

In Her Own Image: Greek-Australian Women Beyond the Stereotypes

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‘What do *you* know about Greek women?

Not much, you say.

Some typical stereotypes, eh?

Let me set the record straight.

Oh yeh, you’ll be surprised.’²

Haitho Massala, ‘Greek Women’, 1994

Stereotypes of Greek-Australian women continue to bombard the public consciousness. Black-clad Greek-Australian women, those at festivals and celebrations in traditional costume, and the comedian/public personality, ‘Effie’, tend to dominate.

A socio-cultural division exists within Australian society between British-Australians and ‘non-British ethnic groups’. The former is elevated as the ‘dominant cultural group’ and the latter as separate ‘minorities.’ The prevailing idea of what constitutes a ‘typical Australian’ is consequently revealed as ‘exclusive’ rather than ‘inclusive’. Such marginalisation is all pervading within our nation and takes no account of the extensive diversity and ongoing hybridism that has, and continues, to actively change the socio-cultural make-up of Australia. ‘The other’ within Australian society is considered as providing ‘difference’ to the dominant ‘mainstream’ and

1 This paper is dedicated to Joan Efrosini Messaris (nee Panaretou) [1953 – 2004], Joan Clarke (nee Willmott) [1920 – 2004] and Dora Megaloconomos (nee Comino) [1923 – 2005], three Australian women of Greek background whose achievements are not simply, passively celebrated in memory alone, but actively articulated in the ongoing attitudes and actions of those they have left behind. The paper has arisen out of a popular press feature article written by the authors: E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, ‘In Her Own Image: Greek-Australian Women’, *Neos Kosmos English Weekly*, 3 May 2004, pp. 6-7.

2 H. Massala, ‘Greek Women’, in H. Nickas and K. Dounis (eds), *Re-telling The Tale Poetry and Prose by Greek-Australian Women Writers*, Owl Publishing, Melbourne, 1994, p. 305.

Leonard Janiszewski and Effy Alexakis, “In Her Own Image: Greek-Australian Women Beyond the Stereotypes”, *Culture & Memory*. Special Issue of *Modern Greek Studies* (Australia and New Zealand), 2006: 152-173.

possessing little else of significance beyond this.³ This ‘difference’ in the public consciousness takes tangible form in stereotypes, such as those of Greek-Australian women.



Young female dancers at the Greek Glendi Festival waiting to go on stage Adelaide, 1989

Stereotypes of Greek-Australian women persist Images of Greek-Australian women dressed in black, or at festivals and celebrations in traditional costume, together with the comedian/public personality, ‘Effie’, tend to dominate As such perceptions of Greek-Australian women have been denied complexity and insightful historical context

Photo by Effy Alexakis, from the *In Their Own Image Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives.

The Australian media, popular social commentators, anthropologists, sociologists and even those attempting to undertake historical research on Greek-Australians have assisted in cultivating and re-enforcing these stereotypes of ‘difference’ in regard to Greek-Australian women. Collectively, they have provided perceptions of Greek-Australian women generally denuded of detailed and insightful historical context.

Arguably, the English-language media – both within capital cities and regional areas – has consistently, depicted Greek-Australian women (together with Greek-Australian men) as ‘recent migrants in a new land’ rather than ‘settlers’ with a long and strong historical presence in Australia; a situation which reflects the prevailing attitude within the grand orthodox narratives of this country’s past. Popular social commentators have maintained this attitude.⁴ Anthropological/sociological works are focussed, almost exclusively, upon the impact of the numerically pronounced flood of Greek arrivals after World War II; gestures towards placing findings within a broader historical context can only be characterised as

3 For more detail regarding the Australian ‘type’ and the marginalisation of groups from non-English speaking background through stereotypes to emphasise ‘difference’, see: L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, “Greek-Australians: In Their Own Image”, National Project and Touring Exhibition – Taking Constructive Action”, in M. Birtley and P. McQueen (eds), *New Responsibilities. Documenting Multicultural Australia*, (Conference, 11-13 November 1988, Melbourne), Museums Association of Australia Inc., Victorian Branch, and the Library Council of Victoria, Melbourne, 1989, pp. 28-29; E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1998, pp. 8-9.

4 For example: S. Falkiner and L. Graham, *Australians Today*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1985; G. Lindstrom and D. Martin, *I’ll Take Australia*, Jacaranda Press, Milton, Qld, 1978; A. Park and S. O. Fox, *Beyond Black & White: The Many Faces of Australia*, Portside Editions, Melbourne, 1995.

undernourished and subsequently tokenistic.⁵ The diverse historical voices of Greek-Australian women consequently fail to be interwoven with those of today who have been able to articulate their stories.

This also generally occurs in the celebratory, 'ghetto', histories on Greek-Australians that have emerged – these look at Greek-Australians for their own sake without significant regard to the methodology or historiography of Australian historical writing.⁶ One such historical publication does not present any Greek-Australian female voices at all,⁷ and whilst such information may be difficult to uncover, it certainly is not impossible to obtain – as we shall evidence. Even Hugh Glichrist's seminal research and publications on the history of contact between Greece and Australia suggests, in regard to one particular point, a serious gender bias – although a 'free' (as opposed to 'convicted') Greek female settled in Australia in 1835, some two to four years before the earliest 'free' Greek males, the men have been given the title of the first 'free' Greek immigrants to settle in Australia.⁸ Significantly, men not only dominate within the content of published Greek-Australian histories, but also as the authors of the works.

Regrettably, overall, the Greek-Australian female presence has been devalued and stereotyped. As such, their history in both Australia and even Greece (through return migration)⁹ is still to be solidly researched and written.

So, let's attempt to firmly begin the lengthy process towards such a history.

Greek women have been settling in Australia since at least 1835; an earlier Greek female presence has been suggested to have occurred in the Swan River settlement (Western Australia) in 1830, but it awaits firm

5 L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, "That Bastard Ulysses": An Insight into the Early Greek Presence, 1810s-1940', in S. Fitzgerald and G. Wotherspoon (eds), *Minorities Cultural Diversity in Sydney*, State Library of NSW Press, Sydney, 1995, p. 15, see also footnote 3.

6 For example: J. Vondra, *Hellas Australia*, Widescope Publishers, Melbourne, 1979; A. Papageorgopoulos, *The Greeks in Australia. A Home Away from Home*, Alpha Books, Sydney, 1981; A. M. Tamis, *An Illustrated History of the Greeks in Australia*, Dardalis Archives of the Greek Community, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1997; D. A. Conomos, *The Greeks in Queensland: A History from 1859-1945*, Copyright Publishing Company Pty Ltd, Brisbane, 2002.

7 G. Kanarakis, *In The Wake of Odysseus Portraits of Greek Settlers in Australia*, Greek-Australian Archives Publications, RMIT University Publishing, Melbourne, 1997, p. 13.

8 H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Volume I The Early Years*, Halstead Press, Sydney, 1992, p. 72; H. Gilchrist, 'Greek Settlement until 1940', in J. Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 2001, p. 387; H. Gilchrist, 'The Greek Connection with Early Australia, 1700-1900', transcript of lecture presented at Sydney University, 27 February 1986, p. 6, held in the *In Their Own Image. Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

9 For Greek-Australian women in Greece see: E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski *Images of Home*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1995.

corroboration of ethnicity and was only fleeting in nature.¹⁰ The stories of those Greek women who settled in Australia over almost the last two centuries are filled with successes, failures, hopes and dreams – of an Australia of challenges, a Greece of memory and a faith in the unfolding of a potentially unlimited future. Unfortunately, though, their stories have often been submerged beneath the voices of their male counterparts. Certainly, Greek migration to and settlement in Australia until the late 1950s and early 1960s was overwhelmingly male in terms of numbers, yet, those Greek women who did arrive before this time – limited in number as they were – equally provide strong evidence of pioneering purpose.



Katherine Crummer (nee Aikaterini Georgia Plessa)

Probably taken in Sydney, late nineteenth century

Katherine is the earliest known Greek woman to settle permanently in Australia and the first 'free' Greek settler

In 1835 she accompanied her husband, Captain James Henry Crummer, with his infantry unit's new posting to New South Wales. Born in north-western Greece, she had met and married James on Kalamos, which was part of the British occupied Ionian Islands; she was eighteen and he, thirty. Katherine's husband succeeded in holding various significant positions in the colony. As such, her lifestyle was in stark contrast to that experienced by other very early Greek arrivals. Katherine and James had eleven children. She died in 1907 aged ninety-eight, surviving her husband by forty years. Katherine is buried at Waverley Cemetery, Sydney

Photo courtesy R. and P. Crummer, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives

Significantly, the social status of two early Greek female arrivals contrasted sharply to the Greek men, who arrived principally as convicts, sailors or gold-seekers. Katherine Crummer (nee Aikaterini Georgia Plessa) arrived in New South Wales in 1835 as the wife of a British army officer, Captain James Henry Crummer, who went on to hold various important

10 Maria Barvides (Bartides), together with her husband, John, and their son, Petro, arrived in the Swan River colony in March 1830. They were servants of a James Somers Rae. It is presumed that they departed the colony with Rae in June of the following year. The Barvides family is considered to have been Greek in origin. See: R. Appleyard and J. Yiannakis, *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Perth, 2002, p. 7.

positions in the colony, including Chief Magistrate in Newcastle. Katherine is the first confirmed 'free' Greek to settle in Australia and the earliest confirmed Greek female.¹¹ Of Katherine and James' eleven children, seven were girls, and five of those were Australian-born. One of the girls, Augusta Louisa, married Frederick Eccleston Du Faur in 1866; Du Faur later became a Fellow of the Royal Society of New South Wales and President of the Board of Trustees of the New South Wales Art Gallery.¹² In 1859, Countess Diamantina Roma, of Venetian-Greek descent, arrived as the wife of Queensland's first Governor, Sir George Bowen. After eight years in Queensland, Bowen was appointed Governor-General of New Zealand. The couple returned to Australia in 1872 when Sir George accepted the position of Governor of Victoria. Diamantina's philanthropic work in Australia was widely applauded by contemporaries and her name is still commemorated in place names: Roma Street, Lady Bowen Park and Roma Street Station in Brisbane; Diamantina River and the town of Roma in Queensland; and Diamantina Falls in Victoria. The Bowens left Australia for Mauritius in 1879. Of Diamantina and George's four children, three were girls and two of these were Australian-born.¹³



Eliza Bettina Crummer (seated) with her sister Augusta Louisa Crummer
Port Macquarie, NSW, 1864

Eliza was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1831, and Augusta, in the colony of New South Wales, six years later. Whether they, or any of their siblings, acquired aspects of their mother's (Katherine Crummer, nee Plessa) cultural Greek background, is open to speculation.

Photo courtesy R. and P. Crummer, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives.

11 H. Gilchrist, *Volume I: The Early Years*, pp. 45-51; E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 11, 24.

12 Correspondence between the authors and Patsy Crummer, Sydney, NSW, 6 February 1992, 27 April 1992; private family papers provided by Patsy Crummer held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney; 'Frederick Eccleston Du Faur (1832-1915)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, D. Pike (gen. ed.), vol. 4, 1851-1890, D-J, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vict., 1972, pp. 108-109.

13 H. Gilchrist, *Volume I: The Early Years*, pp. 59-70.

During the gold-rush era (1850s-1880s) the number of Greek women in the Australian colonies was sparse.¹⁴ Traditionally, Greek migration was male dominated. Greek men, mostly young and single, would journey to foreign lands to seek material improvement for themselves, their parents and their siblings, particularly sisters, for whom dowries were mandatory. Given that a family's honour rested heavily upon the chastity of its female members, that an appropriate marriage was customarily secured through the dowry system, and that the socio-cultural preference for Greek women was to marry a fellow Hellene,¹⁵ Greek female migration was certainly not popularly contemplated.



Lady Bowen (Countess Diamantina Roma)

Pastel drawing, produced in the nineteenth century, artist and precise date unknown

Diamantina arrived in Australia as the wife of Sir George Bowen, the first Governor of Queensland, in 1859. She had been born on Zakynthos and was of Venetian-Greek descent. In 1856, she had married Sir George in Corfu. He was then Chief Secretary to the British administration of the Ionian Islands. Although she only spent thirteen years in Australia between her initial arrival and final departure (after his term in Queensland, Bowen was appointed Governor General of New Zealand and later, Governor of Victoria), her philanthropic work was greatly applauded and her name is widely commemorated in place names.

Photo courtesy All Hallows' School, Brisbane, and State Library of Queensland, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives.

In the 1857 census of Australia's leading gold colony of Victoria, only two Greek women are listed. Five years later the figure had risen to thirteen, and in the colony's 1871 census, out of a total of well over 300 members of the 'Greek Church', twenty-seven were noted as female – nineteen of these women were born in Greece. Twenty-five of the 1871

14 *ibid.*, p. 78, 120; H. Gilchrist, 'The Greek Connection with Early Australia, 1700-1900', p. 14.

15 G. Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Qld, 1979, pp. 77-88; G. Tsolidis, 'Greek-Australian Families', in R. Hartley (ed.), *Families and Cultural Diversity in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1995, pp. 122-129.

Greek female tally were registered on the goldfields.¹⁶ The names of two of these twenty-five have been uncovered: Augusta Ammuretti and Maria Vlasopoulou. Born in 1820, Augusta Ammuretti arrived in Australia in 1871 and although her name implies an Italian connection, when she registered herself at Mosquito Flat in the gold town of Maryborough, Victoria, her religion was noted as being that of the 'Greek Church'.¹⁷ Maria Vlasopoulou (nee Lamberis) married Theodoros Vlasopoulos in Greece and migrated to Western Australia in 1870 before moving to Victoria in 1871. She died in Melbourne in 1911.¹⁸

The personal identity of another Greek female who arrived during the Australian gold rush era has also been confirmed. In 1886 Maria Argyrou (nee Morou) appears to have either accompanied or immediately followed her husband, Dimitrios Argyros, to Sydney; they had been married in Greece in 1879. 'Athina Florence' may be the name of even yet another 'golden Greek' female arrival. In 1880 Athina married Efstathios Androulakis in Melbourne. She and her husband later moved to Newcastle in New South Wales. Athina's suggested Greek ethnicity is still to be positively verified.¹⁹ Maria Vlasopoulou, Maria Argyrou and Augusta Ammuretti evidence the pattern, of which Katherine Crummer and Diamantina Roma also form a part, that most Greek women arriving in Australia – even during the twentieth century – were doing so as 'dependants' (such as wives, daughters, sisters and mothers) rather than as socially and economically independent individuals.

The Greek male presence on various gold mining districts in both Victoria and New South Wales – such as at Ballarat, Maryborough, Tarnagulla, Castlemaine, Bendigo, St Arnaud, Dunolly and Talbot (Black Creek) in the former, and Tambaroora, Gulgong, Braidwood, Araluen, Young (Lambing Flat) and Parkes in the latter – reveal a number of Greek miners with Australian-born female offspring from mixed marriages (principally to British-Australian women).²⁰ 'Greek Town' in Tambaroora,

16 H. Gilchrist, *Volume I: The Early Years*, pp. 77-78, 97-98. There is a discrepancy in Gilchrist's cumulative figures for the 1871 Victorian census total for members of the 'Greek Church'. The correct figure is likely to be well over 300.

17 Correspondence between the authors and Jan Burnett, Research Officer, Avoca & District Historical Society, Avoca, Vic., 4 February 1993 and 18 February 1993; extracts from the Maryborough Hospital Admissions Registry provided by the Society, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

18 H. Gilchrist, *Volume I: The Early Years*, pp. 97-98.

19 *ibid.*, p. 79. Private research papers provided in 1987 by Alex Burns (historian, Newcastle, NSW), suggests that Athina's marriage to Androulakis actually took place in 1888. Burns considers that Athina was Greek. See 'Newcastle File' held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

20 See numerous gold rush 'family files' held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney. For example, those which indicate the birth of daughters to Greek miners include: 'Ioannou (Johnson)'; 'Jouva (Gouvvas)'; 'Vasilakis (Williams)'; 'Carra'; 'Perry ("Apozogy")'; 'Macryannis (Macryannis)'; 'Metaxa'; 'Pericles (Rodokanakis)';

(near Hill End) in the central western goldfields of New South Wales, was particularly prominent in this regard. In 'Greek Town', over forty daughters of Greek miners have presently been identified. These include, for example: Mary Makriyannis; Evelyn Matilda Makriyannis; Aspasia Vasilakis (Williams); Anthea Vasilakis (Williams); Maria Doikos; Fanny Catherine Doikos; Maria (Marina) Christina Lalekhos; Florence Marie Lalekhos; Aphrodite Mahala Moustakas; Cassandra Moustakas; Helen Lambert; Aspasia Garyphalia Nichols; Sophia Emma Nichols; Mary Ann Dimond; and Ellen Agnes Manolatos.²¹ 'Greek Town' Tambaroora, together with Mosquito Flat in Maryborough on Victoria's 'Midland' goldfields, appear to be the earliest 'collective' settlements of Greeks in Australia. At Mosquito Flat, records have currently revealed four Australian-born daughters of Greek miners: Angela Capitaneas, Mary Vasopolos (Vlasopoulos), Lucy Vasopolos (Vlasopoulos) and Alexandria Christie.²² Further research is likely to provide more.

Of course, some of the limited number of pre-1850s Greek male arrivals in Australia also fathered Greek-Australian daughters – Ghikas Boulgaris (arrived 1829) had five daughters, Samuel Donnes (arrived 1837) had four daughters, John Peters (arrived late 1830s) had six daughters, and George North (arrived 1842), just one.²³ A few of the daughters of both pre-1850s and gold rush Greek male and female arrivals may have retained some cultural aspects of their father's or mother's Greek ethnicity. Most however, given the host society's racial and cultural biases – which in 1901 became nationally and officially legitimised in legislation that was popularly known as the 'White Australia' policy – seem to have firmly

'Bennett'; 'Keys (Korkoutsakis)'; 'Moustakas'; 'Manolatos'; 'Lacco'; 'Constantine'; 'D'Angri'; 'Manusu (Manousou)'; 'Nichols'; 'Doikos (Doicos)'; 'Emellen (Emale)'; and 'Pannam'. See also, E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 12.

21 H. Hodge, *The Hill End Story*, Book 2, Hill End Publications, Sydney, 1980, pp. 155-174; H. Gilchrist, *Volume I: The Early Years*, pp. 80-86. See 'family files' of Tambaroora's Greek miners held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

22 Correspondence between the authors and Jan Burnett, Research Officer, Avoca & District Historical Society, Avoca, Vic., 4 February 1993 and 18 February 1993; correspondence between the authors and Bette Bilton, Midlands Historical Society, Maryborough, Vic., 23 November 1992 and 17 February 1993; correspondence between the authors and Beverley J. Christie, Melbourne, Vic., 11 March 1994, 27 March 1994, 16 April 1994, 3 May 1994, 19 May 1994; extracts from the Maryborough Hospital Admissions Registry provided by both aforementioned historical societies, and private family papers provided by Beverley J. Christie, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

23 H. Gilchrist, *Volume I: The Early Years*, pp. 40-44, 72-73. Gilchrist errs in the number of daughters of John Peters. The correct figure is six. See private family papers provided by Joan Clarke (nee Willmott), Sydney, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney. Private family papers provided by Ellen Rose Purcell (nee North), Adelaide, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney;

assimilated into British-Australian life.²⁴ Interestingly though, from the early 1970s, with successive Australian governments (the Whitlam, Fraser, Hawke and then Keating governments) embracing and promoting a 'multicultural' Australia, it appears that some female descendants of early Greek settlers have attempted to regain parts of their ancestral cultural legacy which previous generations had been denied. This is evidenced in the lives of Robyn Margaret Johnson (nee Lowry), a great-great-great-grand-daughter of Katherine Crummer, Doreen McTaggart (nee Field), a great-grand-daughter of convict Ghikas Boulgaris, Joan Clarke (nee Willmott), a great-grand-daughter of John Peters one of the earliest 'free' Greek arrivals, and Mavis Deards, a great-grand-daughter of gold miner Dennis Keys (Dionysios Korkoutsakis).²⁵



Margarete Johnson (Ioannou)
studio portrait, 1889

Margarete's father, Antony, arrived in Australia in 1855 and tried his luck on the goldfields. He is recorded as having been born in Athens. Antony married Bridget Hogan at Scone, New South Wales, in 1862. They had eight children. Margarete was their third daughter. With few Greek women entering Australia during the gold rush era, many Greek men, like Antony, married women of British background. Various gold mining districts in both New South Wales and Victoria reveal a number of Australian-born female offspring resulting from mixed marriages entered into by Greek miners.

Photo courtesy Jarrett family, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives

24 See nineteenth century 'family files' held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney, particularly of those families noted in this paper's text and preceding footnotes.

25 Interview with Robyn Margaret Johnson (nee Lowry), Canberra, 10 July 1994; interview with Doreen McTaggart (nee Field), Bees Creek, NT, 8 June 1996; interview with Joan Clarke (nee Willmott), Sydney, 24 September 1986; interview with Mavis Deards, Newcastle, NSW, 20 September 1986. All interviews cited in notes were conducted by the authors and are part of the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney. See also: E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski *Images of Home*, pp. 22-23, 58-59, 70-71; and E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 170.

Precise Greek female population figures for the Australian colonies during the gold rush period, the remainder of the late nineteenth century, and even into the opening decades of the new century after Federation, may never be fully acquired – names tended to be anglicised for assimilation purposes, and documents are often devoid of references to ethnicity, religion, personal characteristics, language spoken, and place of birth (and when place of birth is revealed, it is not always an indicator of ethnic origin, particularly for those Greeks born outside of Greece). Nevertheless, in the 1890s and early 1900s – with Greek men finding more stable income particularly in food catering and goods trades and their numbers continuing to grow through chain migration – the presence of Greek women in Australia notably increased. As such, the ratio of males to females born in Greece steadily declined within Australia as the early twentieth century advanced – from, 16:1 in 1911, to 6:1 a decade later, and less than 4:1 in 1933.²⁶ Many Greek men settling in Australia continued to marry women of British background – as was overwhelmingly the case during the gold rushes – but those more concerned with maintaining Greek values and tradition opted to either return to Greece, marry, and then re-migrate with their bride, or arrange marriage by proxy and subsequently organise for her passage out.²⁷ Sophocles Servetopoulos returned to Sydney from Greece in 1890 with his new bride, Eleni, and in 1909, Dr Konstantinos Kyriazopoulos (Krizos) re-migrated to Melbourne with his new wife, Antigone (nee Dimissa).²⁸ Vasili Kailis travelled back to Kastellorizo in 1911, married, then returned to Western Australia with his wife, Eleni.²⁹ In 1922 Mrs K. Kanganas met her husband-to-be at the dock in Fremantle, Western Australia, after her marriage had been arranged by proxy.³⁰ Some Greek women at this time are also known to have married men of British-Australian background. Annie Higinis (Higenis) married William Bennett at Port Pirie, South Australia in 1918, and Evangelia Dioktitis married Robert Sidney Parker in 1924 in Darwin.³¹ The start of this period also witnessed Australia's first graduate of Greek background: a woman – Orea Emma Hellas Moustaka. Orea Emma, one of five daughters of

26 R. Appleyard and J. Yiannakis, op. cit., p. 125. See also M. P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', PhD, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1971, vol. 1, p. 206.

27 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 12, 125, 220, and pp. 31-51; R. Appleyard and J. Yiannakis, op. cit., p. 125, 127.

28 H. Gilchrist, *Volume 1. The Early Years*, p. 79, H. Gilchrist, 'The Greek Connection with Early Australia, 1700-1900', p. 14; E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, pp. 124-125; interview by the with Michael Krizos (Kyriazopoulos), Melbourne, 13 January 1987.

29 Interview with Fanny Kalafatis (nee Kailis), 17 October 1987.

30 R. Appleyard and J. Yiannakis, op. cit., p. 127.

31 Interview with Ray Bennett, Adelaide, 1 October 1987. Interview with Evangelia Parker (nee Dioktitis), Darwin, 23 March 1987.

Tambaroora/Hill End Greek gold miner, Dimitrios (Peter) Moustakas, was awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree from Sydney University in 1897.³²



Maria, Helen and Kanella Crithary
Randwick, Sydney, 1920

During the early twentieth century, the growing but still limited number of Greek women in Australia's major urban centres began to establish formal Greek women's societies. By the late 1930s, such societies had been formed in Melbourne, Perth, Sydney, Brisbane and Adelaide. These provided Greek-Australian women with a much needed social and cultural network.

Photo courtesy N. George, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives

The early twentieth century saw the growing but still limited number of Greek women in Australia's major urban centres banding together and forming Hellenic social groups and organisations. Antigone Kyriazopoulos (nee Dimissa) for example, utilising her good education and middle class background, assisted in establishing the Melbourne Greek Women's Society in 1916. In the following year, as President of the Society, she instigated the staging of her husband's play – translated as 'The Inconsiderate Guest' or 'The Uninvited Visitor' – in aid of the Greek War Orphans' Relief Fund (World War I). Dr Konstantinos Kyriazopoulos' play is considered to be the earliest written by a Greek settler in Australia and its staging by Antigone was the inaugural public performance.³³ Formal Greek women's societies were also constituted in Perth (1926), Sydney (1929), Brisbane (1931) and Adelaide (1937).³⁴

The creation of such social and cultural networks by Greek-Australian women also assisted in regard to family responsibilities. In an alien, host society, without their mothers to help domestically, particularly with childcare, they had to rely heavily upon each other; generally, the mothers of early Greek-Australian migrant women had no intention of departing Greece with their daughters and Australian immigration policy was not focussed towards family migration. For the early generations of Greek-Australian women, picnics and other social and cultural gatherings were a much welcomed respite from the general isolation they experienced: their

32 H. Gilchrist, *Volume I: The Early Years*, pp. 85-86.

33 Interview with Michael Krzys (Kyriazopoulos), Melbourne, 13 January 1987; G. Michelakakis, 'Aspects of Greek Theatre in Australia', in *Multicultural Arts Today in Australia. Theatre*, Australia Council, Sydney, 1987, pp. 16-17; G. Kanarakis, *Greek Voices in Australia: A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama*, Australian National University Press, a division of Pergamon Press Australia, Sydney, 1987, p. 9, 15, 19, 52; H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Volume II. The Middle Years*, Halstead Press, Sydney, 1997, pp. 319-320; M. P. Tsounis, PhD, vol. 2, p. 565.

34 M. P. Tsounis, PhD, vol. 2, p. 562, 568, 570, 572.

numbers were few, their family and work responsibilities great, their relationships with non-Greek women limited, and their interaction with non-Greek men for reasons other than business or neighbourly hellos, excluded.³⁵ For some of those in regional areas, the geographical and socio-cultural isolation, burdened with persistent toil and family responsibilities, at times inflicted deep despondency. Such a heavy sadness, driven by circumstance, has remained with Maria Sourrys who settled with her husband, George, in Hughenden in north-eastern Queensland in 1939: 'I was the first Greek woman here for the first couple of years ... had nothing ... worked hard ... I've never returned to Greece ... eight (Greek) families here once ... now they've all gone.' Maria had seven children and she and her husband operated Sourrys' Café.³⁶

Greek girls making items for their prika (dowry)

Cootamundra, NSW, 1955

Lula Saunders (nee Bahles) is seated in the centre between two Greek girl friends. She recalls:

'We were Greek in the home – a very strict Greek family. We weren't allowed to participate in [broader] community life. I think we only went to one birthday party. My brothers were allowed to swim, we weren't. My family's aspirations for my sister and myself was nothing beyond getting married... My father wanted us to acquire enough education to help him do his books for our cafe. Our *prika* was a very big part of us growing up... My mother's marriage was arranged and I grew up with stories about what a girl's place was – my mother's life wasn't involved in anything outside the home: she had five children, the café and a language barrier ... so [as was expected], we [my sister and I] would get together with other Greek girls and do our handiwork [for the *prika*].'

Photo courtesy L. Saunders, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives



Many Greek women during the first-half of the twentieth century worked in family-run Greek cafés. The preparation of café meals, washing up and cleaning for many long, hard and monotonous hours was followed by the running of the household and caring for their children's comfort, well-being, and the instilling of Greek spiritual and cultural values,³⁷ the

35 Numerous interviews by the authors with Greek-Australian women, 1987-2004, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

36 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 179; interview with Maria Sourrys, Hughenden, Qld, 2 April 1987.

37 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 87; See also: L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, 'California Dreaming: The "Greek Café" and Its Role in the Americanisation of Australian Eating and Social Habits', *Modern Greek Studies, Australia & New Zealand, A Journal for Greek Letters*, vol. 11-12, 2003/4, pp. 190-191.

young daughters of these women were also expected to help out in the family business, whilst ensuring their homework was completed and that time was spent gathering and making items for their *prika* (dowry).³⁸ This pattern of assisting with income generating activities combined with family duties featured in the lives of most other Greek-Australian women – be they on the Queensland sugar cane and cotton fields, or on the mining fields of Western Australia and New South Wales, or on the stone and dried fruit plantations in South Australia and Victoria, or in the fishing ports scattered around the continent.³⁹ Some Greek-Australian women though, were able to look beyond this routine.



Mary Dakas (nee Paspalis) attending the funeral of pearl shell diver, Hristos Kontoyiannis

Broome Cemetery, WA, 1956

Mary Dakas has been acknowledged as 'most probably Australia's only Greek female pearl lugger operator'. After the accidental electrocution of her second husband, Christopher Dakas, in 1948, Mary resolved to enter into the staunchly male domain of Australia's pearl shell industry: a decision possibly tempered by her father's and brothers' experiences in the business. The mother-of-pearl shell was highly valued for its iridescent

lining and utilised in the manufacture of buttons, ornaments and jewellery. She soon was operating luggers out of Broome and Port Hedland. As Mary explained: 'I had four boats pearling. I started with the *Swallow* in 1949. My son Manuel built the *Kestrel* on the beach at Broome, and we added the *Jedda* and one other to the fleet. We did well while the price of shell was up.'

Mary died in 1985, aged seventy-six, and was buried at Perth's Karrakatta Cemetery.

Photo courtesy Papadonakis family, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives.

Mary Dakas (nee Paspalis) became a pearl lugger operator on Australia's north-western coast – most probably the only Greek female to have done so. A Dakas Street exists in Broome (Western Australia) today as a tribute to this unique Greek-Australian pioneer pearler. She has been described as 'a fascinating lady' of 'very strong character' because 'to take over the running of the luggers as she did... was against all the conventions' of a staunchly male dominated Australian pearl shell industry and a 'very class conscious Broome of the 40s and 50s'.⁴⁰ The Likiard

38 Interview with Lula Saunders (nee Bahles), Sydney, 5 March 2002.

39 Numerous interviews by the authors with Greek-Australian women, 1987-2004, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

40 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 74; L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, 'White Gold, Deep Blue: Greeks in the Australian Pearling Industry, 1880s-2000', *Neos Kosmos English Weekly*, 17 June 2002, pp. 9-10; L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, 'Greek Currents in Australian Waters: Greek-Australians and the Sea, 1810s-2000', *Neos Kosmos English Weekly*, 11 February 2002, p. 11;

(Likiardopolous) sisters became champion swimmers and divers during the late 1930s and 1940s. Stavroula Catherine Likiard held the Victorian and Australian Springboard and Tower Diving Championships for a number of years, and at the time was 'the only women diver in Australia able to handle the one and a half somersault dive from the three-metre board'.⁴¹ Thea Karofilis entered a regional fund raising competition in New South Wales during 1948 and succeeded in becoming 'Miss Wagga' (Wagga Wagga) for 1949; being the inaugural competition, Thea was the first to ever win the title.⁴² Anna Gregory (Grigoriadis), who had arrived in Australia as a four-year-old in 1929, graduated from Sydney University with a medical degree in 1947 and established herself in general practice before becoming a psychiatrist. She is considered to be the first Greek woman to practise medicine in Australia. In 1952, Anna's younger sister, Elizabeth, also graduated from Sydney University in medicine.⁴³ Fifi (Efthymia) Krizos (daughter of Dr Konstantinos and Antigone Kyriazopoulos) graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree from Melbourne University in 1938. Having majored in haematology, she entered employment as a biologist at Melbourne's Prince Henry's Hospital.⁴⁴ Iris Nicolades (Nikolaidis) was awarded an Arts degree with honours from Melbourne University in 1949. She initially entered the teaching profession and later became a librarian.⁴⁵

During World War II, Greek women in Australia became involved with the Allied war effort. Twenty-six Greek women served in the women's services of the Australian armed forces. Polyxeni Lucas, Helen Metaxas and Rita Svokos, for example, served with the Women's Royal Australian Navy Service (WRANS).⁴⁶ Anne Kaliopi Karofilis (Thea Karofilis' sister) engaged in 'home guard' defence measures by undertaking semaphore training.⁴⁷ Others took on nursing – such as Fifi Krizos who became a medical assistant in a munitions plant and later served with the Red Cross in Greece – or organised war relief appeals, which at times included charity

Various papers provided to the authors by the Broome Historical Society, Broome, WA, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

41 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 205; personal family papers provided by A. Lambert (nee Likiard), Geelong, Victoria, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

42 Interview with Elaine Karofilis, Gosford, NSW, 13 January 2002; personal family papers provided by L. Marinos, Sydney, NSW, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

43 H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Volume III: The Later Years*, Halstead Press, Sydney, 2004, p. 348.

44 *ibid.*, p. 353; interview with Michael Krizos (Kyriazopoulos), Melbourne, 13 January 1987.

45 H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Volume III: The Later Years*, p. 355; interview with Ion Nicolades, Melbourne, 9 January 1987.

46 H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Volume III: The Later Years*, p. 39, 50.

47 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 184; interview with Anne Carah (nee Karofilis), Gosford, NSW, 13 January 2002.

balls.⁴⁸ Perhaps given the new bond forged between Greece and Australia during the global conflict, particularly following 'The Battle of Crete' in 1941, Greeks in Australia – both men and women – seem to have acquired a greater public visibility and interest immediately after the war (which continued when Greece and Australia signed their migration agreement in 1952). *Pix* magazine in 1946, offered readers a cover story titled 'Greek Baptism' which featured not only an insight into traditional Greek Orthodox customs as practised in Australia, but also the importance of the role of women (Godmother and mother) in the ceremony and the ritual tasks and celebratory activities which follow the event.⁴⁹



'Miss Wagga' for 1949
Wagga Wagga, NSW, 1948

Thea Karofilis being crowned 'Miss Wagga' for 1949 on New Year's Eve 1948. Being the inaugural competition, Thea was consequently the first 'Miss Wagga'. Each one of the competition's candidates had to organise events to raise money for community advancement. Like a number of other Greek-Australian women at the time, Thea was able to look beyond the traditional cultural and domestic duties expected of her.

Photo courtesy L. Marinos, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives

Understandably, Greek migration to Australia during the war practically ceased. However, it should be noted that some Greek-Australian women had returned to Greece during the preceding decades of the twentieth century. This was the start of a tradition of Greek female return migration (resulting in either permanent re-settlement or a stay for an extensive period), which has ebbed and flowed with changing economic and socio-cultural conditions in both countries, together with specific personal considerations of the returnee and their family. Amongst the young girls who returned prior to the 1950s, negative, and even sadly moving, personal stories have emerged. Born in Hamilton in Newcastle, New South Wales, in 1914, Cassie Kostopoulos (nee Zavoyianny), returned to Ithaca with her parents in 1926. Unfortunately her parents remigrated to Australia to acquire further finances for the family's future in Greece, leaving Cassie in

48 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 184; H. Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Volume III. The Later Years*, p. 353; interview with Michael Krizos (Kyriazopoulos), Melbourne, 13 January 1987.

49 'Greek Baptism', *Pix*, vol. 18, no. 15, 12 October 1946, pp. 11-13. The magazine followed up with other articles featuring Greek-Australians: 'Seven New Australians', *Pix*, 19 March 1949, p. 25; and 'New Australians are Good Citizens', *Pix*, 4 December 1954, p. (not provided).

the care of a relative. Cassie never saw her father again (died 1945), and her mother did not return until 1961. She recalls: 'My parents... left me here, they were frightened that I would grow up the Australian way. They left me here in 1928... I always had the hope that one day I would leave from here... I lost my hopes.'⁵⁰ Dora Megaloconomos (nee Comino) was born in Sydney in 1923. In 1936 she and her family left for Kythera. Dora remained in Greece for the next eleven years, witnessing both World War II and most of the Greek Civil War: 'I wanted to come back like anything.'⁵¹ Panayiotitsa Yeryopoulou (nee Christianos) was born in Kempsey, New South Wales, in 1924. Although she returned with her family to Kythera when she was still quite young, Panayiotitsa considers that Greeks who were born in Australia should not return to Greece.⁵²

Attention should also be given to the stories of those women who were left behind in regions within Greece that had been heavily affected by male migration to Australia prior to the 1950s – Ithaca, Kythera and Kastellorizo. In some villages, the unenviable situation had developed where the women far outnumbered the men. Whilst not Greek-Australians, these women should nonetheless be considered as part of the narrative of Greek female migration to Australia. Women, like Ekaterina Karvouni in Ayia Saranta on Ithaca, who waited in the hope that someone amongst those men who had migrated from her village would remember her and propose marriage: 'I wanted to go to Australia but no one offered to take me.'⁵³ Much of the early migration of Greek men to Australia was motivated by the responsibility to acquire suitable dowries for daughters and sisters. Some of these men, such as Kosmas Megaloconomos, still felt the weight of this duty later in life and returned to Greece, in part, to care for unmarried female family members.⁵⁴ This is yet another element within Greek female migration to Australia that deserves detailed investigation.

Despite a clearly increasing Greek female presence in Australia during the opening decades of the 1900s, Greek men still significantly outnumbered the women. This persisted until the late 1950s. Even with the initial post-war migration boom, between mid-1953 and mid-1956, Greek

50 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski *Images of Home*, pp. 22-23; interview with Cassie Kostopoulos (nee Zavoyianny), Ayia Saranta, Ithaca, Greece, 19 October 1990. For a literary insight into Cassie's story see: A. Zable, *The Fig Tree*, Text Publishing, Melbourne, 2002, pp. 71-74.

51 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski *Images of Home*, p. 54; interview with Dora Megaloconomos (nee Comino), Sydney, 11 December 1992.

52 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski *Images of Home*, pp. 144; interview with Panayiotitsa Yeryopoulou (nee Christianos), Logothetianika, Kythera, Greece, 26 August 1990.

53 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski *Images of Home*, pp. 104-105; interview with Ekaterina Karvouni, Ayia Saranta, Ithaca, Greece, 23 October 1990. See also: E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 126.

54 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski *Images of Home*, p. 55; interview with Kosmas Megaloconomos, Ayia Pelayia, Kythera, Greece, 25 August 1990.

male 'assisted migrants' exceeded Greek female 'assisted migrants' by five to one.⁵⁵

In 1956, a program commenced to redress the imbalance. Single Greek women were trained in Athens for domestic work in Australia, as well as being taught English. Like other 'assisted migrants', they were contracted for two years to the Australian Government, which would find them suitable employment. Interestingly, the Australian Government's scheme also provided a means, though unwittingly so, for single Greek women to extricate themselves from the burden of the traditional dowry system. Between 1957 and 1963, more Greek females than males arrived in Australia, most though, it appears, as privately sponsored migrants, rather than 'assisted'. With migrant ships carrying large numbers of single Greek women to Australia, many as prospective brides for Greek men, the vessels became known as 'bride ships'.⁵⁶

**A 'bride ship', the *Begona*
1957**

The pattern of significant gender imbalance in Greek migration to Australia — men greatly outnumbering women — persisted until the late 1950s. An Australian government program was finally established in 1956 that attempted to redress the imbalance. Its focus was 'assisting' single Greek women out to Australia and then providing guaranteed work for two years. Between 1957 and 1963, more Greek females than males arrived in Australia, most though, it appears, as privately sponsored rather than government 'assisted' migrants. With migrant ships carrying large numbers of single Greek women to Australia, many as prospective brides for Greek men, the vessels became known as 'bride ships'.



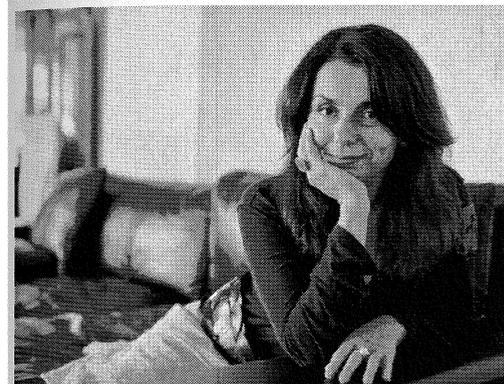
On its voyage to Australia in mid-1957, the *Begona* carried 630 female passengers out of a passenger total of 688. The vast majority of these females would have been single.

Photo courtesy Kagelaris family, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives.

55 M. P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', in C. Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1975, p. 26; E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 126.

56 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, pp. 126-127; G. Tsolidis, op. cit., p. 131; M. P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities', p. 26; S. Kuneck and T. Houpis, *Women of the Mediterranean: Greek-Australian Women's Workshops*, Centre for Migration and Intercultural Studies, Monash University, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 18-19.

Of course, proxy engagement agreements became common. But, not all promised 'brides' were happy with their betrothed husbands after meeting them in Australia. Some chose to break agreements and placed their destinies in a new land solely into their own hands,⁵⁷ a point well developed in Theodore Patrikareas' 1963 play 'Throw Away Your Harmonica. Pepino', which was later produced as a film (Greek title 'My name Is Antigone', English title 'The Promised Woman'); the play has now acquired the title, 'The Promised Woman'.⁵⁸



Mary Coustas, actor / comedian / public personality
Sydney, 2004

Mary (Maria) was born in Collingwood, Melbourne, in 1964. Her parents, Sterios and Theofani (nee Efthimiathis), both from Florina in northern Greece, were married in East Melbourne in 1960. Mary received an Australian Film Industry Nomination for Best Supporting Actress in 1988 for her performance in *Mull*, but it is for her Greek-Australian character, 'Effie', that she is best known.

'The elements of Effie... I was always fascinated by my mother's petty conversations... I heard the accent in Carlton [Melbourne] in the mid-1980s — the marriage of broken English and the Aussie twang... the whole teenage thing about what you are going to wear... the bravado in that clubbing environment... I love the whole social aspect of the hairdressing salon [Effie is a hairdresser] — people tell hairdressers all their personal stuff...'

Photo by Effy Alexakis, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives.

Occupations entered by post-World War II Greek female arrivals included: factory work; machinists; food catering (particularly in cafés, milk bars and fish and chip shops); cleaners; teachers in Greek afternoon schools; and for those with a good formal education and a firm grasp of English, employment as translators and public servants.⁵⁹ The era also evidenced the first nun to be ordained in the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia: Sister Kaliniki (Coralia Stavropoulos, nee Christides), who took her vows in 1971.⁶⁰ Judith Durham — whose maternal great-grandfather,

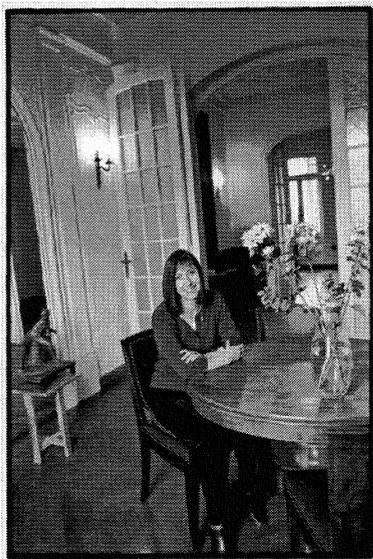
57 Such a decision is revealed in a number of interviews by the authors with Greek-Australian women, 1987-2004, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

58 G. Kanarakis, *Greek Voices*, p. 247; T. Patrikareas, 'The Promised Woman', in K. Brisbane (ed.), *Plays of the 60s*, vol. 1, Currency Press, Sydney, 2001, pp. 211-275.

59 S. Kuneck and T. Houpis, op. cit., pp. 20-21; Numerous interviews by the authors with Greek-Australian women, 1987-2004, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project archive, Macquarie University, Sydney.

60 Doukissa (D. J. Crosson) and Y. McBurney, *My Mother-in-Law is a Nun*, Educational Material Aid, Sydney, 1976; interview with J. and A. Crosson, Sydney, 6 March 1986, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

Antoni Dimitri Pannucca, was Cretan – acquired huge international success in the 1960s as the female vocalist with the popular Australian music group, ‘The Seekers’.⁶¹ While still in her teens, singer, Laurel Lee – whose real name was Lorraine May Lianos, which subsequently implies a paternal Greek connection – became a regular on Johnny O’Keefe’s late 1950s television show, ‘Six O’Clock Rock’. In the 1960s she regularly starred on Brian Henderson’s immensely popular ‘Bandstand’ program.⁶² Elly Lukas, who had arrived in Australia in 1947, became an international model of considerable renown just seven years later when she modeled the Christian Dior gown of the year in Paris – ‘the photographic record of this event has entered the canon of fashion photography’.⁶³ Disembarking in Australia in 1951, Vasso Kalamaras (nee Papayiannakis) persisted with her desire to be a writer and went on to win an array of literary grants and prizes – in 1990 she won the Western Australia Premier’s Award for Fiction for her book, *The Same Light*, which was applauded as ‘a great contribution to Australian literature’.⁶⁴



Deborah George (nee Kokontis), Australian Consul in Greece
Athens, Attica, Greece, 2000

In 1957, Aphrodite Kostomuri married Evangelos Kokontis in Corinth. Christine, their eldest child, was born in 1958, and Deborah (Dimitra) in 1960. In 1966, with local employment opportunities poor, the Kokontis family migrated to Australia. Deborah is one of those female offspring of post-World War II Greek settlers who has benefited greatly through the educational and career opportunities which arose because of migration to Australia.

‘I’ve felt encouraged by my mother – and [also] my father in fact – to redefine my life, and pursue opportunities in terms of my career, education and friendships – the life that I’ve constructed.. it [education and career] has been a very positive element of my life .’

Photo by Effy Alexakis, from the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*, National Project Archives

61 J. Messaris, ‘Judith Durham is more Greek than she sounds’, *O Kosmos*, 30 July 1991, p.13.

62 ‘Popular TV, club singer: Obituary, Laurel Lee, 1941-1992’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 February 1992, p. 4; J. Nance and J. Beaumont, ‘Bandstand family mourns again’, *Sunday Telegraph*, 21 June 1992, p. 44. Lee’s implied Greek background is still to be confirmed.

63 P. Jones, ‘A Model of Rare Grace: Obituary, Elly Lukas’, *The Australian*, 19 July 1999, p.14.

64 Interview with Vasso Kalamaris (nee Papayiannakis), Perth, 6 March 1987; personal papers provided by Vasso Kalamaris held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney; E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, pp. 80-81; G. Kanarakis, *Greek Voices*, pp. 172-180; C. Castan, *Conflicts of Love*, Phoenix Publications, Brisbane, 1986.

Similar to male post-war migration, Greek women were originating from all areas of their homeland, and assisted in numerically swamping, over time, the prominent traditional chains of migration from Kythera, Ithaca and Kastellorizo.⁶⁵ Moreover, unlike earlier Greek female arrivals, many post-war Greek women were conscious that they were not simply migrating to Australia, but to a country with well-established Greek communities. This assisted, in some degree, to lessen the social and cultural dislocation experienced through the process of migration and settlement, particularly for those who settled in centres that possessed a significant Greek-Australian presence. Greek women could have their hair done at Greek hairdressers, buy goods at Greek-run shops, attend Greek Orthodox church services, and catch up on news through Greek language newspapers or through Greek women’s groups, and even acquire both food and entertainment items from Greek import shops.⁶⁶ By 1981 the ratio of Greek males to females had almost become even: 106 Greek men to every 100 Greek women.⁶⁷

The female offspring of post-World War II Greek settlers have generally benefited, along with the boys, from their parents’ migration. According to a 1995 report by the Centre for Population and Urban Research at Monash University, Melbourne, the children of post-war Greek migrants were high achievers in education and work, and gained better qualifications than their peers whose parents were born in Australia, Britain, Ireland or Western Europe.⁶⁸ With education being given a high priority for both Greek-Australian males and females in the second-half of the twentieth century, it is not surprising that Australian professional fields feature names such as: Ana Kokkinos (film-maker), Mary Kalantzis (academic), Maria Vamvakinou (politician), Mary Coustas (actor/comedian/public personality), Fotini Epanomitis (writer), Joan Efrosini Messaris (journalist); Stella Moraitis (barrister), Zoe Carides (actor), Vasso Apostolopoulos (immunologist); Mary Kostakidis (TV newsreader/personality), Kay Pavlou (film-maker), Vicki Varvaressos (artist), Victoria Trantafyllou (fashion designer), Tes Lyssiotis (playwright), Elizabeth Gertsakis (artist/writer/curator), Agape Stratigis (pharmaceutical marketing), Despina Mouratides (psychiatrist); Deborah George (diplomat); Mary Zournazi (writer/philosopher/broadcaster), Helen Nickas (academic/publisher /writer) and Marilynne Paspaley (actor/company director).

65 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, p. 17.

66 Numerous interviews by the authors with Greek-Australian women, 1987-2004, held in the *In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney.

67 G. Tsolidis, op. cit., p. 131.

68 E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, *In Their Own Image*, pp. 70-71.

As Haitho Massala concludes in her poem, 'Greek Women':

'Now you know about Greek women.

Now you know that we are *too* complex to be categorised ...'⁶⁹

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to Professor Di Yerbury, Vice-Chancellor, Macquarie University, for her ongoing personal encouragement and support of our Project. Sincere thanks is also given to our Project partner, Macquarie University's Australian History Museum, as well as to our respective departments – the Department of Modern History and the Centre for Flexible Learning – for their collective assistance in making our visions reality. For their much needed advice and help, we acknowledge our good friends and professional colleagues, Research Officer, Kirri Hill, Macquarie University Art Gallery, and Video Producer, Michael Karris, Centre for Flexible Learning, Macquarie University.

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69 H. Massala, op. cit., pp. 305-306.