



***Yassou, Souvlakia and Paniyiri:*
Adapting Greek Culture for Australians**

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Historically the Greeks have always travelled. Their foundation myths point to epic sea voyages of discovery, take for instance the travels of Odysseus or Jason's voyage in the *Argo* in search of the Golden Fleece.¹ Seafaring and venturing abroad became part of the Greek way of life, a normal way of settling excess population or providing opportunities for younger sons. From the earliest European contact Greek sailors and ship-owners visited Australia and carried home fantastic stories of the New World. The most infamous Greeks were seven pirates who had the temerity to attack a British warship in the Mediterranean and found themselves transported to New South Wales in 1829. Small numbers of Greeks arrived during the nineteenth century gold rushes, but, in general, they looked for steady business opportunities rather than speculative ventures.

In Queensland, links to Greece were forged at the highest level of colonial society. Diamantina, Lady Bowen, wife of the state's first governor following separation in 1859 was born on Zakynthos (Zante), the Ionian Islands which were then a British protectorate. The Roma family were titled aristocrats who traced their lineage back to thirteenth century Rome. Diamantina's father, Count Giorgio-Candiano II da Roma, had served as President of the Ionian Islands Legislative Assembly and President of the Senate, for which he was decorated. The family was well connected in Greek politics; two of her brothers were ministers in the Greek Parliament and a nephew was the Speaker. Members of the family had also married into royal circles. Diamantina herself was an intelligent dark-eyed beauty, educated for a life of privilege.

George Bowen had spent ten years on the Ionian Islands, as president of the University of the Ionian Islands, before becoming Chief Government Secretary. A keen classicist with first class honours from Oxford, Bowen was a respected scholar and author of several books. He was knighted shortly after his marriage and appointed Governor of far-away Queensland.

The arrival of Sir George and Lady Diamantina Bowen at Brisbane was a gala occasion as they were met by a flotilla of ships, fireworks and most of Brisbane's residents lining the river-bank in welcome. A new residence, with a graceful arc of Ionic columns, was built for the couple at Gardens Point (now within the QUT precinct). Sir George liked to make the most of his classical training and sprinkled his speeches with classical allusions and metaphors, a habit that endeared him to Bulwer Lytton, Secretary for the Colonies, but presumably not the more practical settlers. He judged things by Greek standards; for instance views from Hinchinbrook Island, near Cardwell, reminded him rapturously of Greece. We do not know what Lady Bowen thought, as her letters home were destroyed in a flood. As the state's first lady, she carried out her official duties with grace and style. Women admired her luxurious dark hair, creamy complexion and slim figure. For her tireless charity work, she gained the respect and affection of Queenslanders. She worked to establish a children's hospital, an orphanage and the Lady Bowen Hospital for the relief of the sick and poor. Her name was commemorated in the town Roma, Roma Street, Diamantina River, Diamantina Home for incurables, Lady Bowen Park and the Lady Bowen Creeper (*bignonia venusta*).²

It is one of the oddities of race relations in Australia that educated or would-be educated people would quote Homer and pepper their written and spoken expression with classical allusions, and yet demonstrate extreme racism towards modern Greeks. The White Australia

¹ CISt 200 – Homer, www.classics.upenn.edu/myth/homer/odymap.php, accessed 20.6.04.

² Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks: the Early Years* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1992), pp 69-72.

Policy of 1901 was ambivalent about Greek immigration, though some Australians argued that southern Europeans would be able to withstand the arduous work of cutting cane under the tropical sun. During the Great War there were concerns that Greece might side with Germany, and Australian-Greeks were subjected to unpleasantness and even extreme violence. In 1916 anti-Greek mobs, typically led by off-duty soldiers, smashed up Greek cafés at Sydney, Melbourne, Kalgoolie, and the Freeleagus Brother's City Café in Brisbane. The Australian government neither protected the property of the Greek families nor paid any compensation for the damage, making for a bitter period in Greek-Australian relations.³

Settling in Queensland was tough as David Bentley, a journalist for the Brisbane *Courier Mail* learned in researching a feature article: 'The Greeks':

They came to Queensland in hope of a better life but entered a place where language, religion and customs made them strangers. They were Greeks. They were refugees. They were men without women - and they were not made to feel welcome. To those early arrivals, Australia was *mavri xenita* - dark exile. And so they turned inwards. Greeks found comfort in Greeks. They drank from the fountain of memories. They brought Greek wives, relatives and friends to share their struggle and their dreams. Australian Greek society became a living museum of the homeland left behind. Marriages continued to be arranged in the old way. Children spoke Greek at home and grappled with English at school. Parents taught respect for their Greek heritage. Australian kids called Greek kids 'wogs' and mocked their accent ... They suffered their fine Greek names to be Anglicized - but never forgot who they were or where they were from. Outside hostility drew the community closer. Old ways remained the best ways. The real Greeks, so it is said, live in Australia - not in Greece".⁴

The reasons why Greeks left their homeland were war, political repression, the lack of opportunity at home and family associations. Waves of migrants came in the wake of both world wars, following the sack of Smyrna or natural disasters such as the Kalamata earthquake in 1987. The sack of Smyrna has been etched into Greek folklore. In 1921 the Greek government decided on a military confrontation with the Turkish nationalist movement led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) that was growing in strength and threatening the Smyrna Protectorate. Kemal shattered the Greek line with a major counteroffensive, then isolated and destroyed the Greek army. Soldiers, sailors and journalists, from around the world, watched in horror from ships anchored in the bay as Turkish forces burned and sacked the great city of Smyrna, killing about 30,000 Greeks. Greek dreams of *Megali* evaporated in the shrouds of smoke over coastal Asia Minor and the crush of 1, 250 000 exiles.⁵

Chain migration has been a very significant factor throughout Australia, with families looking after their own relatives and easing their transition into the broader society. As Alex Freeleagus, the Greek Consul and Dean of the Consular Corps, explains:

A well organised ethnic community helped pave the way for new immigrants. The Greeks always took the responsibility for looking after their own people, as they arrived. The community is sensitive to the needs of migrants and their problems of adjusting. It provides a familiar, solid base from which they can learn English and begin assimilating into the society"⁶.

Greek migrants in Brisbane have tended to come from widely-separated regions of Greece, particularly from the islands and rural parts of the mainland rather than cities, and identify on

³ Denis Conomos, *The Greeks in Queensland: a history from 1859-1945*, (Brisbane: Copyright Publishing) , pp 177-181; Gilchrist Hugh, 'Greeks in Wartime Australia' in *Australians and Greeks: the Middle Years* (Sydney: Halstead Press 1997), pp, 10-31.

⁴ David Bentley, 'The Greeks', *Courier Mail Weekend*, 27 May 1995, (Fr Gregory Sakellariou's newspaper cutting book).

⁵ Tim Boatswain and Colin Nicolson, *Greece: a Traveller's History* (London: Phoenix, 2003), pp 207-211.

⁶ Alex Freeleagus, cited in 'Greeks Share Culture With Us', *Courier Mail* 25 March 1982, p.19.

a regional basis such as Rhodians, Cretans, or Kytherians. Poverty and lack of opportunity have been greater at the periphery than on the mainland. Whole villages have been eroded by emigration, leaving a ghostly legacy of decaying houses and unworked fields. Travellers in search of ancestral roots may find the reality quite different from what the memories suggest. In the 1960s, for instance, Brisbane clothier George Symonds visited Kasellorizo with his grandfather. "Once a glittering port with 500 ships in harbour, its own museum and currency, today Kastellorizo is a dead island. 'I went there thinking this should feel like home to me,' he reflected, 'but it didn't - Australia felt like home to me. [But] I still feel very proud to be part of it.'"⁷

In general, Greek immigrants were willing to tackle any work: they washed dishes, cut cane, ran fruit shops, opened cafes and oysterbars at coastal towns (a sea-food café). They expected to work long hours; they were frugal and often invested in businesses and property. Small town cafes, later coffee shops, and oysterbars became stock Greek enterprises in Queensland. Despite the hardships outlined above, Greeks seized the opportunities offered in Australia. The Frilingos brothers, Christy and Peter, for instance, trading initially as E. Comino, then as the anglicised 'Freeleagus' Brothers, established a successful fish and fresh food business at 223 George Street Brisbane, with the upstairs up-market 'Paris Café'. In 1909 they leased another premises and opened a second coffee shop 'City Café'. Over a twenty-three year period all eight of their brothers joined them in Brisbane, but their sisters remained at home and married local boys, a common pattern. The business prospered, becoming Fresh Food and Ice Ltd, and continued into the early 1960s, dealing in wholesale and retail food provisions and restaurant supplies. At its peak it employed 300 people.⁸

Christy must have been sufficiently flamboyant to catch the public interest as in 1908, at just nineteen years of age, he featured in a cartoon and doggerel in *Truth* newspaper:

If you want an oyster supper
Or a plate of curried prawns,
Or crabs or any fish served out
In style quite up to date,
Just call on Christy Comino,
Our obliging host here drawn,
Where you're always sure to get fish fresh
He'll catch them while you wait.⁹

The business became "what was probably the most successful commercial undertaking of any Greeks in Queensland" and "the largest employer of Greek labour" in the state up to 1945, sparking some animosity during the desperate years of the Great Depression.¹⁰ Christy Freeleagus became Hon. Greek Consul in 1918, demonstrating the astounding social mobility that was possible in Australia. He arrived in Sydney as a thirteen year-old in 1901 with an older brother and his father's parting gift: one gold sovereign.¹¹

The total number of Greek-born settlers who have migrated to Australia has been estimated at 239,723 people, predominantly male. The vast majority of these came to Australia after World War II, between 1945 and 1982 (and mostly classified as unskilled). According to the 1991 Australian Population Census 136,028 persons born in Greece and a further 151,082 persons born in Australia, with at least one Greece-born parent, were living in Australia that year. Of these, 286,376 Australians spoke Greek at home (many are second and third generation). When Greeks from Cyprus, Egypt and Eastern European countries are included, the number is thought to be closer to 650,000 people, a figure accepted by both Greek and

⁷ Brisbane *Telegraph* 6 Nov 1973.

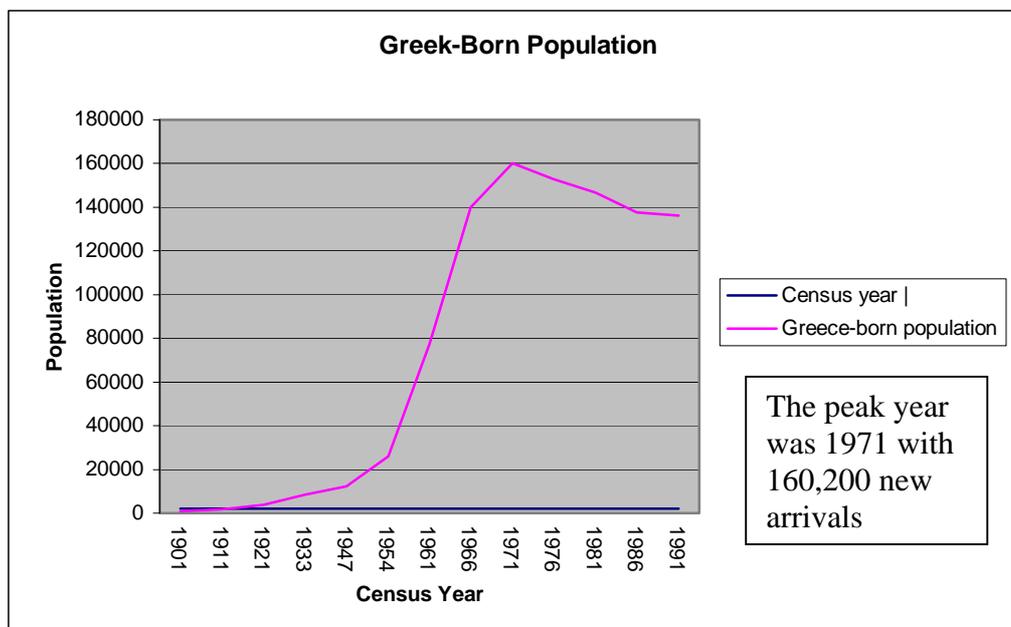
⁸ See Alex Freeleagus 'Christy Freeleagus, 1887-1957' in M. Brandle (ed), in *The Queensland Experience: the Life and Work of 14 Remarkable Migrants* (Indooroopilly Qld: Phoenix Publications, 1991).

⁹ Quoted in Denis A. Conomos, *The Greeks in Queensland: a history from 1859-1945* (Brisbane: Copyright Pub. 2002), p. 102.

¹⁰ D. Conomos, *The Greeks in Queensland*, p. 101.

¹¹ A. Freeleagus 'Christy Freeleagus, 1887-1957'.

Australian authorities.¹² Until the 1990s Greek-born Australians comprised the second largest non-English-speaking population (after the Italians) in Australia, but today in Queensland they are not represented in the ten top countries of immigration.¹³ Conditions have improved dramatically in Greece since the collapse of the military Junta under Papadopoulos in 1974, the restoration of democracy and Greece's entry to the European Union in 1981. As a consequence immigration has slowed, with fewer Greeks leaving their homeland today (see graph below).



As a group, diaspora Greeks are extremely well organized socially and politically. Most belong to a Greek community cultural, political, educational or professional organization and are committed to the preservation and promotion of the Greek culture, language and identity in Australia. By 1973 there were as many as 600 Greek organizations throughout Australia, “lending some weight to the proposition that the Greeks are probably ‘the most highly organized immigrant group in Australia’.”¹⁴ They maintain a strong pride in hellenism and consider it their responsibility to transfer the commitment towards maintaining Greek identity and the Orthodox faith to the succeeding generations. Their organizations and institutions include Greek churches, schools of religious instruction, language schools, educational, welfare, sporting and cultural groups and Greek ethnic primary and secondary schools – though not yet in Brisbane. Collectively, Greek community organizations constitute the backbone of the Greeks in Australia and have greatly assisted the settlement of successive waves of Greek migrants. An individual's involvement with a Greek community organization is reinforced through being embedded in a network of social relationships and mutual obligations involving family, kin and the cultural community. Involvement is never half-hearted, people can chose to identify with the Greek ethnic community or to live as an ordinary Australian outside the community.

Diaspora Greek communities revolve around three pillars: the Greek Orthodox Church, the establishment of a *koinotite*, a community linked to a church and a Greek language school.

¹² Hellas Media Network, www.hellas.com.au/history/migration/his4.html; ‘The Greeks of Australia’, accessed 27 July 2004.
¹³ Queensland Department of Communication and Information, Local Government and Planning, ‘Recent Population and Housing Trends in Queensland 1999’ (Brisbane: Govt Printer, August 1988), p. v.
¹⁴ Hellas Media Network, www.hellas.com.au/history/migration/his4.html; ‘The Greeks of Australia’, accessed 27 July 2004.

More than ninety percent of modern Greeks, whether in Greece or abroad, affiliate with the Orthodox Church; for Australia, "97% of all Greece-born persons who identify themselves as Christians were of the Greek Orthodox religion".¹⁵

The permanent mission of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia began in the closing years of the nineteenth century with the arrival of two priests: Father Athanasios Kantopoulos in Melbourne in 1898 and Father Serafeim Phokas in Sydney the following year. Between 1911 and 1931, the number of "Greek Catholics" - as they were designated in Australian census documents - quadrupled from 2814 to 11,911. The first Greek Orthodox Church in Australia was *Ayia Trias* ('Church of the Holy Trinity') in Sydney, soon followed by *Evangelismos* ('Annunciation of the Virgin') in Melbourne. As the number of Greek immigrants grew Australia-wide, so the church expanded its work to Perth, Brisbane, Port Pirie (S.A.) and Darwin, with Orthodox Communities springing up to support the church.¹⁶

At times, these foundation years were politically difficult for the church with factional divisions and heated arguments about the division of responsibility between the Orthodox Community's Council, the parish priest and even the distant patriarchal authorities. More serious was the protracted disagreement whether to submit to the patriarchal authority in Istanbul or to the Synod of the Church of Greece in Athens. Gradually these problems were tackled and worked through.¹⁷

Brisbane too had its share of problems. Until 1924 Queensland's Orthodox Greeks had no local church and had to attend services at other denominations, particularly Anglican services where they were welcomed as fellow Christians. But the church fathers were unhappy about people being married and babies even baptised in an Anglican Church. Ensuing arguments about the location of the first Orthodox Church and, later, its larger successor split the Community apart. The problems were not just about the church but symptomatic of a power struggle within the Community.

Today there are three Greek Orthodox Churches in Brisbane: the mother church St George at South Brisbane; Dormition of Our Lady, Mt Gravatt; and St Paraskevi, Taigum. There are also communities and churches at Gold Coast, Cairns, Innisfail, Rockhampton, Townsville, Home Hill, Oakey, Mackay, Mt Isa and Biloela. Currently, there are two hundred Greek Orthodox churches in Australia, several monasteries, primary and secondary Greek Orthodox schools and a theological college, St Andrew's in Sydney.¹⁸

The principal functions of the Greek Orthodox Church are to save souls, preserve and teach the Orthodox faith, to work for the preservation of the Greek language and for the cultural heritage of Greeks. The focus on education derives from the long years of Turkish hegemony over Greece, when the church became the protector of Hellenism. Australian-Greeks value education three ways: functionally in the sense that education has been a key to social and economic mobility in Australia, secondly to teach their own children about Greek culture, particularly the homeland language, and thirdly to inform people about the Greek people, specifically those who have migrated here. Language remains an enduring link with the Greek homeland and it is the language of the Greek Orthodox faith.

The Church has also made a considerable contribution to the social welfare, education and youth work of Greek Australians. The Greek Orthodox Community of St George can be proud of the efficiency with which it has organized a network of support for the community – including some individuals from non-Greek backgrounds – ranging from the youngest

¹⁵ Hellas Media Network, www.hellas.com.au/history/migration/his4.html; 'The Greeks of Australia', accessed 27 July 2004.

¹⁶ Sue Keays, unpub. Chapter, 'The Priests of St George's Greek Orthodox Church', work-in-progress.

¹⁷ Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks*, Vol. 2 *The Middle Years* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1997) p. 265.

¹⁸ The Greek Orthodox church in Australia, 'Churches', <http://home.it.net.au/~jgrapsas/pages/main.html> accessed 12.10.2004; Church of St George, http://www.go4ad.org.au/church_of_st_george.html. Accessed 29.03.2004..

playgroup toddlers through to the elderly. It offers help through a chain of support agencies such as Saint Nicholas Nursing Home and Hostel, the "Greek Club" or Community Centre, a Welfare Centre, an Aged Day Respite Centre, a Child Care Centre, and a Greek language school. Over time, the management of these organizations and the provision of services have become increasingly professional, though all rely on the fund-raising efforts of various church committees. Welfare functions have been increasingly transferred from the state to a partnership of community organizations working with the state.

As a group Greek-Australians have achieved many successes in their adoptive country. Whereas the pre-war, small-business class Greeks tended to succeed through self employment and property development, those who arrived after 1945 began to value education as a means of upward social mobility. In 1991 fifteen percent of second-generation Greeks (i.e. those born in Australia with at least one Greece-born parent) had completed post-secondary qualifications, a figure considerably higher than the national average. Also, contrary to stereotypes, the proportion was two percent higher for females than males (16% female: 14% male).¹⁹

The achievements of Nick Girdis, a Greek and wider community leader in Brisbane, illustrate the extreme social mobility that was possible. Girdis arrived in Brisbane in 1911, the child of a dispossessed, though talented, refugee family from Smyrna and became a multimillionaire property developer and member of the University Senate. As founder of the Girdis Group of Companies (Pidgin Girdis), Nick Girdis' name has become familiar throughout Brisbane, but as a child he helped in the family's milk bar at West End by washing dishes and sweeping floors. Girdis attended Brisbane State High, excelling academically and at sports, becoming a prefect in his senior year. He graduated in Dentistry from University of Queensland and gained a doctorate from Dalhousie University (Canada) but found his heart was in property development and project construction. His building projects include the Brisbane's Fisherman's Wharf, jointly with Custom Credit, Aetna House, Piccadilly Arcade, the Bank of New Zealand Building, the Mermaid Beach shopping Centre, Friends Provident Building, and the Queensland State Magistrates Courts. Girdis was a representative yachtsman of international acclaim, former Commodore and life member of the Royal Queensland Yacht Squadron, Queensland Chairman and National Committee Member of Enterprise Australia, inaugural Chairman of Queensland Innovation Centre, chairman of the Australian Archaeological Institute of Athens, a fundraising chairman of the Asthma Foundation and state appointee to the University of Queensland Senate. His community contributions were recognised in 1984 with a CBE.

But it was "to please his father", that Girdis dutifully plunged himself into Greek Community activities and served a term as President of the Greek Community of St George (1967-1971). Following his father's example, he was instrumental in the construction of a new Greek Sunday School and St Nicholas Nursing Home. "But the one great thing my father really appreciated", he reflected, "was that we should contribute to *this country*". He had the wisdom to see that it was "wrong to talk of Greece for ever and live in the past".²⁰

One of the aims of the Community is to foster or reconnect Australian-born Greeks with hellenic culture and welcomes people from all nationalities throughout Queensland. The annual *Paniyiri* festivities have become a landmark on Brisbane's cultural map and preceded Brisbane's Expo '88. In Greece *Paniyiri* are 'fun days' held to mark the start of Spring and other special days, such as saints days. In Brisbane they were initiated by St George's parish priest Fr Gregory Sakellariou to bring Greek groups together for a fiesta, but have become the prime way Greeks share their culture with fellow Brisbanites. The first of such fairs, held in 1976 and 1978, were highly successful with costume displays, traditional cooking demonstrations, hellenic music and dancing led by the crowd favourites, the colourfully costumed hellenic dancers. Their success prompted a third and larger presentation in 1979 with the twin goals of raising money for the work of the Greek Community Centre, for local

¹⁹ Hellas Media Network, www.hellas.com.au/history/migration/his4.html; 'The Greeks of Australia', accessed 27 July 2004.

²⁰ *Sunday Mail Magazine*, 27 May 1990; *Sunday Mail*, 6 October 1985.

charities, and to encourage Australian and Greek communities to mix and get to know each other.

In 1981 *Ekthesis* '81 was extended to six days, drawing on volunteers from all sections of Brisbane's 12000-strong multicultural Greek community. Up to 1000 people were directly involved in the massive undertaking which transformed Musgrave Park into a fairground with food stalls, games, dancing, and a folk concert featuring ethnic guest artists. For the six-day period the Olympus Room in the Greek Club was transformed into a *taverna*, with authentic Greek music, food and wines. Displays showcased the various regions of Greece. Organisers wanted to hear visitors say: 'Yassou' or 'G'day' and 'Efaristo' or 'thanks' and have a chance to sample Greek-style food, wine, entertainment and culture. They wanted *souvlakia*, *fetta*, *retsina*, and *taverna* to be familiar words for the thousands of visitors, not just for those who have worked, fought or holidayed in Greece. Good food has universal appeal and Brisbanites have developed a taste for *souvlakia* (marinated strips of lamb and pork threaded onto a skewer with onion, tomato and capsicum, served with pitta bread), *oratikí* (traditional Greek salad of lettuce, fetta and olives), or *spanakopita* (Greek-style spinach pie), followed *baklava* (crushed nuts in thin syrup covered pastry) washed down with samples of *retsina* (wine with pine sap), topped off with thick black coffee. *Ekthesis* '81, opened by the Greek Ambassador to Australia, was the largest Greek national show in Australia with an estimated 50,000 visitors.²¹

To celebrate *Paniyiri* in 1987, some 35,000 people flocked to Musgrave Park raising several thousand dollars for the Kalamata Earthquake Appeal. Despite the fun and frivolity, *Paniyiri* that year had the serious purpose of cementing the link between the two countries forged during the Battle of Greece in 1941. Around \$300,000 was raised "to honour both the Greek and Australian soldiers who died in the conflict" through a war memorial in Canberra, endorsed by the Australian Bicentennial Committee.²²

All Brisbanites who attended Expo '88 remember this time in our city with great affection. Expo made us enjoy our public spaces, appreciate communal entertainments and whetted our appetites for a more cosmopolitan lifestyle. For people of Greek ethnicity, Expo '88 was a special event because it was the first time that the Greek government had participated in an international exposition outside Greece. As Greek Consul and Dean of the Consular Corps, Alex Freeleagus was passionate in his bid to secure Greece's involvement and lobbied the Greek government extensively, even making several trips to Greece at his own expense. The Greek government vacillated over the decision for months. But somehow Freeleagus willed it to happen and the Greek pavilion became one of the most popular of the Expo '88 exhibits.

The rich cerulean blue of the Aegean Sea that has inspired countless Greek musicians and artists was the theme linking exhibits in the Greek pavilion. According to legend, Zeus, king of the gods, Apollo, god of light and music, and Orpheus, the greatest of the mythical musicians, were born in the Aegean. In the Greek world, music is the mark of education and culture, and the music of the Aegean featured in the 23 May Greek National Day Concert on the River Stage, with world-acclaimed santouri player Aristotelis Moscos leading the program. A troupe of Athenian performers sang, danced and played musical instruments unique to northern Greece. The Greek exhibit began with stunning video images of dazzling white-washed buildings trimmed with blue, colourful fishing boats, the sea itself and a group of elderly men sitting in a *platea* sipping ouzo. To give visitors an authentic feel for the Greek way of life, an outdoor eating area or *taverna* was set-up outside the pavilion with fare such as souvlaki, moussaka, Greek salad or a mixed platter, along with a selection of Greek wines, ouzo and Metaxa brandy. "The Greek pavilion represented something special for the Community," Freeleagus explained, it "represented the pride that Greek migrants felt for their heritage and culture which is now a part of Australian life".²³

²¹ 'Paniyiri – the 'Greek Expo' to Open Tomorrow', *Telegraph*, 10 June 1981.

²² 'Greek Expo to Open Tomorrow' *Telegraph*, 10 June 1981; . 'It's all Greek as a Community Shows its Thanks', *Courier Mail* 4 June 1981, p. 19; 'Thousands Enjoy the Tastes of Greek Food and Frivolity', *Daily Sun*, 25.5.87, p.7; Sunday Mail Magazine, 27 May 1990.

²³ Expo '88 feature, 'Sunday Magazine' in the *Sun*, 15 May 1988.

Diaspora Greeks all over the world recognize that their greatest export has been people rather than goods. Greece means something different to the generations of Australian-born children. They do not have the memories of leaving, feelings of guilt perhaps for those left behind, and even a feeling of impotence at not being able to change things. What they know of Greece is shaped by the selective stories and myths told to them by their parents or grandparents. "For them, according to Alex Kondos, "Greece represents the distant land of their parents with the thrills and legends of their glorious history, and beautiful traditions..."²⁴ It is something universal, and it is through *Paniyeri* and other cultural festivals that they share this wealth with their fellow Australians. Members of the present-day Greek Orthodox Community of St George want the hard work of their parents or grandparents to be recognised as an integral part of Australia's pioneering history, along with their contribution to the development of a multi-cultural Australia.

²⁴ Alex Kondos, 'It is Our Duty to Preserve Our Migrant History' 2 Aug 1921, courtesy AF.

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