a Greek population of approximately fifty thousand, 16 Greek organisations catered for Greek youth soccer clubs, 12 of them in the capital Adelaide itself, and the others in country towns. For South Australia, with a total Greek population much smaller than Sydney or Melbourne, it is possible to give a complete list of the teams, listed according to the typology.

**Type 1 : (Panhellenic) West Adelaide Hellas Sharks**

**Type 2: (Regional Fraternity) Greek Macedonian Brotherhood of SA, Alexander the Great; Greek Macedonian Social Club Florina; Messenian Association of SA; Kos**
Society of SA Hippocrates; Kastorian Society of SA Kastoria; Greek of Egypt and Middle East Society of SA.

Type 3: (Church Parish) Saints Constantine and Helen Inc (Whyalla Norrie); Saints Constantine and Helen Inc (Renmark); Norwood and Eastern Suburbs; St John the Baptist (Port Augusta).

Type 4: (Geographical) Port Pirie Hellenic, Port Pirie Doxa, Renmark Olympic.

Melbourne

In Melbourne all these types of clubs existed, but of course were immensely more numerous. On any winter weekend in the early 1980s, some 300 Greek junior teams could be found playing matches: church teams, geographical teams and so on, quite apart from the older Anglo Association clubs which had been infiltrated and were now dominated by Greeks, such as Carlton Junior Soccer Federation Association. In Melbourne, Alexander the Great Soccer Club, which was discussed in the previous chapter, had arguably the most highly organised regional fraternity youth program in all Australia. Although not having a National League team as successful as the South Melbourne Hellas Soccer Club, the club put much emphasis in its youth program, where it was assumed that Macedonian boys would play only for Alexander the Great Club. In 1996, 320 youths were registered with the club in their 15 junior teams, training weekly at their auxiliary sporting fields. This does not include the senior and the reserve teams. There were other Macedonian youth clubs in heavily concentrated areas such as Oakleigh, and there were several teams such as the Epirot, Pontian and Cretan youth teams.

Melbourne even had a few clubs unlike any others in Australia. In the 1970s, certain Greek communist clubs established teams, although many were short lived and not viable. In Sydney, the Atlas Sports Club entered a few teams in the Eastern Suburbs Amateur Soccer Leagues in the mid and late 1970s. However the club's location in the Kings Cross area and its support located all over Sydney, hampered the organisation of teams. The needs were primarily addressed at the monthly picnics where boys played soccer against the men.77

In Melbourne, the Greek political left was much more organised. The Hercules Soccer Club was formed in 1962 and run by the communist Democritus League. In June 1968, the club produced the first soccer club news bulletin, its monthly publication Hercules. In

77Interview with Costas Stratis, Sydney, August 1997.
the first issue, the editorial claimed that "every Greek will see his son, his brother, every Greek youngster in general playing soccer.... Apart from the first grade soccer team there is also an under 18 team, there will be added an under 16 and under 14 team in competition". 78 During the height of the Greek junta (1967-74) Hercules became a strong soccer body which grew in membership. In the late 1970s, 11 teams were playing in junior competitions in Melbourne. 79

Melbourne, with its great concentration of Greeks and its proliferation of clubs, found that an umbrella organisation was needed to manage them. In 1971, Port Melbourne (New Hellas) organised a junior tournament for Greek junior teams at their home ground, for all Greek teams to take part. 80 The following season an official committee was established to organise "The soccer tournament for junior Greeks." The tournament was played over six weeks. A presentation dance was held to honour all teams and players involved. 81 Various annual Greek junior soccer tournaments took place in Melbourne for the next fifteen years, but no organisation was specifically established to undertake the task until 1998.

In 1998 the first Greek Youth Cup took place in Melbourne. The tournament, organised by the Cypriot Society Northern Suburbs Melbourne Mill Park Soccer Club in conjunction with the Greek Cup Committee, took place between 10-17 October. It featured competitions for under 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 teams, with Brunswick City, East Richmond, Mill Park, South Melbourne Hellas, Sunshine Heights, Northcote City, Clifton Hill, Heidelberg, Leilor, Yarraville and Keon Park clubs participating. 82

The organisation of such tournaments was too great and many Greek junior clubs did not enter. As late as 1998, the Clarinda Greek Soccer Club had junior teams in competition from under 9 through to under 16, yet this powerful club did not take part in the above competition.

By the 1990s Greeks have built up an Australia-wide system of junior soccer clubs of which they can be legitimately proud. Thirty years of effort on behalf of Greek youth brought congratulations.

80 Athletic Echo, 6 December 1971, p.1. Teams that took part in this tournament were Dynamo Springvale, Aris Hyett, Olympiakos, Leonidas, Hercules, Apollo 11, Mentone, Pan-Serraikos, New Hellas, Athens, Pelops, Panathinaikos.
Other institutions such as school and church were seen as less favourable for youth in their crucial period for the development of attitudes. Junior teams provided not only an atmosphere of inter-personal communication but also served as channels for the development and maintenance of a Greek ethnic awareness, community vitality and creativity.

While participation in soccer might provide greater degrees of freedom than other areas of Greek social life, it was subject to network constraints. Junior committees were made up of Greek men and boys spent hours with each other either at training, games or presentation nights. Greek identity and masculinity was being moulded in the public space created by the Greek immigrants. While the youth players played the game; their fathers gathered at one end of the field to cheer them on and to talk about soccer; while mothers sat in a group and prepared food and showed support for and pride in their sons' sporting success. At this time women were very much present in the boys' soccer world. Later young men would not need or want their mothers in attendance. The soccer network was both familial and cultural. Each junior club whether panhellenic, regional, church or geographical was in itself a social system, a microcosm of the larger Greek world. At the start of the season, after sides were selected or team numbers finalised, an event, usually a picnic, would take place where all involved in the club (officials, players, parents, brothers and sisters) participated. Soccer matches between parents and sons or between the various players would take place. Pre-season training began and when the season commenced, player bonds were established. At presentation nights, players were presented with trophies, usually from Greek first grade players of one of the Panhellenic teams. This system worked at various levels with various dynamics. Very often friendships formed among parents that survived their sons' playing in soccer teams.

**Women's Participation in Second Generation Soccer**

Gender relations were always a source of conflict for Greek female youth. Greek girls, especially in the assimilation period, did not have the same encouragement to perform as boys did, not only in sport but also in other areas. Maria Tsolidis picks up on this theme. Furthermore, Greek girls have to deal with the sexist restrictions of the Greek notion of family honour and female chastity. This often meant that, until fairly recently, girls were not allowed out socially unchaperoned and their experience of family life was often quite different from that of males.

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Behaviour codes among Greek females have now changed. Parental edicts no longer go unchallenged and the expectations of second and third generation women are now changing. In Greece young women have been participating in sport for years, but in Australia's cocooned Greek 'paroikia' the metamorphosis is only now taking place. In fact Greek women in Australia have not been encouraged to be athletic because of the two spheres ideology, not because they are incapable of athletic achievements. Myths about Greek women not playing sport are now being dispelled. For example Lydia Zekkas won four Australian tae kwon do championships, Isabelle Tsakiris represented Australia in cricket, while the 1996 Australian Olympic Games Squad included two second generation Greek girls, including world ranked discus thrower Lisa-Marie Vizinari.

According to the prevailing ideology it is masculine to occupy public space and feminine to occupy private space; that is, women stay home and concern themselves with family matters, while men go out to work and participate in the political world. The private world is one where women are supposed to feel very much at home. But the ideology is weakening. The late 1990s have seen the formation, in conjunction with various Greek soccer clubs in Sydney and Melbourne, of girls' soccer teams.

Conclusion

The successful implementation of the Greek junior soccer system meant that it was possible for Greek youngsters in Australia to come through the junior ranks of a Greek soccer club and work their way up into the top grades. This system also allowed the selection of some youths into city and state representative sides, and sometimes even national teams. If they were good enough, they might even represent Australia.

The Australian School's Soccer Federation was formed in 1974. In the first overseas tour by an Australian Schools Soccer Team in 1978 the squad included Greek youth Charlie Yankos, George Christopoulos, Peter Raskopoulos and Peter Katholos. By the 1990s the generation influenced by this system had already made their appearance at the various

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84 The rise of feminism in post-Junta Greece in 1974, resulted in a great desire by women to participate in all aspects of life including sport. Since then there has been a gradual increase in women's participation and interest in sport. This culminated at the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, when Batoilidou won a gold medal in the 110 metre hurdles and became the first Greek woman to win an Olympic medal. Success for Greek women did not end there; at the 1999 World Track and Field Championships in Seville results were even more impressive: Katerina Thanou came third in the 100 metres; Voula Tsiamita won the triple jump while Olga Vazdeki came third in the same event; Anastasia Kelesidou came second in the discus.

85 By the late 1990s many Greek soccer clubs in Australia also included a women's team: Sydney - St George Olympic, Liverpool Olympic; Darwin - Hellenic; Adelaide - Olympians and Hellas: Elaine Watson, Australian Women's Soccer, The First Twenty Years, Sydney, 1994. This text traces the history of the sport between 1974-1994 and does not illustrate any Greek presence.

86 Northern NSW Soccer Football Federation Year Book 1979 and 1980, p.31.
State and Australian Teams. At the various Australian levels (under 16, 19, 23 and Socceroos) at least one hundred Greek youths have represented Australia. At various state representative levels (including under 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 23), this figure is much greater. These players of Greek parentage were themselves products of the Greek soccer system. Probably 90 per cent of Greek youngsters who represented Australia were from Greek clubs. The Australian Youth Soccer Team that competed in the World Youth Championships in Malaysia in 1997 included four Greek players: Bill Damianos, Con Vlatsis and Peter Zois learned football at South Melbourne Hellas Club and Kostas Salpasidis was from West Adelaide Hellas Sharks. When they played the Canadian team in the first match there was a total of six players of Greek background on the field. Three were in the Australian team: Damianos, Vlatsis and Salpatsides while the three Greek Canadians were Aristodimou, Vakaris and Stathopoulos.

Amateur sport was not the only area of success. Some of the top players, supported by the Greek community and various individuals, played professionally in Greece. As early as 1974, Australian-born George Barboutis from the Pan Hellenic Soccer Club was approached to play for the Greek first division team AEK Athens. In later years Socceroo captain Charlie Yankos, who eventually played 89 matches for Australia, including 49 full internationals, had learnt soccer at Melbourne's Alexander Club, was signed up by Macedonian club PAOK Thessalonike. Stan Lazarides, ex-player of Perth Athena and then Adelaide Hellas, by-passed going to the Greek First Division Soccer League, being signed instead by English soccer giant West Ham United.

Chris Kalantzis, already mentioned, was the most notable of these Greek-Australian expatriates. Born in Sydney in 1967, he showed a precocious talent for football and was encouraged to play by his father and other older males. From six years, he was a junior in teams of what was then the Canterbury-Marrickville Olympic club. At the age of fourteen he joined the Sydney Olympic junior teams, where his ability shone out. The famous first grade coach, Tommy Docherty, put him into the first grade Sydney Olympic side at the age of sixteen. He became a regular there. Kalantzis went on to be the star of the Australian Under 19 Team which played in the World Youth Championships in Moscow in 1985.

87 Australian Soccer Yearbooks, 1977-1997 contain names of Greek background Australian Representatives.
88 This total is a conservative estimate and was tabulated by a survey of State and Territory Junior Soccer material, identifying Greek names and matching these names to their respective club sides which in most instances were given. The majority of these are found at the under 13-19 levels. For example at the Under 13 Australian Championships held in Alice Springs in 1983, 13 Greeks represented the various states and territories.
89 Panhellenic Soccer Club, Minutes of Meeting, 23 July 1974.
Two years later the Greek soccer first division side Olympiakos made an offer for Kalantzis to play for them. Flattered, he went to Greece. Arriving at Athens airport he was waylaid by officials of the rival club Panathinaikos and taken to the magnificent house of its president, the shipping magnate Nikos Vardinogiannis. Overwhelmed, Kalantzis agreed to sign with Panathinaikos and so began a professional career in Greece which lasted for a decade. Ironically he spent his last few years in Greece playing for the Olympiakos Football Club, not only taking up their earlier offer but thereby acquiring the distinction of having been the only player ever to transfer from Panathinaikos to Olympiakos. Covered with glory he returned to Australia in 1997 and indeed came back to where it all began, to play for his former club Sydney Olympic, thus giving something back into Greek soccer in Australia. Tough, handsome and modest, Kalantzis was a model and an inspiration for thousands of Greek-Australian youngsters. As he said in an interview: “During my returns to Sydney, I would always make an effort to visit Greek soccer teams playing in Sydney, it was a good reality check and my hand almost fell off signing autographs, wherever I attended.”

In 1998 Chris Kalantzis’ son, James aged 10, was playing junior soccer in what is now a Canterbury team, as probably many other soccer players’ sons learn the game in other youth clubs across the continent and so the cycle promises to repeat with the next generation of young Greek-Australian males.

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90 Interview with Chris Kalantzis, Sydney, June 1998.
CONCLUSION

In November 1946, Jim Londos the wrestler came to Australia. His tour was a great success and represents the high point in the history of Greek sport in this country. Stadiums Limited had lured Londos to Sydney in 1939 but the start of World War II put an untimely end to the tour. To fill in the void in 1939 and not to disappoint the enthusiastic Greek supporters a bout between the Zacharias brothers (George and Manuel) was staged. However, it was a poor substitute.

Greek wrestling promoter Jack Gardiner and Stadiums Limited managed the 1946 Londos tour. There were full and detailed accounts of the Londos’ activities in Ethnikon Vema and Hellenic Herald, as might be expected, but for the first time the Australian press also took great interest in a Greek sportsman, writing positively and extensively about him. For a period of two weeks, Greek, Tony Rafty’s cartoon sketches of Jim Londos appeared in The Sun newspaper.

Greeks were enjoying favour in Australia at last, owing to their brave showing on the side of the Allies in World War II. There was little Australian awareness that the wrestling crowd, though isolated from Greece, were worried about Greece’s bitter civil war (1946-49). Greece was in deep strife and food was short: it would be some years before the Marshall Plan funded a recovery and brought Greece from the English sphere of influence into the American. But back in Australia, Londos was the Greek hero who everybody loved and who had come from the United States. There is a crowd isolated from Greece but still aware that Greece is involved in a bitter civil war, it is a war torn Greece that is practically collapsing for want of food etc.

When Londos arrived at Sydney airport on 10 November he was greeted by Archbishop Timotheos and the Greek Consul General Dr. Emil Vrysakis. Londos arrived with his belt, which he had won by defeating Bronko Nagurski for the world title in 1939. Made of silver, gold and diamonds the belt was valued at 3,000 pounds.

So eagerly was Londos anticipated that the promoter of the Sydney Stadium, Harry Miller, limited each person to six tickets to prevent ‘scalping’ for Londos’ first match.

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91 See Hellenic Herald and Ethnikon Vema for the whole of November and December for details of the Londos tour. Detailed accounts of Londos can also be found in: The Sydney Morning Herald - For the month of November see 11, p.9; 12, p.7; 14, p.9; 18, p.9; 25, p.9; 26, p.7; 28, p.9; In the Argus - for the month of November see 21, p.13; 26, p.3; 28, p.12; December 5, p.13.
92 The Sun, 20 November - 30 December 1946.
93 Hellenic Herald, 14 November 1946, p.4.
against Seelie Samara. Sydney Stadium tickets for the match on Monday 18 November 1946 sold out in two hours. Despite a heavy downpour, Londos soundly defeated his Negro opponent, with the conservative Australian press commenting:

The excitement of the night - and of 12,000 spectators - was terrific. The entire Greek colony, including the children in arms had, it seemed, rallied at Rushcutter's Bay.

In Londos' next match a week later, a Sydney record wrestling crowd of 14,000 people saw him wrestle Australian heavyweight champion Fred Atkins. The match was even more serious as Londos put up his belt for the match. The Sydney Morning Herald claimed "No villain of an 1870 melodrama was booed and hooted more heartily and spitefully than the Australian". In the sixth round of the match Londos hurled Atkins out of the ring, to crash unconscious amid the wreckage of shattered seats. While Atkins lay unconscious amid the startled spectators, a small Greek boy, dressed in white, stole into the ring and crowned Londos with an Olympic laurel wreath with blue and white ribbons. Londos kissed the boy's forehead. A cross section of Greek society attended his bout, with the Greek press pointing out, "From religious leaders, to community leaders, to workers were all present to see Jimmy Londos beat the Australian heavyweight champion, Fred Atkins. They all erupted in cheers and shouts of 'long live our pallikari' and 'pride of Greece'. Daily Telegraph sports writer Harry Gordon wrote:

The strength and balance of the Greek champion - who conceded two stone - were amazing and the 14,000 people who crammed into the stadium were thrilled. Jim Londos wrestling champion gave a (superhuman) performance in defeating Fred Atkins, by hurling Atkins out of the ring, like a bag of wheat.

Londos left Sydney for Melbourne where he also annihilated two more opponents at Melbourne Stadium, which like the stadium in Sydney was filled with Greeks. In his first bout Syro-American Abe Kashey was no match for the world champion, as was the case with Londos' fourth and last opponent John Katan.

The GOCS organised a dance in his honour at the Paddington Town Hall before he left for the USA on Monday 9 December 1946. Londos gave a speech in both English and Greek. Stan Raftopoulos made a speech about him at the Navaretis Club and the text of

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95 ibid., 19 November 1946, p.9; Hellenic Herald, 21 November 1946, p.4.
96 The Sydney Morning Herald, 26 November 1946, p.7. The 12 year old boy's name was Christos Sotirios Christopoulos.
97 Ethnikon Vema, 27 November 1946, p.2.
JIM LONDOS IN AUSTRALIA

Above. Londos with Archmandrite Mitrofanis Nicolaides

Below. Londos with Archbishop Theofylactos
it is contained in *Nostalgia and Dreams* which also contains a fascinating poem recited to Londos and the crowd:

Every heart feels proud  
Every Greek soul pulsates with joy  
On the occasion of meeting him here in Australia  
the one who has always honoured the great motherland

The one who left when young for foreign lands  
who became rich and honoured his great name  
but did not forget his motherland  
and never did he disparage his glorious ancestry

Here we entertain a new Hercules  
a true-born Greek, offspring of a great race  
fate has favoured us to watch him here  
Londos, the demigod of wrestling  
as a poet what can I say, where can I start?\(^{100}\)

The short tour of Londos and its impact on the Greek society of Australia was best summed up by the editor of *Ethnikon Vema* after Londos defeated Samara, before 12,000 people. The Editor claimed, "from the ancient Greek days till now, there is no greater wrestler than Jim Londos ever."\(^{101}\)

During Londos' church visits, all Greek boys and youths were expected to attend church. Members of the Kassie Sports Club who were unable to get transport to the Saint Sophia church that Londos was attending, were picked up by coach Johnny Johns in his provedore fish truck. Eyewitnesses cannot recall a day where more people crowded into the church. They were amazed when Londos turned up in an open shirt, to the Saint Sophia church, defying the dress conventions at the time. He took time to shake the hands of the aspiring Greek male youth, while also signing autographs.\(^{102}\)

The papers did not overlook the parents who brought their sons to witness Greek *andreia* (manliness) and to see that Greek manliness is not a myth but reality.\(^{103}\) The *Ethnikon Vema* wrote "a knowledge of the science of wrestling is calculated to develop and encourage the feeling of manliness, confidence, courage and love of fair play".

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\(^{101}\) *Ethnikon Vema*, 20 November 1946, p.3.  
\(^{102}\)Interview Mitrofanis Nicolaides and Johnny Economos.  
\(^{103}\)*Hellenic Herald*, 28 November 1946, p.4.
Londos left by mid December, but he had conquered the hearts of Greek Australians. There never was, before or afterwards, a more visible mass celebration in Australia of the ideal of the Greek as athlete. Greek sports multiplied and grew more sophisticated in the decades which followed, but that moment in 1946 encapsulated the whole meaning of the historical movement which this thesis has traced and analysed.

The Greeks had for a few hours converted stadiums like Rushcutters Bay and West Melbourne, into a Greek space for the celebration of sport and masculinity. Without access to the positions of power in Australian society, working in lower-class jobs, their rural social relationships very much disturbed in their new city environment, and in particular finding it difficult to control their womenfolk who were now out earning money, Greek men tried to create places where they could be in control, masculine spaces. And it was into these masculine spaces that they brought the youth and the boys, so as to socialise them into Greek ways but more importantly into Greek male ways. It was better to bring youngsters into the stadium to watch Londos wrestle than to stay at home. It was safe to stay home, away from the corrupting influences of Anglo-society; but it was also to put yourself and your sons effectively into the position of women and girls: that is domesticated, concerned with household matters, effeminate. It was masculine to get out of the house, to mingle with other men and learn from them. Back in the village the square had been the theatre of masculinity, where one saw other men and was seen as men. In the immigrant situation the village square had to be the club or, in the case of the Londos bout, the Anglo sporting space taken over for the night and turned into a Greek men's space.104

The Greeks have always had an intense interest in sports and this interest was carried and maintained by Greeks emigrating to Australia. They participated in all kinds of sports from rowing to boxing to cricket, in settings which were not at all Greek. They also tried, whenever possible, to create Greek venues and Greek clubs to promote their identity as Greeks. At first using picnics, then gymnasiums for primarily wrestling, then soccer clubs and most recently using basketball teams, the Greeks in Australia have encouraged young immigrants and the second generation to play sport in the company of other Greeks.

As this thesis has shown, there were three reasons for this:

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1) The desire of Greeks to keep their ethnic identity intact, a desire that had operated in Magna Graecia and in Alexandria and became far more intense during the centuries of Turkish domination, only to continue in a new land like Australia.

2) The tradition of Greek athletics, which has been continuous since at least the time of Homer and which inevitably was brought by emigrants to Australia where, of course, it encountered the Anglo-Celtic group's passion for sport. Part of the appeal here was a moral one: the idea that a sportsman could not do immoral things because his spirit had been ennobled by athletics, alternatively that a passion for sport would keep men too busy or too pure for gambling, drinking, etc. This traditional moralising about sport links up very well with the muscular Christian ideology then prevalent in Australia.

3) A deeply/widely held belief that sports masculinise males and are useful therefore in counteracting any feminising influences in Greek-Australian society. In Greece itself, of course, there was in addition to sports, the compulsory army service which made explicit the connection between military training and sports. In Australia, where young Greek males did not undergo military service, it was thought that sports had to be doubly effective.

The lives of men and women in Greece were sharply divided by gender into separate spheres of family relations, work and leisure. Men were the bread-winners, while women took care of the family, and each enjoyed their discretionary social time with peers of the same gender. Athletics and physical culture had historically always been an almost exclusively male activity, and prowess in sporting competitions was always regarded as a mark of manliness which involved the possession of such characteristics as courage, determination, strength and vigour.

It has not been possible in this thesis to explore a number of matters that are relevant to its topic and may indeed prove to be most important for it. The first matter is obviously that of Greek schooling in Australia, both the history of schools established by the Greek immigrants and Greek involvement in Australian education generally. There have been several studies of the system but no detailed history of Greek education in Australia has been produced yet.105

The second area needing investigation concerns the social activities of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia, especially the provisions and extent of youth activities. Thus far students of Orthodox history (Tamis, Tsingris, Tsounis and others) have concentrated on ecclesiastical politics and not investigated the ways in which the Church

105 The most complete is Michael Tsounis, *Greek Ethnic Schools in Australia*, Canberra, 1974.
has been obliged by necessity in the diaspora to undertake social and educational roles, that back home are usually performed by the Greek state. To judge from the South Australian guide to ethnic activities, many Greek parishes offer youth and sporting activities.\textsuperscript{106} The Australia-wide scene has not been investigated, but very probably would reveal the foundations -- parochial, in the truest sense of the word -- upon which national Greek sporting achievements have been built.

Thirdly, the sporting influence of the other diaspora communities on Australia merits investigation. With Greek wrestlers coming from America, and Greek athletes from Egypt entering Australia after the Suez Crisis in 1956, and with Australian Greeks returning to Athens to compete in Games, it is clear that research into the interactions between diaspora communities would yield interesting data.

Lastly, one would hope for future studies, dealing with sports in other ethnic groups in Australia, so that claims of this thesis about the unique position of sport in Greek culture can be substantiated further and compared with other histories. Some of these studies, it is hoped, might make use of a social-class analysis that was not appropriate in this study of Greek sport. As more ethnic sport studies become available, they may lead scholars to cease focusing on the phenomenon of violence (Mosely, Vamplew) and to begin studying how ethnic sports function in ethnic communities and in the Australian community.

In conclusion, this investigation of Greek sporting traditions and its attempt to write its history has been hampered by the absence of previous studies in this field, and by the lack of an existing theory that can explain the phenomenon. If other ethnic group histories are written, and if they are synthesised, the result would be a scholarly piece of work respectfully acknowledging the influence of immigrants on Australian sport. Questions about sports in immigrant societies are many and complex. Research into ethnic sport should not be limited to a simple record of techniques and achievements, but must investigate the wider context.

Further research efforts will build on the information gained from this study. However a need also exists for more international studies on Greek sport in order to compare the outcomes of similar processes in different contexts.

One of the shrewdest and most sympathetic students of modern Greece, William Miller, showed some surprising insensitivity when he reported in 1905 that:

Outdoor sports do not flourish in Greece, although cricket, a relic of the British protectorate, is still played (with the British terminology) at Corfu. But, as a famous foreign athlete, long established in the country, once said to me, 'the Greek is not a sportsman'.

Miller was aware of the great interest created by the 1896 Olympic Games. He was aware of the growth of gymnastics clubs and of physical education in the schools. Yet he could not see that already, in 1905, the long tradition of Greek sport was emerging robustly into the twentieth century. The Greeks were always sportsmen, they continue to be sportsmen and they bring up young men to be sportsmen in whatever part of the world they settle. In the fifth Century, Pindar, in his first Olympian ode, wrote these words for an Olympic champion from South Italy, Hieron of Syracuse, but they can be repeated for Greek sportsmen in Australia two and a half millennia later:

May you walk exalted as long as you live
And may I always live alongside victors
And stand out for skill
Among Greeks everywhere.

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Comino, Andy
Comino, Betty
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Diles, Jim
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Economos, John
Efstratiadis, Takis
Fatouros, Isabel
Finos, Michael
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Gardiner, George
Garnett, Nick
George, Sir Arthur
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Gilmour, Keith
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Haritos, Tony
Harris, Jim
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Johns, Peter
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Kontellis, Tony
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Lambis, Tom
Lekias, Michael
Lekosis, Chris
Linardos, Petros
Livishanis, James
Longinidis, Stan
Lucas, Peter
Mangos, Con
Mantzos, Lou
Marcels, Nick
Mattup, Spiro
Mitsopoulos, Jim
Monterrey, Tony
Morris, Christopher
Moschos, John
Nikolaides, Mitrofanis
Pantzouris, Themis
Papapetrou, Thanasis
Pavlou, Con
Peppes, Milton
Plarinos, George
Politis, Nick
Politis, Peter
Raftopoulos, Stan
Salvartzis, Michael
Salvartzis, Steve
Samios, Chris
APPENDIX 1

Greeks in Australia, Demographic Statistics 1854-1991

A. Censuses of 1854-1881.

'Greek Church' or 'Greek Catholic' Adherents in Victoria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1854</th>
<th>1857</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>No. Migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>1,086,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>337,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>140,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>136,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>121,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>68,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other East Europe</td>
<td>220,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>334,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,646,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Selected Figures of assisted migration 1945-1968.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>No. Assisted</th>
<th>No. Unassisted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>448,463</td>
<td>122,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>83,749</td>
<td>31,783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>2,150</td>
<td>1,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>49,047</td>
<td>282,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>50,008</td>
<td>122,280</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### D. Greece-born population of Australia, 1901-1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Greek-born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>3,654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>8,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>12,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>25,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>77,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>140,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>160,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>152,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>146,625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>137,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>136,028</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### E. Male Greek settlers (1890-1940) major regions of origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ionian Islands</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kythera</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ithaca</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Ionian</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Ionian</strong></td>
<td>3,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cyclades</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aegean Islands</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dodecanese</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castellorizo</td>
<td>1,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Dodecanese</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Dodecanese</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Euboea</strong></td>
<td>790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Crete</strong></td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cyprus</strong></td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL ISLANDS</strong></td>
<td>7,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peloponnesus</strong></td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Mainland</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overseas Greeks</strong></td>
<td>(e.g Asia Minor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Greeks</strong></td>
<td>10,260</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
F. 1991 Census Greeks in Australia Geographic Distribution

Figure 1. State/Territory Distribution

![Map showing state/territory distribution of Greeks in Australia with percentages.]

Figure 2. Major Cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Location (b)</th>
<th>1991 Census</th>
<th>% Change 1986-1991</th>
<th>% of Total Population in Location</th>
<th>% of COB (c) Population in State</th>
<th>% of COB (c) Population in Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>40,433</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>-3.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>1,327</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>64,511</td>
<td>-1.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>96.4</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geelong</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>3,207</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast-Tweed</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td>12,103</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>3,208</td>
<td>-12.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>82.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobart</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>-7.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darwin</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>-19.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canberra-Queanbeyan</td>
<td>1,735</td>
<td>-3.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other locations</td>
<td>5,976</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>135,673</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. Top 20 Locations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Government Area (LGA) (b)</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>COB(c) as % of Total Population in LGA</th>
<th>Total number of COB(c) Population in LGA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thebarton (M)</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northcote (C)</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>3,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakleigh (C)</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>4,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunswick (C)</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>2,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond (C)</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1,354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrickville (M)</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury (M)</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Melbourne (C)</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collingwood (C)</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>5.5</td>
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<td>%</td>
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H. 1991 Census The Greek Second Generation:

Figure 1. Geographic Distribution of Greek-born and Second Generation by State.

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<th>State or Territory of residence</th>
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<th>Second Generation %</th>
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Figure 2. Age Distribution for the Second Generation: Greek-born and Total Second Generation of Overseas-born.